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THE

# NAVAL HISTORY

OF

# GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE YEAR

MDCCLXXXIII. TO MDCCCXXXVI.

BY

EDWARD PELHAM BRENTON,

CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

A NEW AND GREATLY IMPROVED EDITION,

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS, PLANS, ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

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1837.

TO HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

# KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

I rejoice in the opportunity of laying at your Majesty's feet these Records of a profession in which the name of your Majesty stands enrolled in every rank, from that of a Midshipman to that of Lord High Admiral.

A History of those stupendous events since the year 1782, in which the British Navy has borne so distinguished a part, may with peculiar propriety be submitted to the judgment of a Monarch who, previously to the commencement of that period, and at an early age, renounced the luxuries of a Palace to encounter the dangers and privations of a sea life. Your Majesty, being the first British Monarch regularly trained up to the Naval Service, is the better able to appreciate the laborious task which I have undertaken.

The support of the Throne, and the safety of the Empire, are inseparably connected with the vigorous condition of the Navy. My chief objects have therefore been to exhibit transactions and events to the rising Officers of the Service, in a manner that may enable them to draw such inferences from past errors as shall teach them to avoid future disasters; to suggest such beneficial alterations as my experience might furnish in the construction of our ships; and also to

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point out the means by which corporal punishment and impressment may prospectively be dispensed with, not only with safety, but so as to increase the number and improve the character of British Seamen.

War being a contingency common to our nature, I have sought to inculcate such precepts as may tend to mitigate its horrors, and to diminish the amount of human misery.

Such, Sire, have been some among the many objects embraced in the following History. That the Almighty Disposer of events, who has so signally favoured and protected the British Empire, may ever continue to do so, and may also prolong your Majesty's happy reign for many years, is the constant prayer of the humble individual who has the honour to subscribe himself,

With great respect,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's most dutiful Servant and Subject,

EDWARD PELHAM BRENTON,
Capt. R. N.

*February* 1,
1837.

# PREFACE.

THIRTEEN years have elapsed since the first edition of this work was presented to the public. Since then I have employed myself in correcting the unavoidable errors so peculiarly incidental to a naval history; if any remain, I shall do my best to correct them hereafter. The work now offered is, as nearly as I could make it, a faithful journal of naval events since the year 1783.

From my earliest youth, my mind has been bent on this kind of literary occupation; voyages, travels, and naval actions have been the objects of my study and reflection; and I can never forget the impressions made by reading the History of Robinson Crusoe, Lord Anson's Voyage, and the Shipwreck of Captain Wilson in the Antelope packet, on the Pellew Islands. I have by me the Naval Histories of Josiah Burchett, of Hervey, of Redhead Yorke, of Beatson, of Campbell, Burkenhout, and Charnock; also Schomberg's Naval Chronology, and the valuable work of Vice-admiral Sir Charles Ekins, whom I am proud to acknowledge as a fellow-labourer in the great work of improving the naval profession: with these companions around me, my task, though arduous, has been rendered pleasing, and I almost feel regret at its conclusion.

It would have added much to my satisfaction, could I have named in the following pages every individual whose services have merited distinction: but that being impossible, I have confined myself to the facts most prominent in our great and eventful struggle for national existence.

To write a work that should please every one, has never yet fallen to the lot of man. I am sensible that there are errors in this; but they are of the head, not of the heart. I have never

willingly given offence, or inflicted pain: where misfortunes or defeats have been caused by neglect or misconduct, I felt it my duty to make such comments as would, in all probability, conduce to prevent their recurrence; and thus, while I have selected the brightest examples of patience, valour, and fortitude, for the imitation of posterity, I have warned the young officer against the dangers of over-confidence, of indolence, or presumption.

The fatal consequence of taking the law into our own hands has been shown in the melancholy histories of some gallant and zealous officers; and the attention of our youth is earnestly entreated to such instances of the misapplication of courage, and the criminal acts to which a man of honour may be led by the indulgence of passion, and by neglecting to study the laws of his country so far as his specific duties require.

The mutinies on board the Hermione and the Bounty will teach him to command with moderation, and to unite vigilance with firmness and gentleness, in the discharge of his duties. He is to remember that power is delegated to him only for a limited time, and for a special purpose, and that he must be accountable for the use or the abuse of it both here and hereafter.

I am sorry I should have been thought unnecessarily severe in my remarks on the conduct of the late Admiral Earl Howe, on three occasions connected with his public duty. If my strictures were severe, I plead the necessity of the case, to show how a signal victory, gained by his valour and perseverance, was turned into all the consequences of a defeat by too much precipitation in quitting the scene of battle. That his want of attention to the demands of the seamen produced the mutiny, has never been disproved. I thought, and do still think, that his conduct in the flag promotion in 1787 was hard upon the gallant officers whom he caused to be passed over, and his reasons for so doing quite inadmissible: but these are merely isolated spots in a very long and illustrious period of service. They relate to *conduct*, not to *character;* and, admitting the utmost I have said, I have still left enough to make him one of the brightest naval ornaments of the eighteenth century. His defence of Gibraltar, alone, will confer on him a well-merited immortality.

There is, perhaps, no situation under the British Government, or in the world, which involves in itself more responsibility than that of a commander-in-chief, or the captain of a ship-of-war. This proposition will be found fully made out and illustrated by the affairs of the Phœnix and Résolue, the Leopard and Chesapeake, the President and Little Belt, and many others, where a combination of coolness, firmness, judgment, and forbearance was required, and was eminently conspicuous. If, then, to these qualities be added political sagacity, it is impossible to say what services a sea-officer may not have it his power to render to his country.

The charge of flattering the aristocracy cannot, I think, co-exist with my account of the campaign of 1794, in the Channel, and 1795, in the Mediterranean, and that of the mutiny in 1797, in the North Seas. I trust, therefore, when I assure my readers that my candour on these occasions has made me many and powerful enemies, they will give me credit for a very contrary intention: far be it from me to use the language either of adulation or insolence.

An able writer in the New Monthly Magazine for August, 1836, after speaking of myself and my work in more flattering terms than I think I deserve, kindly checks my vanity by accusing me of certain human frailties which he calls an anti-Gallic mania, an "anti-Napoleonophobia." Now this I do not deserve, any more than the laudatory part of the criticism; and I appeal to the French officers themselves, whether, in every part of my writing, I have not given them due credit for their courage and for every virtue which I have known them to practise; never, however, forgetting to censure that in a Frenchman which I should reprobate in the conduct of my own countrymen. With respect to the good and gallant Admiral Villaret, I can only say, I admired and esteemed him; and never did I attribute his conduct, or that of his brother officers, in the battle of the 1st of June, to the "terror of the guillotine." I simply related what Villaret himself told me, and most particularly the conduct of the National Commissioner, Jean Bon St. André, who flew down into the cockpit the moment the Queen Charlotte opened her tremendous broadside on La Montagne. I should be ungrateful were I to speak unkindly of Villaret, or his countrymen, from whom I have received repeated acts of kindness. With respect to the

character of Napoleon Bonaparte, I never can change my opinion until it has been clearly proved to me that he did *not* poison the men at Jaffa, or destroy his prisoners; that he did *not* murder Palm, the bookseller, Toussaint, Captain Wright, and the Duke d'Enghien; that he was not guilty of an aggravated act of adultery in putting away the faithful (though not faultless) and amiable Josephine, and taking the Austrian Princess in her stead.* Finally, as an Englishman, I hated Bonaparte, because he was the enemy of liberty, and, above all, because he was the enemy of truth, wherever his own views of ambition were concerned; and because he was a determined foe to the liberty of the press, the great palladium of British happiness, and, as I trust, destined to become so to that of all civilized communities. His unjust invasions of Russia, Spain, Holland, and the adjacent countries, were visited by the hand of Divine justice in the abortion of all his schemes.

One word more to my kind Reviewer. If the separation between Great Britain and her North American Colonies was not the result of rebellion on the part of the latter, what was it? Whether the Colonists were right or wrong is quite another question. If even we admit that they had justice on their side, still the act does not change its primary character, although success has stamped it in the vocabulary of mankind with another name. This is, however, a distinction hardly worth insisting on. I wish the Americans every happiness as a nation. I cannot forget that I was born among them, and have forgiven their unkind treatment of my family when I was an infant. I will add one word of friendly admonition to them: as they fought and gained their own liberty, let them "do as they would be done by." Let them recollect their slave population; let them instruct, and then emancipate them; let them look to their parent country for a noble though recent example; and let them remember that the neglect of this and other similar warnings may be the cause of deluging their now happy land in blood: injustice ever brings its punishment along with it. Should England and America unhappily be

* The reader who is fond of tracing the hand of Divine retribution in all human events, will be instructed by comparing with great attention, as I have done, the life of Napoleon with the 14th chapter of the prophet Isaiah, from verses 6 to 20 inclusive: the coincidence is most remarkable throughout.

ever at war, this most vulnerable point may prove the cause of interminable discord. Let us hope that such a contingency will never happen, and that the present bond of peace between us and the United States may remain for ever unbroken.

Wars are unhappily the lot of human nature,—the scourge of the Almighty: it should ever be the duty of Christians to mitigate the horrors of that which they cannot entirely suppress. British valour and sympathy shone conspicuous at the siege of Gibraltar in 1782; at Toulon in 1793; at the summons of Cadiz in 1800; at the siege of Genoa in 1801; at Copenhagen in 1802; in the celebrated battle of Trafalgar in 1805; at Algiers in 1816; and in a thousand other minor instances. The feeling of compassion towards a conquered enemy should ever be cherished; it is a feeling that, I am persuaded, more generally pervades the civilized world than it did fifty years ago; but still there are melancholy exceptions to the fact, at this moment, in the Peninsula: let us hope that the example of Great Britain will lead the way to a better order of things. The conduct of British seamen in the mutiny of 1797 gives me reason to hope that our progress in philanthropy has equalled our improvement in war.

The infidel or the sceptic may indulge in a smile at my frequent allusions to the interference of Divine Providence in the government of the world. I am proud of their censure; for, indeed, the truly Christian and devout mind will perceive in such remarks nothing but what harmonizes with the religious conviction derived from revelation, and sanctioned by reason, that not only is the order of nature in the material world upheld by the laws of God's appointment, but that the moral relations of human beings are, in like manner, determined by the same omnipotent authority; however veiled from human sight, or at times producing *apparently* conflicting results, may be those laws which He in his wisdom has fixed as the basis of his moral government. This is my own conviction, confirmed by long meditation on the history of mankind, and more especially forced upon me by the events that have occurred within my own personal observation, and in which I have been called on to perform a humble part. Happy shall I be if I have proved that the duties of a Christian

and a warrior are not incompatible when engaged in the defence of *his own* King, and country, and altars.

I have endeavoured to show that, while Britain has nobly struggled for her own independence, she has never been guided by selfish principles or corrupt motives. The crafty tyrant, whom it was our glory to humble, is said to have derided our imbecility in ceding that to negotiation which we had acquired by the sword,—a high eulogium from the lips of an implacable enemy, proving that we contended for peace and the real rights of men. The sacrifice of 20 millions of money to purchase the emancipation of 800,000 negroes is another demonstration of this national magnanimity, and forms the triumphal wreath to our warlike achievements: it does us as much honour as all our victories, and proves that, if we are a nation of shopkeepers, we are neither misers nor slave-dealers. In no instance in history, sacred or profane, does the effect of Christianity on the minds of an enlightened people beam forth with such transcendent splendour as in this act of justice and generosity. In short, in every part of the world where the British flag has waved, arts and civilization are softening the manners and improving the condition of the human race. The savages of New Zealand are nearly converted to Christianity. Idolatry is banished from the Polynesian Islands, through the perseverance of our missionaries.

In the course of a professional life extending to half a century, I have seen and conversed with most of the officers whose names are mentioned in the following history. I have visited many parts of the globe, and been present at some of the transactions which I have described; and it appears to me that, for these reasons only, I have drawn on myself the acrimonious strictures of a contemporary who is deeply sensible of the want of such advantages. It is very singular that he should have attacked me upon the very facts of which I was an eye-witness; but I fearlessly appeal from the dictum of an interested writer to the judgment of more discerning and better instructed authorities. I still deny that a landsman is capable of writing a naval history. He may give the letter, but he cannot give the spirit; he can neither instruct nor reprove without the charge of folly and presumption. I have selected a few

only of the numerous instances in which I have been quoted or copied without acknowledgment. My name appears in the margin of almost every page, and I am frequently contradicted by one utterly destitute of the least professional pretension. That there may be slight errors, in a few instances, I do not deny; the Egyptian, for instance, may have carried only 24-pounders instead of 32-pounders, on her main-deck; but these and similar errors cannot, in any way, affect the general truth of my historical facts; and my adversaries would do well to let the campaign of 1794 alone, to say nothing of Martinique in 1795 and 1808, of which they are totally ignorant, and equally so, as to the Tribune and the Boston.

The log-books may do very well to ascertain certain facts, but they are seldom to be relied on in cases of actions with the enemy, being ever written or dictated with a spirit of partiality and exaggeration of which none but a seaman can form an idea; and perhaps the reader will be astonished to learn that scarcely two officers, even in the same ship, ever agreed in the details of an action in which they had been engaged. Whence then the use of all these diagrams, drawn by incompetent hands, to describe evolutions which most probably never occurred, or, if they did occur, certainly not in the manner described?

I am willing to give Mr. James and his Naval Editor all the merit they really deserve. I cheerfully acknowledge their great and unwearied pains and attention in the collection of facts and details; but I must aver that, in candour and kindness, if not in gratitude, they should have shown a different spirit towards me. Their reflection cast on me, when speaking of the capture of the Laurel, proves a want of knowledge that was hardly to have been expected. Nor can I admit that the account of the action off Cape St. Vincent is preferable to mine, or more accurate, because it is fifteen times longer. I have given the main facts: vanity and self-love may wish for more detail of a personal nature, but the general reader will disregard it; and in proportion as we recede from the period of action, minor points lose their importance and interest.

As it cannot be expected that Mr. James, though in other respects fully as much entitled to credit as myself, could adopt the phraseology of a seaman, so the navy will be excused for not adopting his nomenclature, particularly when found to be

derived from the Americans; and, as our decks are all properly named, I trust they will retain the good old English appellations. It will be seen that I never use the term "*man*-of-war," as applied to a ship. I once observed to a noble Lord that the term was absurd, the latter substantive being feminine: "True, Sir," replied the Earl, "but we now say ship of war." The term "*man*-of-war" was first used, I believe, as a verb, to *man* a ship, and not as a substantive. I cannot turn to the authority, but I have heard that King Henry (I believe the Eighth) commanded a *man*-of-war, that is, that he ordered a naval armament to be equipped, and thence the derivation of the term; but, even in our day, we sometimes read in our periodical papers, "Arrived the Renown man-of-war and the Spartan frigate." The first, being a ship of the line, is supposed by the writer to be exclusively a man-of-war, whereas it is notorious that every vessel, be her size what it may, if she wears the King's pendant, and carries a commissioned officer, with guns, is a man-of-war according to our acceptation of the term.

The term "fleet" is a collective one, indefinite as to number; but a regulation of the Admiralty, in 1806, decided that no less a number of ships of the line than 10 sail are to have that denomination: when they amount to that number, a flag-officer is to be appointed to command them, with a captain of the fleet, whose duty is somewhat analogous to that of an adjutant-general. He regulates the distribution of stores, the issue of public orders, receives all returns, and transmits them, in abstract, to the commander-in-chief and to the Admiralty; if a *captain*, he takes the rank, wears the uniform, and receives all the emoluments, of a rear-admiral.

I cannot conclude this preface to a Naval History of Great Britain more appropriately than with a few remarks on the naval power of England, extracted from the work of M. Dupin. This acute observer, in his Travels in Great Britain, remarks:—

Within the last 125 years, the British navy has sustained six great maritime wars; and in each, successively, it has employed a force more formidable and better organized than in any of the preceding. It is since this period that England has realized its pretensions to the sovereignty of the sea, by occupying all the important points which serve as the keys to that domain. Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Isles ensure its dominion in the Mediterranean. With Heligoland,

its power reaches towards the Baltic. By means of St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Isle of France, it commands the passage to India. Lastly, India itself, the finest of the West India Islands, Canada, Newfoundland, and New Holland, have increased these important possessions. These are the conquests which England has made since its revolution, and which it owes to the progress of its naval force. Rome only, at the time of its most brilliant success, can afford us an example of such a system of aggrandizement.

Towards the end of the 17th century, the maritime wars of England consisted of a few battles with one or two fleets; its ships made some cruises, formed isolated blockades, and undertook certain enterprises, sufficient for the purposes of a campaign.—But, in the naval war which we have seen begun, and finished in the 19th century, England conceived the idea of attacking nearly at the same time the navies of France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Italy, and even America: it has, in short, opposed itself to every maritime power of the world. Not only has it blockaded all the war-ports which could send out any squadron or flotilla, but it has blockaded all the commercial ports; a spectacle of which, up to that time, no maritime power had offered an example. The inhabitants of an island of but small extent have succeeded in forming with their own ships a contiguous line of observation along all the coasts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. All the continents of the two worlds have been simultaneously besieged, islands taken by main force, the commerce of the universe invaded; and, finally, after twenty years of combat, this naval power, which began the contest with 30 millions of subjects, has terminated it by consolidating an empire, including the conquerors and the conquered, of 80 millions. Let us, moreover, recal to mind that Great Britain has never, during the epoch, employed more than 145,000 sailors and marines in effecting these prodigies.

M. Dupin accounts for the popularity of the navy as a national force,—first, because it is calculated for the most important defence, but can never be employed to destroy the liberty of the people; secondly, because all the great towns of the empire are seated at the mouth of some port, where the citizens are in the constant habit of seeing vessels of all nations bringing to its warehouses the tribute of their respective soils, and others exporting the products of national industry: and it is impossible to be in the constant practice of remarking such spectacles, without feeling an honest pride in the navy which has ensured to the country all these benefits.

In the eyes of the English, their navy forms the elements of the British power, and the moveable ramparts of the territory of Albion. It is not only in the figurative language of poetry, but in the most familiar conversation of the English, when speaking of their ships, that they call them their *bulwarks*, their *wooden walls*.

The metropolis of the British Empire contains in its bosom the most frequented part of the universe. It is the commerce of the sea which has rendered London the most populous and the most opulent capital of Europe. Ships of a hundred different countries display on the Thames their respective flags; yet the British vessels alone outnumber those of all other nations.—The citizen of London is justly proud to observe the fleets of merchant-men which every day arrive from the ocean, or which descend the stream of the Thames; the latter for the purpose of exporting the products of national industry, and the former importing the treasure of foreign nations. Who can contemplate this immense movement, without being convinced that it is the commerce of the sea which has produced the riches and grandeur of the city?

The author then observes that this spectacle, and the ideas to which it gives birth, are not peculiar to London, but appertain to all the capitals of the empire. Edinburgh stands on the borders of one of the finest gulfs of Scotland; Dublin is most conveniently situated for a rapid communication between London and Ireland reciprocally; Quebec is on the shores of the river St. Lawrence, which may be called the Thames of Canada; Halifax, on the hyperborean side of America; and Cape Town at the southern extremity of Africa, that point of tempests which vessels must double, to pass from Europe to India. In a word, in all parts of the globe, the central points of British power participate in the benefits of the commerce of the sea, and by these benefits contribute to the splendour, the riches, and the power of the people, and of the government.

# REPLY

TO

# SOME OF THE STATEMENTS

IN

# JAMES'S NAVAL HISTORY.

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I AM extremely sorry, that neither Mr. James, nor his Naval Editor, could have steered a course through their literary labours without running foul of me and my work: perhaps, like the Indians of North America, they expect to obtain the good qualities of all whom they may scalp. I should never have found fault with their work—perhaps I should not even have named it—if they would have allowed me to enjoy in peace whatever share of public favour my labours may be deemed to deserve. What their motives may be is best known to themselves; but they not only quote me pretty freely to supply their own deficiencies, but they ungratefully snap at the hand which feeds them. On this subject, I will now enter into a few details.

In the first volume of the new edition of James's Naval History, two whole pages are copied from me, acknowledged I own; but I am made to talk nonsense. I never said that the "Tower" extended from the Dockyard to the Victualling Office, but that the *town* of Toulon occupied that situation. This is one of the many errors arising from that want of local knowledge so common to the class of writers who consider that an acquaintance with the subject is a very unimportant part of their business.

The miserable affair of the Boston and the Ambuscade, I had from the lips of the late Captain Alexander Robert Kerr, who was second lieutenant of the British frigate in the action. I much fear that my facts and his assertions will be borne out by other witnesses. The widow of poor Courtney assured me, that she had heard the story long before I related it, and that she believed it was too true. It was believed at the time on the Newfoundland station; and the lieutenant was heard to say at the Admiralty, when he came down stairs, after an interview with Lord Chatham, "I have got my commander's commission; but Lord Chatham told me, it was not for any merit of my own, but from the powerful interest of my friends."

Pp. 112 and 113, of James's work are copied verbatim from my History, vol. i. p. 8, first edition, without any acknowledgment; so is the principal part of the affairs of the East Indies, pp. 118 and 119. I was in India at the time, and none ever published the account of the action between the Phœnix and Résolue but myself: indeed, the words are nearly all of them my own. The changes which are substituted are merely in the way of disguise.

P. 139.—Mr. James says, the Queen Charlotte's ports were only four feet six inches from the water: my tables give five feet two; and I remember Sir Andrew Douglas being so much dissatisfied with that height, that he lightened her to five feet ten *a-midships*.

P. 149.—The positions of ships in action are liable to such momentary changes, that the best diagrams are of very little use, and scarcely two officers will agree as to their correctness.

P. 150.—Speaking of the loss of the Queen Charlotte's main topmast, I must tell him, that he knows nothing about the matter, *I* know how the main topmast was lost, and so do the gallant admirals, Sir Edward Codrington and Cochet. The conversation on the Queen Charlotte's quarter-deck, at that moment, was highly edifying. Let me say no more.

P. 153.—"The guns taken in the French prizes were all of Swedish manufacture, and chiefly of brass." It will require some brass to support this assertion. Where they were cast I cannot say that I know; but I will say, that, in walking over the decks of the whole of the prizes, I saw not one brass gun on the main

or lower decks, and not one brass gun out of these prizes ever ornamented the forts in and around Portsmouth. The iron guns *did:* some of them enfiladed South Sea beach, and others stood on the King's bastion, but, I believe, they are now all removed. The gun which "bursted," (p. 155,) on board the America may have been of brass.

P. 160.—Poor Jean Bon St. André. Mr. James, his unsuccessful advocate, had better have left him to my more merciful pen. Villaret, the French admiral, in speaking of him to me said, *Ah! le coquin: à l'instant de la bordée du Queen Charlotte, il déscendit dans la caille, et nous ne le vimes plus pendant le combat.*

P. 168.—The anecdote respecting the late gallant Sir Thomas Trowbridge is neither "vulgar nor disgusting," nor could Mr. James be a judge on the subject. It is to be found in my first edition, vol. i. p. 308, and I shall never be ashamed of it: it is highly characteristic of the true British sailor.

P. 178.—After all that had passed on the subject of a gallant admiral now deceased, the revival of it was unkind and improper. I hope I shall hear no more of it, if only for the sake of the surviving relatives. *I* am not afraid of renewing the discussion.

P. 185.—The term "population" is right as applied by me: it meant the inhabitants generally, and not that part of it called the "populace."

P. 186. The loss of the Ardent is copied from me.

P. 191. The affectation of calling the lower deck the *first* deck, is ridiculous, and I only wonder that a naval author of taste and character should continue it.

P. 215, *Note, bottom.* Lord St. Vincent assured me, that the captain of the Pégase was dismissed the French navy, and that his sword was broken over his head.

P. 219. For the affair of Captain Brown in Fort Royal Bay, see Cooper Willyam's campaign, 1795, in the West Indies.

P. 236.—The account of the gale in Torbay, in which I was present, is copied from me.

P. 243 —Neither Sir Charles Ekins, nor myself, is permitted to know anything: it is only the inspired historian and his commentator who are informed upon these subjects; and yet, at

P. 245, I am copied again without acknowledgment.

P. 251.—Here the author would have done better to have copied from me entirely, *as he has in part:* he would not then have been led into such gross error. Du Puissaye did not hasten to the shore with 1,100 men, and await the return of daylight; for he was fast asleep on board the Pomone. There was no gale of wind, but only rain; nor were there six transports lost, an error which has been copied from Schomberg. But, as I was present at this affair, I must, of course, be a "disqualified" witness.

P. 252.—Sir John Warren at Isle D'Yeu, copied from me.

P. 254.—And here, also, in speaking of Vice-admiral Hotham at Fiorenzo bay.

I can make allowances for the irritated feelings of poor James, who erroneously took up the idea that I wished to injure the sale of his work; but Captain Chamier, a seaman and an officer, should have paused before he contradicted living witnesses who are not less credible than himself. Rear-admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton would have set him right on many subjects which the gallant editor has incorrectly stated.

Sir Jahleel was first lieutenant of the Gibraltar, when she drove out of the bay of the same name, on the night of the 2d December, 1796. The following is the extract of his letter to me on the subject, so clear and so circumstantial, and at the same time so honourable to the memory of the noble Samuel Hood, that I cannot resist giving the whole of it:—

I send you *my* version of Gibraltar, and you may make what use you please of it. Mr. James says, p. 317, vol. i., that the mainsail *was* set: I say *it never was set.* He says the ship struck on the bank or rock in consequence of losing her fore-topmast: I say the same thing; where then is the manifest inaccuracy? the log probably records the mainsail being set, from the attempt having been made to set it.

In order to account for the ship driving so far to leeward before sail could be made upon her, it must be recollected that the wind was blowing a hurricane, with rain in torrents; that she had three anchors hanging to her bows; that the topsails had been furled with two reefs; and that it was necessary to close reef them before they could be set: the cables were of course cut, as soon as all hope of the ship bringing up had vanished, and the foresail set imme-

diately, and, in attempting to set the mainsail, both parts of the sheet got round to the topgallant-yard in the main rigging, and that, when the yard was cut away, in the hope of clearing it, the sheet retained its hold, carrying the yard away to leeward with it to the full extent of the sheet, which it was impossible to gather in; consequently, the mainsail had no effect upon her. In order to get way upon the ship, and draw her out into the gut, the jib was ordered to be set, and this, I have every reason to believe, combined with the heavy sea going, *carried away the fore-topmast.* In fact, it must have been so, as there was no other sail set on the fore-topmast, the mast going far above the topsail-yard. The lieutenant of the forecastle came aft, and reported to me that the foresail was split, and, anxious to know whether it was so far gone as to lose all effect upon the ship, I went over to the lee gangway, and, to my astonishment, saw the wreck of the fore-topmast hanging through the lee part of the foresail: this was the first intimation I had of its being gone; nor do I recollect ever hearing any say (who were on the forecastle at the time) that they knew of its going. At this period, the white foam of the breakers was seen plainly on our lee-beam, and soon after the ship struck on the Pearl Rock with so tremendous a crash, that my own impression at the moment was, that the ship was inevitably gone: this may easily be conceived, when the size of the ship, and the height of the sea running, are considered. There certainly was a dreadful cry of despair, uttered fore and aft, of "Cut away the masts, the only chance of saving our lives!" and, but for the almost forlorn hope of being enabled to run the ship upon the beach near Cabreta Point, I might have concurred in the feeling. (The captain had been carried to his cabin wounded, and the command consequently devolved upon me.) The ship was thrown nearly on her beam ends, but the following sea took her over the rock: to my great surprise, on sounding the well, not a drop of water was found in her; and I at once decided to get her out into the gut, if possible, and succeeded in doing so by the remnant of our sails. Had the masts gone, not a soul could have been saved. I prevented several, myself, from cutting the main yards, which they were rushing to do with tomahawks taken from the poop. That there was a dreadful cry of despair cannot be denied, and never will be forgotten by those who heard it.

It is well known that the Gibraltar was very ill-manned; but, had it been otherwise, I should not have been surprised at the despair which seemed to have taken possession of them. While a British seaman has hope that his energy may be available, he will exert it to the utmost; but, in the present instance, there appeared to be no

room for hope, and, as drowning men, they caught at whatever seemed to offer the most remote chance of saving their lives.

It was never the intention of the captain or myself to run for Tangier Bay: we kept in the middle of the straits during the night, and the greater part of the following day, when that noble fellow, Hood, of the Zealous, concluding we had lost our anchors, slipped the cable he was riding by in Tangier, and came out to us, leaving a boat with a slip rope upon the cable, and, giving us the information, we ran in the evening, and, taking it in, found ourselves comfortably at anchor, with our own spare anchor ready to let go in case another should be wanted.

With respect to the Victory firing into the Santissima Trinidad, on the 14th February, the same officer, who was lieutenant of the Barfleur, and next astern of the admiral, will testify it, though it might have escaped the notice of "a Colonel of Infantry," or Mr. James, who was, I believe, at Jamaica at the time.

As regards the surrender of the Hannibal, Sir Jahleel, who was captain of the Cæsar in the action, makes the following observations:—

I knew that the impression has ever been, on the mind of Lord De Saumarez, that the Hannibal, being overpowered, did strike previously to the action ceasing, and that this impression arose from the report being made to him *during the action*, that her colours were reversed; and, in order to their being so, must have been hauled down, unless (which does not appear to have been the case) another ensign had been hoisted in some other place, union downwards.

This view was farther confirmed by Linois himself telling Captain Brenton, on the following day, that they (the French) had reversed the Hannibal's colours on taking possession, and saying that it was their custom to do so. Sir Jahleel has, moreover, ever been of opinion, that nothing would have induced Sir James Saumarez to withdraw his squadron from action, but the conviction that the Hannibal was in possession of the enemy.

Will my naval friend, Captain Chamier,—if he will allow me to call him so,—be satisfied with these specimens; or, shall I go farther, and prove that he is misapplying his talents in building on another man's foundation?

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## ERRATA IN PART I.

Page 10, line 4 from the bottom, for *Macleu* read *Martin.*
— 15, — 23, for *Minalle* read *Manilla.*
— 44, — 1, for *Octian* read *Actium.*
— 98, — 8 from the bottom, for *Douaminez* read *Douarinez.*
— 111, — 16, for *Marseillois* read *Marseilles.*
— 113, — 8 and 19, insert inverted commas before the word *lieutenants,* and after the word *hurt.*
— 122, — 3 from the bottom, insert a semicolon after the word *struck.*
— 126, — 7 from the bottom, for *Raphael* read *Russell;* and for *lashed* read *backed.*
— 131, — 16, omit the word *down.*
— 131, — 4 from the bottom, insert *Rear Admiral* before the word *Caldwell.*
— 132, — 7 and 16, for *now Rear Admiral* read *late Rear Admiral;* and for *Rear Admiral Ross Donelly* read *Vice Admiral,* etc.
— 135, — 2, for *seamen, ship-gunnery,* read *seamanship, gunnery.*
— 138, — 7 and 14, for *officer* read *officers;* and for *launch mainsail on the staunch,* read *launch's mainsail on the stump.*
— 139, — 2, from the bottom, omit the words *very best.*
— 140, — 4 and 13, for *force* read *fire;* and for *the lines* read *two lines.*

THE

# NAVAL HISTORY

OF

# GREAT BRITAIN.

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# GREAT BRITAIN.

## INTRODUCTION.

State of Great Britain in 1784—Loss of her colonies—Causes—Effects—Views of the continental powers disappointed—French revolution accelerated by the American war—Situation of British commerce in 1782—Reflections on the peace—Revival of trade, and flourishing state of the country—Commercial treaty with France—Debates in parliament on the treaty of Paris—Lord Keppel's resignation—Navies of belligerents—Ministry outvoted—Change in the cabinet—Conduct of the opposition—St. Pierre and Miquelon—Cherbourg—British colonies and settlements—France—Marine—Commerce—Settlements and colonies—Sea-coast and ports—State of the different powers of Europe as to their marine and commerce—Political views and reflections.

After the disastrous war which had been terminated by the peace of Paris, England began to enjoy the blessings of repose; and the British empire, in the year 1784, was gradually emerging from the gloom and despondency with which it had been overcast during the contest with her American colonies: those extensive and valuable possessions had been separated for ever from the parent-state, by the successful rebellion of her subjects, and the active co-operation of their allies.

The powers of Europe rejoiced at the humiliation of Britain, as a certain presage of her final overthrow; and the persevering malignity with which they had lent their aid to the revolted provinces proved the deep interest they

took in the result of the contest. How short-sighted is man! How incapable of perceiving that, in the pursuit of his favourite object, he is often working his own destruction! The loss of her colonies, so far from being fatal to Britain, was perhaps the means of consolidating her empire. Had the independence of America been deferred ten years, and much longer it could not have been deferred, it might have proved a serious evil. In 1783 it was of little comparative importance: the princes of Europe were unable to derive any advantage from our embarrassment: their finances were more exhausted than our own, and all the belligerents were equally desirous of peace. The splendour of the British monarchy suffered only a temporary eclipse from her losses; and it soon rose, with renovated vigour and additional lustre. The event so long deprecated, and so much dreaded, having taken place and been confirmed by the peace of 1783, produced no unfavourable result. Divine Providence had enabled us to bid defiance, at once, to the most formidable combination in every part of the world, and to crush a dangerous rebellion at home. I allude to the tumultuous meetings, and violent proceedings of the rabble led by Lord George Gordon, a Lieutenant in his Majesty's Navy, under pretence of defending the Church, but in reality to gratify his own spleen and disappointment at not getting his promotion. The spirit of independence, inculcated by our enemies, recoiled upon their own heads; and the French armies carried back from North America some of those political dogmas, dangerous only to despotic governments, and which proved so fatal to their own. The American rebellion was the harbinger of that tremendous catastrophe which overturned so many states, and threatened the subversion of many more: when Britain, the friend of freedom, the nation which the confederated powers had sought to humble, was called to their assistance, and held her protecting shield between them and the most frightful despotism the world had ever seen. A despotism the more intolerable since it was established under the mask or pretence of liberty; France has never had the enjoyment of liberty from that peace, while England

on the other hand, by the righteous decree of Heaven, became the sheet-anchor of freedom; and the nations and princes, which had sought her destruction, were compelled to acknowledge that to her they owed their deliverance and restoration. By her triumphant arm the tyrant was hurled from his usurped throne, and condemned to end his days in a retired and peaceful abode, deprived only of the means of annoyance, and generously permitted to enjoy those comforts of life which his cruelty and ambition had denied to millions of his fellow-creatures.

During the contest which ended in the peace of Paris, our commerce had sustained severe disasters; and the distress to which the nation was reduced by the activity and enterprise of the enemy's cruisers may be estimated by the following extract from the Annual Register for the year 1784 :—"Attacked at once in every part of the world, and nearly overwhelmed by the multitude of her enemies, Great Britain was under the necessity of abandoning, in a great measure, the protection of her home commerce, and even, at times, the sovereignty of her own seas, in order that her foreign fleets might be sufficiently powerful to cover her numerous distant possessions. This new and untoward state of things reduced the English merchants to difficulties and distresses, with respect to the means of carrying on their trade, which they had never experienced in any other war; foreign vessels were used for the conveyance of their goods, and the protection of foreign flags, for the first time, sought by Englishmen! In short, no shift that ingenuity could devise was left untried, in order to evade the dangers of the seas." Hence one of the causes of the sudden, but short-lived, prosperity of the port of Ostend, in the Austrian Netherlands, which monopolized a great part of the carrying trade of Europe.

At the head of a powerful league, France had little reason to boast of any advantages she had gained by the war; the definitive treaty, though reprobated by party spirit in England, gave her no decided superiority: she had secured Trincomalee to the Dutch, and the Spa-

niards had retained the island of Minorca and the country of East Florida; but at what an expense had they made these conquests! Of colonies we had as many as we could protect; and, however desirable the possession of these places might appear, to have contended for them would rather have increased the debility, than added to the strength, of the empire.

In the ten years of peace, from 1783 to 1793, we had recovered from the effects of our mercantile depression; our manufactures had revived; and trade, both foreign and domestic, had increased beyond the most sanguine expectation. A commercial treaty had been established in the year 1786 between France and England, to the mutual advantage of both countries, but particularly of the latter: unhappily this friendly intercourse was interrupted and entirely broken off by the events which soon after happened in France, and which overturned the throne and the altar in that ill-fated country, involving both the king and the people in one common ruin.

The debates in the British parliament on the subject of the peace were conducted with peculiar animation, and marked with important results. Lord Keppel was highly displeased with the terms granted to the enemy, and, in January 1783, made it the ostensible cause of resigning his situation as first lord of the admiralty; alleging that the naval resources of this country were equal to cope with any force that might have been brought against it. His lordship asserted that we had one hundred ships of the line fit for active service, while the united force of France and Spain consisted of no more than one hundred and forty sail of the line: the Dutch were stated to have twenty-five ready for sea, besides frigates. Minute inquiry and careful investigation have convinced us that, in the latter statement, at least, there was much exaggeration: yet never, at any time, was the naval power of our enemies, compared to our own, so formidable as at that period.

Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer, defended the peace; contending that we had no longer resources to carry on the war. He asserted that we should have been

greatly out-numbered by the hostile and combined fleets, whose force, in the West Indies alone, would have amounted to seventy sail of the line, where Admiral Pigot had only forty to oppose them. Admitting these statements to come very near the truth, there appears to have been little prospect, by a continuation of the war, of obtaining any better conditions than those which had been accepted; yet the ministers were out-voted in the House of Commons, and the terms of the peace highly disapproved of. The consequence was a total change in the cabinet: the Whigs returned into office. The Duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury; Lord North and Mr. Fox joint secretaries of state; Lord Keppel returned to the admiralty, and displaced Lord Howe, who had held his seat at that board but a few months.

Whatever might have been the opinion of the new ministers, or the people, as to the terms of the peace, it was resolved to abide by them; and to the honour of Great Britain it may be said that, in her prosperity, she never violated the smallest article of the treaty of Paris.

It is curious to observe the speculative opinions of the greatest politicians of the day, on subjects possessing no other importance than that of becoming the object of unfounded clamour against the executive government; which was accused of having, in the late treaty, restored to France the insignificant islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland. Hence the leaders of opposition drew the most melancholy picture of the probable destruction of our fishery on the Banks, by the power and population of these places: the event has proved the futility of such forebodings; but those able statesmen should have known that neither of these islands possess a harbour for any thing larger than a fishing-boat; that the French never thought of fortifying or arming them; nor were they ever used for any other purpose than curing and drying their fish, or carrying on a contraband trade with our American colonies. They surrendered, on the first summons in 1793, to the boat of a frigate; and in 1803 fell again into our hands with the same facility. It is even surprising that their capture should have been thought

worthy of notice in a speech from the throne; their population was not much above fifteen hundred, of the most inoffensive people: America, since the acknowledgment of her independence, could no longer have occasion for them, as a depôt for contraband goods; and it is to be regretted that their industrious occupation should have been interrupted by this useless invasion. The Gazette letter, announcing the conquest, in 1793, speaks of guns that might have been used, if they had been mounted: and people that might have resisted, if they had been armed! In fact I am sorry to say there was often too much inglorious display in these narratives, and the indulgence of a little-minded vanity.

It was contended in the House of Commons, after the peace in 1783, that the works of Cherbourg ought to have been demolished; yet no one could suppose that the French nation, after forcing us to relinquish Trincomalee, Minorca, and Florida, and to acknowledge the independence of America, was so much reduced as to have consented to the destruction of their only naval port in the British channel, on which, though still incomplete, such immense sums and labour had been bestowed.

The following is a general outline of our colonial possessions in 1784: In North America, Upper and Lower Canada, and settlements in Hudson's Bay, where we carried on a valuable fur trade: from Canada we received a considerable quantity of plank and timber for lower masts and yards; and its importation afforded employment to a vast number of seamen. Both these branches of commerce still continue. Although the mast timber is inferior in quality to that of Riga.

The country on the river St. Lawrence was, by act of parliament in 1790, divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and its government settled in its present form. The population of British North America has increased very little since the peace of Paris, and in 1812 was about four hundred thousand.

The province of New Brunswick,—whose shores extend from the bay of Fundy to the gulf of St. Lawrence, including the great bay of Chaleur, intersected with copious streams

of water, and abounding with the finest meadow land and timber,—has, within the last twenty years, become one of the most flourishing of our transatlantic possessions. The city of St. John's, its capital, built on the left bank, and at the mouth, of the river of that name, has a fine harbour in which ships of the line may anchor in safety ; and its trade with the mother-country has enriched many of its loyal and enterprising inhabitants. The young Naval officer who first comes on this coast should be cautious of his soundings, and make due allowance for the rise and fall of tide, which in many parts of the Bay of Fundy is 50 or 60 feet—this is also the case in the Bristol Channel, so that a ship might anchor in ten fathoms at high water and find herself high and dry aground at low-water.

The province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, is a large peninsula, nearly surrounded by the waters of the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic, and the gulf of St. Lawrence ; separated from the island of Cape Breton by a narrow strait called the Gut of Canso, which is in itself a noble harbour, affording extensive and secure anchorage, and is navigable for the largest ships. Halifax is the principal port of Nova Scotia, and the finest in North America. This country was taken from the French in the war of 1759, and has, in the hands of British subjects, become a prosperous settlement : about the year 1816, the Naval dock yard was removed thence to Bermuda.

Cape Breton, Newfoundland, St. John's, or Prince Edward's, islands, and the Magdalen islands, in the gulf of St. Lawrence, all belong to Great Britain : they have also (except the latter) fine harbours for shipping, of any draught of water ; and the cod fishery, carried on upon their coasts, forms a lucrative trade, and a nursery for seamen. The fish is a great article of importation into the Catholic countries : for which the British merchant receives in return the produce of France, Spain, Italy, and Portugal, in wine, raw silks, oil, and fruit.

Farther south are the Bermudas, or Somers' islands, admirably calculated either for an advanced post, or a port of equipment in time of war, to guard our West-India trade from the enterprises of the enemy's cruisers, and particu-

larly those of America. Here our naval arsenal is now established, and I fear much British money has been expended in making a dock-yard contiguous to one of the worst, or most unpleasant, roadsteads I am acquainted with.

In the West Indies, we have the island of Jamaica, the Bahamas, and the bay of Honduras: to windward, Barbadoes, Grenada and the Grenadines, Antigua, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, and the Virgin islands. These, including the French islands, are commonly known by the name of the Caribee; though, with reference to Barbadoes, they are generally called the Leeward, and from Jamaica, the Windward, islands—relative terms, derived from the prevalence of the trade-winds, which, during the greater part of the year, blow from Barbadoes towards the other or leeward Caribee Islands.

On the coast of Africa, Fort James, the river Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast Castle.

In the East Indies, the greater part of the country within the Ganges, excepting only such parts as were in the territory of Hyder Ally, the Mahratta States, or belonging to the French, Dutch, and Danes; the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel were almost entirely under the control or influence of the British government. The important naval port of Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, had been wrested from us by the French in the late war, and ceded to the Dutch at the peace. The want of this port was severely felt by our admirals on the East-India station, and its relinquishment in the treaty of Paris was the only unaccountable oversight of ministers, who certainly were not aware of its importance. Since the first publication of this work, our Indian Empire has been increased by the conquest of the Kingdom of Ava, and our Eastern boundary is now nearly touching the confines of China. In 1836 our Colonial possessions assume a very different appearance, and their vast extent, power, and resources, can only be duly understood and appreciated by an attentive perusal of the elaborate work of Richard Montgomery Macleu, Esq., one of the most daring and best executed literary labours I am acquainted with, and, as far as my knowledge of our Colonies extends, much freer from error than could

possibly have been expected. For the story of the flying Dutchman off the Cape, I cannot vouch, never having had the good fortune to fall in with the spectre of a ship, but certainly the narration fills the mind with dread and wonder, to say the least of it. The harbour of Bombay, on the coast of Malabar, could afford but tardy relief to the disabled ships on the opposite side of the peninsula; the distance from one station to the other being, on an average, about five weeks' sail in fine weather; but, during the south-west monsoon, it is scarcely practicable to work round Point de Galle, or get to the westward, without making a very long run to the southward, and it is remarkable that the opposition members, who spoke of St. Pierre and Miquelon, took no notice of Trincomalee, although there is no other harbour on the whole of the eastern coast of India, from the Ganges to Point de Galle, nor westward thence to Bombay.

In the straits of Malacca we possessed the island of Pulo Penang, and on the island of Sumatra the settlement of Bencoolen. The best part of the vast country of New Holland was our own. In 1789 we took possession of the Andaman islands, in the bay of Bengal. We had also the little island of St. Helena:—all these places carried on, or were instrumental in promoting, our East-India and China trade.

The rock of Gibraltar gave us, in a great measure, the command of the Mediterranean Sea. In 1812 there were eight hundred pieces of cannon mounted and ready for service; since which time its works have not been diminished. Its garrison consists generally of five thousand men: it was taken from the Spaniards by a small force, under the command of Sir George Rooke, in 1704. There was reason to suppose that King George the Second had agreed to cede it to Spain for some consideration; but, happily for the honour and interest of his kingdom, the treaty was not carried into execution. It has never ceased, since we have had it, to be an instrument of annoyance to our enemies in time of war, and an object of jealousy in peace. Gibraltar is of so much importance to us, even in a commercial point of view, that it is doubtful whether we could carry on the Mediterranean trade without it; independently of

the port and mole, as a place of equipment, the straits are peculiarly liable to calms, irregular and uncertain currents, and baffling winds. The gun-boats of Gibraltar and Algeziras, during the war, were ever on the alert to protect or annoy the convoys as they passed. The Spaniards, on these occasions, often displayed great bravery, and sometimes bore away a prize in triumph; but the British gun-boats, manned from such ships as happened to be in the mole, never lost any honour in contending with them. The bay of Gibraltar is about four miles in width, so that the hostile fleets frequently lay nearly within gun-shot of each other.

France, our ancient rival, but let us hope no longer our implacable enemy, after having exerted every nerve to destroy us in the late conflict, was now reposing in a state of exhaustion from her fruitless labours: her marine had been powerful, and I have already observed she had nearly as many ships as ourselves: her officers were brave and skilful, and her seamen were sufficiently numerous to man her fleets; and as her trade bore no proportion to ours, she had been enabled to allot a greater number of ships of the line to her channel and foreign stations. Her Indian possessions were the isolated forts of Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast; Mahee, on that of Malabar, and the fort of Chandernagore, up the Ganges; she had a factory at Surat, to the northward of Bombay; the isles of France and Bourbon, in the Indian Ocean; and some places of trade on the coast of Africa, of which Senegal was the chief. In the West Indies, she had the beautiful islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Tobago, Mariegalante, and the Saints. She had also the Western half of the Island of St. Domingo, and on the coast of Terra Firma, the country of French Guiana, on the left bank, and near the mouth, of the Amazon river. On the continent of Europe, no power possessed greater advantages in point of maritime situation, having an extent of sea-coast from Dunkirk to Bayonne, and from Cape Creus to Nice, in the Mediterranean; containing some of the finest rivers in Europe, with many good ports, besides the command of the island of Corsica, whence, as well as from the Adriatic, she drew con-

siderable supplies of naval stores; her principal arsenals were Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, and Toulon.

Holland was fast declining, both in political and commercial greatness. She had been induced, by the intrigues of the court of Versailles, to join with the confederates in the war of the American revolution, contrary, it must be confessed, to the wishes of the Stadtholder and his adherents; but a party in that country had succeeded in blinding the people, and forcing them to embrace as friends those whom they should have shunned as their bitterest enemies: so much did she suffer from the capture of her trade, and the conquest of the island of St. Eustacia in the West Indies, that she never regained her former eminence.

Her foreign possessions were Batavia, and many other considerable settlements, in the island of Java; Sumanap, on the island of Madura; Malacca, on the peninsula of that name; part of the Island of Celebes, and some of the smaller spice islands; Masulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel; Cochin, on the coast of Malabar; Trincomalee, Point de Galle, and Columbo, in the island of Ceylon; and the factories of Porca and Quilon, in the Travancore country; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlements of Amsterdam, Acra, and Delmina, on the coast of Guinea.

In the West Indies she had the island of St. Eustacia, which was restored to her by the peace of 1783, and a tract of country of considerable extent, called Dutch Guiana, contiguous to the Oroonoko; with the settlements of Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. Their navy was not so numerous or so powerful as it had been in the times of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, yet, in the late contest, they had given proofs of determined valour, and no want of nautical skill. Holland had acquired much wealth, and a considerable supply of good seamen, from her herring-fishery, her Greenland, Baltic, and East-India trade; the whole of which were swept away by the war of 1794.

Spain, bounded on three sides by the ocean, Portugal, and the Mediterranean, and on the fourth separated from France by the Pyrenees, is one of the most compact and delightful countries in the world. Charles the Third about

the year 1786, attempted to improve his navy; but, acting by the advice and under the influence of France, with an exhausted treasury, the work never went on with spirit or energy, and was soon laid aside. Charles established an East-India company, under the name of the Royal Philippine, with a capital of £1,300,000. He caused an accurate survey to be made of the coasts of his kingdom, and the opposite shores of Barbary: he sent Don Antonio de Cordova to survey the straits of Magellan, and this officer executed his orders with skill and precision. Nor can we deny the Spaniards the credit of having produced some of the best marine surveys in Europe. The names of Toffino, Coma de Cheruco, and others, are held in high estimation for this branch of science, by officers in the British navy. The maritime and commercial power of Spain was, previous to the American war, very considerable: her navy consisted of sixty ships of the line, of superior description in point of size, strength, and construction. The Phœnix of eighty guns, taken by Sir George Rodney, in the year 1780, and called the Gibraltar, was supposed to have been fifty years old at the time of her capture. She was built at the Havannah of solid mahogany: and in 1810 she was cruising in the bay as an effective ship. Her sides and her scantling in general were of extraordinary thickness, and she might still have been a favourite in the line, but for the contracted size of her lower-deck ports, which admitted of no greater caliber than a twenty-four-pounder. She had the same metal on all her decks; this, by some, was considered nearly equivalent to the defect below, but experience has proved that, to engage a ship of the line, a thirty-two-pound long gun is indispensably necessary; and this is the general weight of all our ships, from the first-rate to seventy-four, inclusive. The Britannia, in the year 1797, had indeed forty-two-pound guns on her lower-deck; but they were removed soon after the action of the 14th of February, being found too heavy.

Cruelty, tyranny and injustice are sure to meet their punishment even in this world—will monarchs, will governments, will mankind, never lay the lessons of History and experience to heart, and learn that the good of their fellow

creatures is the nearest road to present, as well as everlasting, happiness? Although the seamen of Spain never bore any proportion, either in number or skill, to the beauty and strength of their ships, yet, as an ally of France, she was a formidable adversary to Great Britain. The decline of her navy may be dated from the period when ours began to shew its ascendancy in the wars of Europe. The fruitless attempts of Philip the Second and Third, to subdue the United Provinces, and the ill-fated Spanish Armada, would alone have given a death-blow to her power; but when the bigoted ministers of Philip the Third had prevailed on their master to banish the Moors out of his kingdom, her fate was sealed. These people took with them the talents and industry of the country from which they were so unwisely expelled. Nine hundred thousand of them are supposed to have embarked for Africa, or were forcibly expelled from their habitations: few comparatively ever reached the inhospitable shore, and their decendants cherish a lasting, but impotent, hatred to the Spanish nation.*

The foreign settlements of Spain, at the conclusion of the American war, were the Philippine islands, with the flourishing colony of Minalle, in the island of Leuconia: immense tracts of country were obedient to her in America; Mexico and Pern, East and West Florida, the coast of North America, from the Florida cape round the gulf of Mexico, as far as the bay of Honduras: from the British boundaries of that settlement, the whole coast on both sides of the isthmus of Darien,† and from Panama to the Oroonoko, generally known by the name of the Spanish Main; the islands of Cuba, Trinidad, Porto Rica, and the east part of St. Domingo; great part of the east coast of South America, and the rich settlements of Monte Video and Buenoz Ayres, on the Rio de la Plata: part of the coast from that river to Cape Horn:

* See on this subject Watson, Philip III.

† The Mosketo Shore, extending from Cape Honduras to the river St. John, on the isthmus of Darien, once belonged to Great Britain, but, in the peace of 1763, was ceded to Spain.—See Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. 5. Appendix, p. 202. Parliamentary Debates, 1787. Annual Register, p. 111.

she also claimed the whole western coast, from that cape to the sixtieth degree of north latitude; and the resistance of the British cabinet to these extravagant pretensions became, in the year 1790, the subject of a discussion which had nearly terminated in a war. In Europe, she had the naval ports of Ferrol, Cadiz, Carthagena; and Mahon, with many others of less note, for her trade,—she had also Minorca, Majorca, and Ivica, or the Balearic islands, and the important fortress of Ceuta, on the coast of Barbary; and it was proudly boasted by the Spaniards that the Sun never sat in the dominions of their monarch. This may now be more correctly applied to our own sovereign. With all these extensive possessions, Spain was neither happy nor powerful; her riches, her liberty, and even her religion, had been rendered subservient to the designs of France; and, like Holland, she was bitterly paid for the honour of of her friendship and protection.

The possession of mines in America, yielding gold almost without labour, destroyed her industry; and thus contributed, with the natural indolence of the people, to render her an easy prey to despotism and bigotry.

Spain, in the years 1783 and 1784, in conjunction with Portugal and Naples, sent two naval expeditions against the city of Algiers; but both of them failed, although there was a very considerable display of valour on the side of the Europeans: the elements were as unfavourable to them as they had been, on the like occasion, to the Emperor Charles the Fifth: the undertaking, though far above their strength, did honour to their generous feelings.

Portugal, a minor power in the scale of European politics, had been our firm and faithful ally since the year 1703; she received our foreign, as well as our domestic, produce; and we, in return, took her wines, favouring their importation nearly to the exclusion of those of other countries. With what policy she has been allowed this monopoly we shall not presume to decide; though we cannot admit that her gratitude has kept pace with our indulgence, nor is there any reason why we should incur the hatred of France for her advantage.

The long desired alteration has at length taken place in

the duties on French wines, and a new commercial treaty was signed in January, 1826, between France and Great Britain; it was the plan of Mr. Pitt, and carried in the year 1786, that the wines of France should be admitted on the same duties as those of Portugal, (Annual Register, 1787, p. 82.) Still we have not entire reason to be satisfied with the result of our liberal change.

The foreign settlements of Portugal were, Madeira; the Azores, or Western islands; the Cape de Verd islands; Goa, on the Malabar coast; Macao, at the mouth of Bocca Tigre, (or Tiger's mouth, for this is not the river Tigris, as it is sometimes called,) on the coast of China, by which was carried on a great trade with that empire; and a vast tract of country on the east of South America, including Pernambuco, Rio Janeiro, St. Salvador, and St. Sebastian's, and from Para to the Rio de la Plata; the island of St. Thomas's, on the Line; and some small trading forts on the coast of Africa, of which Loango St. Paul's was the chief.

The navy of Portugal was never very considerable; her only sea-port for ships of war is the Tagus. Faithful to her treaties, she invariably gave all the stipulated assistance in time of need; and, in the course of this history, we shall notice her squadrons cruising with Howe, and performing service in conjunction with Nelson.

Civilization, which began to dawn in Russia in the reign of Peter the Great, continued to make rapid advances under his successors: a navy had been the favourite object with that extraordinary man; he laid the first foundation of it, and we find his plans successfully pursued by the Empress Catherine the Second, who drew a number of British officers into her service; and, at the head of a northern confederacy, she was no contemptible enemy. Russia had no foreign settlements, though her dominion extended from the gulf of Finland to Behring's Straits. Revel and Cronstadt were her chief naval ports.

Sweden was inferior to Russia in maritime power, but exceeded her in commerce, and in the quality of her seamen, who are amongst the most skilful and hardy in the world. The Island of St. Bartholomew, in the West Indies, was ceded to her by France in 1784, and she traded with

success to most parts of the world. Her principal ports were Gottenburg and Carlscrona. As we shall have occasion to enter more fully into the naval history of these two powers, I shall reserve my remarks on the state of their marine to another occasion.

Denmark had a considerable trade, and a very respectable navy, consisting of about twenty sail of the line, with an equal number of frigates, and a proportion of smaller vessels: her foreign settlements were, Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel; four small trading forts on the coast of Africa; and Santa Cruz and St. Thomas's in the West Indies: with these places she found means to carry on a lucrative commerce; and, during the American war, her flag covered property to an enormous amount. Her principal sea-ports were, Copenhagen, in the island of Zealand; Christiana, Christiansand, and North Bergen, in Norway. The seamen of Denmark and Sweden have ever been held in high estimation in the British navy; they are sober, industrious, and brave: but the Norwegians very rarely enter the naval service; being a more domesticated people, their chief occupations on the water are pilotage, fishing, and the coasting trade.

Prussia never could be considered a naval power; Dantzic, after the division of Poland, fell into her hands, and was her only sea-port in the Baltic: she had however the river Ems, and the port of Embden; and in the revolutionary war her flag, like that of Denmark, covered the foreign produce of our enemies, to our great annoyance and serious injury.

The Venetians, Genoese, Neapolitans, and Sardinians, scarcely deserve to be mentioned as maritime powers. The Turkish navy will claim our attention when we come to speak of the wars of that nation with Russia.

Such was the state of the maritime powers of Europe in the year 1784. We shall proceed, in the next chapter, to unfold the political views and intrigues of the courts of Europe, which at that time threatened a renewal of hostilities; tranquillity was however preserved by the wisdom and good faith of Mr. Pitt gaining an ascendancy over the weakness and ambition of M. de Vergennes. The elements

of discord, subdued for a time by the peace of Paris, were still in ferment; and their explosion produced the French revolution, and that chain of events which, so far as they are connected with naval transactions, are intended to be the subject of the following history.

## CHAPTER I.

Plans of the Emperor for the improvement of Ostend and Triest, and extension of commerce—His ambition—Projects in the Netherlands —Unjust attack on Holland—Origin of union between Belgium and Austria—Long peace between Holland and England—Intrigues and fatal influence of France at the Hague—The Emperor seizes Lillo, and other frontier forts—Attempts to open the Scheldt—Claims Maestricht—Political situation of Holland in 1785—Views of the European powers—Antwerp—Effects of closing the Scheldt—The Emperor sends his flag down that river—Interference of the other powers to bring about a reconciliation successful—Hard conditions imposed on the Dutch—Emperor fails to obtain the freedom of the Scheldt—Disputes in Holland, in 1785, extend to 1787—Interference of France, Prussia, and England—Reflections of the Count de Segur—Conduct of the Count de Vergennes—Reconciliation—Retrospective view of the Dutch marine in 1782—Dutch patriots accuse the Prince of Orange—Conduct of Mr. Fox—Conduct of the court of France at the Hague—Projects on our Indian settlements—Meeting of British parliament—Speech from the throne.

THE depredations committed by the belligerents on the trade of Europe, during the American war, suggested the idea of a neutral free port, and a flag that should cover the property embarked under its protection; the Emperor of Germany, about the year 1714, first granted commissions to ships to fit out at Ostend for trading to the East Indies: immense quantities of East India produce were by this means conveyed into Europe, to the great injury of both the English and the Dutch East India Companies, the ships carrying on this traffic were, however, chiefly manned with the natives of these two countries, and their smugglers continued, with greater or less success, to navigate under the Imperial flag, until the war of the French revolution; not satisfied with these benefits, the Emperor Joseph determined to make the port of Ostend, in Flanders, an entrepôt for merchandise, and to confer upon it every privilege

which might ensure its prosperity. The Imperial flag soon covered the ocean; his ships, or rather ships bearing the Imperial ensign, were seen passing to and from every quarter of the globe; English, Dutch, and French, alike availed themselves of its protection: such was the demand for storehouses, at Ostend, that no price was thought too great for them; and the Emperor consented that houses should be built on the ramparts for the accommodation of the merchants who flocked to the great emporium. His Majesty visited the place in person, gave orders for enlarging the basin, advanced considerable sums for its improvement, consulted with the ablest men, and desired them to give him their respective opinions, as to the best mode of attaining his object. English merchants were generally applied to for this purpose; and had the maritime war continued, it is probable that its increase might have repaid all his cares and expenses: but that which depends on a state of hostility, or on any contingency not natural to man, seldom outlives the cause of its birth; Ostend sank to its former level the moment the peace of Paris rendered the protection of its flag no longer useful to commercial enterprise. Situated in a swamp, with a bad harbour, at all times difficult of access, and on a coast whose dangers in winter are incalculable, it is not probable that any legislative enactments could again confer on it those riches which it owed to a fortuitous combination of events.

While the Emperor was engaged in his plans for the aggrandizement of Ostend, he did not neglect the opposite side of his dominions; he demanded, about the same time, from the Turks, the free navigation of the Danube and the Black Sea; established a factory at Triest; advanced funds to the merchants for the formation of a capital, and endeavoured, without much success, to establish a squadron of ships of war for the protection of his commerce in the Adriatic. But commerce is the child of liberty, not the puppet of despotism: a Berlin or Milan decree might impede its march, but if once extinct, the breath of a mighty Emperor could never rekindle the vital spark; and Ostend, Venice, and Triest, like

Antwerp and Amsterdam, have little else to shew than empty warehouses and unfrequented ports.

When the peace of 1783 had restored tranquillity to Europe, the Emperor of Germany, Joseph the Second, restless, ambitious, and fond of innovation, sought to embroil the continental powers by an unjust invasion of Holland. That unfortunate country was doomed to be the victim of France or Germany by land, and England on the ocean. The Emperor had passed through the United Provinces in the year 1781; and in the course of his journey had made such observations on their impoverished state, and the party spirit of the Dutch, as gave him reason to think he might not only re-open the Scheldt for the benefit of his dominions in the Netherlands, but also obtain other advantages from a nation already brought to the brink of ruin through the influence of France, at the Hague and Amsterdam.

The Belgic Provinces lying on the left bank of the Scheldt, between Holland and France, fell into the power of the house of Austria, in the year 1477, by the marriage of the Archduke Maximilian, with Mary, Duchess of Burgundy; since which time that country had been subject to the tyranny of a distant government of a different religion, and unacquainted with the manners, habits, and language, of the people.

The persecutions of Charles and his successors, over the inheritance of the house of Burgundy, are too well known to be here repeated. In 1562, they caused the rebellion, which, after a war of eighty years, ended in the firm establishment of the house of Orange, and the separation of the Seven United Provinces from the country of Belgium. Holland, though much indebted to England for its independence, soon forgot its benefactor, and, at the instigation of the French, turned her arms against us: the two nations however mutually respecting each other, and discovering that the object of France was, by weakening both, to establish her power on the destruction of her rivals, concluded a peace which, to the honour of the respective governments, lasted one hundred years; and Holland might still have

been prosperous, but for her fatal connection with France, and the ambition of the Emperor, who, in 1784, seized on the fort of Old Lillo, which stands on the left bank of the Scheldt, opposite to the new fort of that name: the forts of St. Donat, St. Pierre, and Job, were soon after entered by the Austrian troops, and his Imperial Majesty demanded, at the same moment, the free navigation of the Scheldt, and the cession of Maestricht, the latter claim being founded on an obsolete agreement made with the Spaniards more than a century before.

Such was the political situation of Holland at the commencement of 1785; France pretended to arm in her defence; England sent over Sir James Harris to negociate; Russia desired peace, and prepared to enforce her command; and the Dutch, when their frontier was invaded, opened their sluices, and laid the country under water in the neighbourhood of Lillo and the Sas de Gand.

The city of Antwerp, which stands on the right bank of the Scheldt, twenty-four miles from Brussels and near eighty from the sea, formerly possessed great commercial and political consequence, particularly during the sixteenth century; but when the Netherlands revolted and threw off the yoke of Spain, it was taken by the Duke of Parma, and re-annexed to the Spanish monarchy, and has been ever since in the territory of Belgium, or the Austrian Netherlands, of which it is one of the principal cities; and would have been again a port of naval and mercantile importance but for the jealousy of the Dutch, who, in conjunction with other powers of Europe in the treaties of Munster and Westphalia, determined to shut up the river. This answered the purpose for which it was intended, by diverting the trade of the north of Europe to Amsterdam and the other ports of the republic, to the manifest injury of the Netherlands and the southern parts of Germany, which received their supplies by the canal of Brussels, and thence to the Rhine and Meuse through Maestricht, Liege, Aix la Chapelle, and Cologne. Without entering upon the question of policy, there appears a manifest injustice in denying to a people the use of a river which a bountiful Creator has given to them; and religion as well as ex-

perience has taught us that whatever is founded in wrong cannot continue; nor is it to be supposed that a nation so fettered, and debarred the common rights of nature, would submit to its oppressors a moment longer than weakness rendered it expedient.

Had his Imperial Majesty been solely prompted by the love of his people, we might sympathize in his mortification; but an attentive view of the whole of these transactions will enable us to discover nothing but sordid and selfish motives, guided by the narrowest and most ignorant policy: and, though I am favourable to the freedom of the Scheldt, I must confess that the means adopted by his Imperial Majesty, to ascertain the extent of his rights on that river, proved his imbecility and want of decision.—He ordered a small vessel, bearing his flag, to sail down from Antwerp; the Captain having passed the fort of Lillo without examination, returned the same way in the afternoon, when he was stopped and boarded by the commanding officer of the Dutch guard-ship, who informed him that he might depart if he would engage not to renew the offence; the offer was rejected, and the Emperor considered this act of the Dutch government as a declaration of war. It is to be observed that in this vessel there were some Belgian magistrates, one of which was the bailiff of Beveren, an island on the left bank, who, in the name of the Emperor, claimed the right of free navigation on the Scheldt, which the Dutch as strenuously resisted. The dispute between these two powers had proceeded thus far, when the other courts of Europe, foreseeing that a war would involve them all, and that the result, always uncertain, might be ruinous to some, interfered to bring about a reconciliation. France was neither able nor willing to fight for the Dutch against England and Prussia; and the Empress Catharine, requiring the aid of the Emperor of Germany in the projects which she had in contemplation upon the Ottoman Porte, intimated to the Dutch to accept such terms as they could obtain, under pain of her displeasure. France paid four millions of florins, and Holland six millions, as a compensation to the Emperor for his idle and fraudulent claim on Maestricht; in addi-

tion to which the Dutch were forced to pay five hundred thousand florins for damages sustained by the Belgians in the late inundation, although done to repel an unjust and cruel invasion, in which they themselves were the greatest sufferers. His Imperial Majesty had the free navigation of the Scheldt, from the city of Antwerp as far as Saftlingen, but not the ingress and egress of the river; thus giving up the chief point for which he had entered into the dispute, and the sole object worth contending for. The sum of money, which he had extorted from the unhappy Dutch, was no compensation to him for what he had expended in the invasion, or for the millions thrown away on the ports of Ostend and Triest, at the opposite extremes of his dominions. With his golden prospects, the Emperor not only resigned all claim to the free navigation of the Scheldt, but lost also the affections of his Belgian subjects, whom he began to oppress with projects of reform, and which, in the following history, will prove to have had very serious consequences.

In September 1785, disputes of a different nature occupied the people of Holland, and excited the solicitude of the courts of Europe. The Stadtholder, with his friends, were called the Orange party; their opponents, the Patriots; the former was supported by the King of Prussia (whose sister the Stadtholder, William the Fifth, had married), and by the cabinet of St. James's. The patriots were upheld by the court of Versailles, with which they were very honestly plotting (as will be shewn) the invasion of our Indian settlements. It was not till the year 1787 that Great Britain took an active part in this dispute, which began to threaten the repose of Europe.

Whatever reason there might have been in the claims of the Dutch patriots, they were speedily set at rest by the King of Prussia, who sent the Duke of Brunswick with a large army into the United Provinces, and restored the authority of the Stadtholder: the King of England, at the same time, increased his land and sea forces, in order to support his ally, and to counteract any movement on the part of France. Thirty sail of the

line, and a proportion of frigates, were put into commission: this was called the Dutch armament, and is still fresh in memory of myself and my co-temporaries. I was then just thinking of entering the navy, which I did in the following year.

The French shewed a great disposition to assist their friends in Holland, but could effect very little, from the embarrassed state of their finances, and readily came into the terms of the pacification with Great Britain and Prussia, reducing her navy to the peace establishment of 1783: this was the cause of their being unable to assist the Turks, who had long been their allies, and who at this time were cruelly oppressed by the united powers of Russia and Austria. The Count de Segur, a Frenchman, in his History of Frederick William, attributes all the misfortunes of the Dutch and the Stadtholder to the craft and envy of England, who could not endure that Holland should prosper under the protection of France

The French, though an acute and sensible people, seldom gave the English credit for one virtue: this arose from want of candour as well as information, and the most inveterate national antipathy. Accustomed to plots from the earliest periods of their history, they never suppose it possible for any statesman to proceed with an honest and straight-forward course, when, by deviating from it, he might obtain any temporary advantage, either for himself or his country, both nations are grown wiser in our days.

Monsieur de Vergennes, the prime minister of France is supposed to have gone much farther, in assisting the Dutch patriots, than either prudence or his master's orders could justify: a French army was assembled at Givet, and every assurance of support held out to the patriots, which induced them to commit their cause to the fortune of war, and was the means of sowing a lasting and fatal discord between the prince and the people, which ended in the debasement and ruin of the country. It must, however, be observed, that Holland was too weak to withstand of itself the interference of the neighbouring powers; the whole of whom had some

object in view, which they endeavoured to attain by any means, and whether justifiable or not appeared to them of little importance. England and Prussia desired her neutrality, and the re-establishment of the power of the house of Orange; France wished to unite and form one kingdom with Holland, leaving the Stadtholder with no more than the title of a Sovereign Prince; Germany wanted to plunder and dismember her, and also to re-establish the commerce of Belgium on the ruins of the republic.

The Dutch patriots, silenced by the bayonets of the King of Prussia, waited with impatience a more favourable season for throwing off the authority of the Stadtholder, and driving him entirely out of their country; when the opportunity presented itself, it was seized with avidity, and, with the assistance of France, crowned for a time with complete success.

I have already noticed a discussion in the British parliament, on the probable strength of the Dutch navy at the conclusion of the American war: I am now enabled to lay before my readers some remarks upon that subject, tending to shew that the strength of her marine, at that period, was greatly overrated.

On the 21st of September, 1782, the Duke de la Vauguyon, the French ambassador at the Hague, presented to the states-general a requisition for ten ships of the line to join the French fleet at Brest: they were supposed to be in readiness, and were required to join by the 8th of October; but the captains appointed for the service unanimously asserted the impossibility of complying with those orders, from the total want of provisions, and every description of naval stores: their representations being assented to by Admiral Hartsink, and admitted by the Stadtholder, the expedition did not take place. The refusal of the captains, who were friends of the Prince, was supposed to have arisen more from dislike to the French, than from the inefficiency of the ships; but it is probable both these causes operated together, for, where the inclination was wanting, it is not likely that a Dutch ship of war, never remarkable for celerity of movement, could have been speedily equipped; the fact proves the

general degradation of the Dutch navy. The ships of war of that country at that time were victualled by the captain, who deducted about four-pence halfpenny a day from the pay of each man for that purpose; the want of provisions must, therefore, have rested either with them or the government, there being great abundance in the provinces: but, from whatever causes the obstruction arose, the inutility of the Dutch fleet is completely proved.

The Dutch sailors, it appears, were not much attached to their own navy; and it was calculated that, in 1781, no less than twenty thousand of them were employed in the trade of England: of twenty-five sail of the line and thirty frigates, their whole force, more than half were unfit for service: those that lay in the Maese, the Y, and other rivers, could not get out without an easterly or a south-east wind; nor even then, unless a spring-tide should concur with the wishes of the commander: so that no events were liable to more uncertainty than the sailing of a Dutch fleet, and its junction with the French. The shoalness of the water, and the want of good ports, must ever confine the ships of Holland to a certain tonnage; and since those of other nations have assumed a bolder construction, Holland can no longer hold its rank as an independent maritime power. The complaint raised against the Prince of Orange, by the French or republican faction (for they were soon after synonymous terms), was that he had ruined the commerce of the country, and that he could not or would not restore it: the first was the work of his enemies, and over the second he had no control. He was also accused of being partial to England; this was, no doubt, a fact, but was in no wise contrary to the true interest of his people; and the war in which he was engaged he sought every means to terminate.

The British ministry, coinciding in these views, in March 1782, opened a negotiation, and finally completed the peace in the following year, but too late to save the Dutch from ruin: and, though France supported her interest in the definitive treaty, she was forced to abandon Negapatam, on the coast of Coromandel, her only set-

tlement on that side of the Indian peninsula. Mr. Fox, on coming into office, strongly espoused her cause, and was even willing to surrender up that place with a view to conciliate the Dutch; but another sudden change in the British cabinet threw them back into their former difficulties. Nor did the affairs of Holland occupy the attention of the succeeding minister (Mr. Pitt), until the end of the year 1784. During this interval, Mons. de Vergennes sought to regain the favour of the Dutch, which France had lost by her apparent indifference in the treaty of Paris, and offered to assist them in their quarrel with the Emperor.

While the Stadtholder and the Patriots were thus contending for power (the former reduced to the mere shadow of a prince), the cabinet of Versailles had its agents employed at Amsterdam in conjunction with Van Berkel, endeavouring to overturn the court of directors of the Duch East-India company, and to substitute creatures of their own. Having, as they conceived, gained sufficient influence to answer their purpose, they proposed, to the executive government of Holland, to send out immediately to India four ships of the line and four frigates, with as many troops as they could carry. They announced a war with England as an early and inevitable event, and they promised that the preparations of France should keep pace with those of the republic. The French agents in Amsterdam were, in the mean while, directed to redouble their activity, in order to persuade the directors to take three thousand French troops into their pay. Such were the kind and charitable intentions of this intriguing party against us, while a profound peace was supposed to be reigning in Europe, and particularly between France and England, who about this time were also more intimately connected by a commercial treaty: the plot, however, failed; the good sense of the Dutch for once took the alarm, and Sir James Harris, our minister, had the credit of defeating the machinations of the secret enemies of his country. The particulars of this formidable project were to the following effect: an alliance was proposed offensive and defensive between the King of Travancore, Tippoo Saib,

the Mahrattas, and the Soubah of the Decan. These princes were to be invited, at one and the same time, to undertake a separate invasion of the English settlements; for which purpose, they were to seize the first favourable opportunity, without waiting for a war in Europe; and the operations to be intrusted to each were traced out in the plan with great accuracy. It also appears that the Indian confederates were to be assisted by a body of European troops, to be furnished by the French and Dutch. These were to have been smuggled out to India in small numbers at a time.

The establishment of the Dutch in India amounted to eight thousand men, which the directors were required to increase to fourteen thousand: the projectors of this scheme, fortunately for the repose of mankind, possessed neither fidelity to each other, nor finances to carry their plans into effect.

The British parliament met on the 27th of November, 1787, and very satisfactory reasons were given for the early opening of the session.

His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, informed both houses that the disputes in the United Provinces had become so serious as to endanger their independence, and were likely, in their consequences, to affect the interests of his dominions: he had, therefore, endeavoured to maintain the lawful government, and the house of Orange, against the patriots and the court of Versailles; and his Majesty added that he thought it right to counteract any interference on the part of France. In conformity to this principle, when his most Christian Majesty, in compliance with the wishes of those who had usurped the government of Holland, signified his intention of assisting them, his Majesty (the King of Great Britain) also declared that he should not remain a quiet spectator; and had, therefore, given immediate orders for augmenting his land and sea forces: that the rapid successes of the Prussian troops having re-established the lawful government, and all subjects of difference being thus removed, both parties had agreed to disarm, and place their naval establishments on the footing of 1783. On this occasion Mr. Fox spoke in

favour of a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for furnishing troops in our continental disputes, but strongly recommended attention to our navy—the natural force of the country.

The grand or Channel fleet, which was put in commission on this occasion, was commanded by Lord Howe.

## CHAPTER II.

State of the British navy at the close of the American war—Ships of the line—Sizes increased—Forty-four guns, bad class—Prowess of seamen—Superiority of French and Spanish ships—Improvement of ships—Copper fitting with nails—Causes of failure in former wars—Armaments of 1787, 1790, and 1791, favourable to navy—Royal George and Queen Charlotte—Rate of sailing—Tonnant, Malta, Canopus, superior ships—San Josef—Egyptienne—Fifty-gun ships—Frigates—Brigs, eighteen guns—Sloops—Cutters

At the close of the American war, England had, according to the statement of Viscount Keppel, then first lord of the admiralty, one hundred sail of the line fit for active service; with a great number of frigates, sloops, and various smaller vessels; and to man them we had one hundred and fifty thousand seamen, including twenty-five thousand marines.

Ships of the line at that time comprised all from one hundred guns down to those of sixty-four guns inclusive; and it sometimes happened that a two-decked ship of forty-four guns was admitted into the line: the last instance of this was in the Dogger-bank action, in 1781, when opposed to the Dutch, whose ships were inferior to ours in point of size and weight of metal. Ships of this description were built as far back as the year 1673, and although much improved by Lord Howe, 100 years afterwards, were deservedly reprobated by every seaman, and were soon after converted into store-ships, transports, and cruizing hospital ships.

After the battle of the 12th of April, 1782, we find the French line composed of such heavy ships that ours of 64 guns were unable to contend with them; and accordingly, since the peace of 1783, no more of that class have

been laid down, though many of those which had been previously built were used and found effective against the Dutch in the subsequent war. It may be adduced as a singular proof of the prowess of our seamen that the ships of France and Spain were generally superior to those of England, both in size, weight of metal, and number of men, outsailing them in fleets, and often in single ships, carrying their guns higher out of the water, and in all other respects better found in the materiel of war, particularly in the article of gun-powder.

The most striking improvement in naval architecture, as well as equipment, may be observed between 1780 and 1803: Copper had been partially adopted in the British navy as far back as the year 1761; the Alarm, of 32 guns, was the first ship coppered in the British navy, she was commanded by Captain Jarvis, afterwards Earl of St. Vincent. The French adopted this fashion generally, but with us it lay dormant till the latter part of the American war, and from that time the sailing of British ships was more upon a par with that of our enemies. I can remember when some of our store ships and merchantmen were filled, as it was called, the bottom being covered with broad headed nails. Whoever reads with attention the history of our naval actions in the East or West Indies, America, or the North Sea, during the first American war, will readily attribute the failures of Hughes, Rodney, Graves, Byron, and Parker, to the miserable state of our shipping, though in some instances, no doubt, to the misconduct of the admirals and captains: and while Great Britain bore the enormous expenses of her fleet, the nation was seldom gratified with an account of its success; even the triumph of the glorious 12th of April was not unmixed with a feeling of regret, that so few ships had fallen into our hands. That action was indeed more deserving of censure than many others, the signal for the line to form was the salvation of the enemy; had the Admiral made the signal for general chace, not 5 sail would have escaped; in addition to this mismanagement some of our ships had no powder on board, and one of them received a supply from the French ship Glorieux, after she surrendered to her. This is a disgraceful fact.

The Dutch, Spanish, and Russian armaments, of 1787, 1790, and 1791, called forth men who applied themselves with much assiduity to the improvement of the marine; the suggestions of officers of experience were attended to; the best and most approved models were selected and built after: and the Courageux of 74 guns, taken from the French as far back as the year 1761, was the favourite of the service: the Leviathan was as near a resemblance to her as the builder of Chatham dock-yard could produce; and in the actions of the 28th and 29th of May, and 1st of June, 1794, under the command of that high-spirited nobleman, the late Lord Hugh Seymour, this ship was one of the earliest in action.

The Queen Charlotte, launched in the year 1790, was the largest ship we had yet seen in England; she was at sea in that year, and carried the flag of Earl Howe: her good qualities were very conspicuous, and few of the frigates could sail with her. The Royal George, a twin-ship, was nearly as much approved of; and these two ships, by their fast sailing, were the principal causes of the defeat of the enemy's fleets both in 1794 and 1795. We shall hereafter give at one view the dimensions of a few of the best ships of each class.

There was still much to be done to improve the general rate of sailing of the British fleet, as it was found that, though some of the best sailers in the van could get into action, they were beaten before they could receive assistance from those in the centre and the rear.

The Gibraltar and Vanguard, in 1793 and 1794 were only remarkable for being dull sailers: both these ships were subsequently so much improved by a different mode of trimming that they became capital ships; and the Vanguard was long after the favourite of Nelson. Practice and experience soon gave us a clearer insight into these important questions; and the hope of glory and riches sharpened the energies of our sailors, and produced the most beneficial effects to their country.

The height of a lower-deck port out of the water is one great criterion by which to judge of the excellence of a ship of the line: some of our old ninety-gun ships carried them no more than three feet eight inches; but the navy

of Britain, like that of Rome, has been improved by copying from their enemies. The capture of some of their ships, and the conviction of their better qualities, induced the naval department to give this subject more serious consideration: the result has been highly favourable to the service; and our large seventy-fours, on the home station, now carry the sills of their midship-ports six feet above the surface of the water; when sent on foreign service, they must necessarily leave England much deeper.

The Tonnant, Malta, and Canopus, all eighty-gun ships, taken from the French, are, without doubt, the finest on two decks ever seen in the British navy; their ports were generally seven feet a-mid-ships, and their qualities in sailing and carrying sail have rarely, if ever, been surpassed. We have now built many ships after these models, the Formidable, Asia, Ganges, and others, such will be our future two decked ships.

The San Josef, of one hundred and twelve guns, taken in the battle off Cape St. Vincent, in 1797, was long admired in the British navy, uniting all the superior qualities of a ship of the line, with the sailing of the fastest frigate: her lower deck ports were higher with all her sea-stores in than was ever known in any other ship of the line; and she could carry her guns run-out, when few British ships would have ventured to open a port; she stowed 600 tons of water, and we had nothing that could be compared to her as a ship of war. It was supposed that, by removing her foremast father aft, she would have been improved in sailing and working; but when this alteration was effected, it was discovered that those good qualities, far from being improved, were much deteriorated. She was unhandy, and being found rotten and worn out, was laid up in ordinary, where she remains.

The Canopus with 5 months provision and 380 tons of water, carried her midship-port 7 feet 10 inches above the water: compare this ship with the Mary Rose, a 3 decker, which in the reign of Henry VIII. upset at Spithead, and went down with all her crew, her lower deck ports were sixteen inches above the water. See Burchet, p. 340.

The Victory is one of the most perfect vessels, of her size, we ever had; but we have unfortunately failed in our attemps to produce one exactly similar to her. The Boyne, launched in 1810, was so intended, but was discovered to be two feet narrower on the quarter-deck, and found to sail wretchedly. Her bends and bottom were afterward doubled with six-inch plank, which improved her considerably; but, from the contracted size of her upper-decks, she was found useless, and is now a hulk.

The Egyptienne, a frigate of 1430 tons, taken at Alexandria, in Egypt, in 1800, carried on her main-deck thirty-two long 32 pounders, and on her quarter-deck and forecastle sixteen forty-two pound cannonades, and four long twelve-pounders. This was the finest ship on one deck we ever had; her main-mast and yard were those of a seventy-four. She came up with and spoke to whatever vessel she gave chase, and was never, I believe, outsailed; but, being found as expensive in stores as a ship of the line, she was condemned, just before the affair of the President and the Little Belt occasioned so much sensation, when ships of her class would have been of infinite service: and it has been regretted that a few frigates of her description were not on the coast of America, instead of the unfortunate little Guerriere, the valour of whose captain, officers, and men, was most unequally opposed to a ship nearly double her force. The Americans having been restricted by some cause, at that time, from building ships of the line, made their frigates as nearly equal to them as possible.

Fifty-gun ships on two decks were a bad class; few of them existed in 1783; those which remained were found serviceable for flags in time of peace.

In 1793, frigates of thirty-eight guns, and nine hundred tons, were the best we had. At the breaking out of the war, the Arethusa, Latona, Melampus, Phaeton, Thetis, and others, were commanded by Pellew, Thornborough, Strachan, Douglas, and Hartwell, and prove the estimation in which they were held. This class was soon after succeeded by a larger, such as the Artois, Diamond, Diana, Seahorse, and Apollo; these were thirty-

eight gun frigates of eleven hundred tons, but had, like the others, fourteen eighteen-pounders on the main-deck with (latterly) thirty-two pound carronades on the quarter-deck and forecastle.

The thirty-two-gun frigates, with twelve-pounders on the main-deck, were numerous and defective, sailed ill, and were no match for a French eighteen-pound frigate, with which however their captains eagerly sought an action.

Frigates of twenty-eight and twenty-four guns, and twenty-gun ships with long nine-pounders, were a mixture of bad vessels, fit only for convoys. Some of the "eight-and-twenties," as they were called, were a pretty class of ship, and sailed well. The old ship-sloops were miserable vessels of two hundred and eighty tons.

During the years 1824-5-6, the surveyors of the navy, together with the Captains Hayes and Symonds of the Royal navy, and Dr. Inman, professor of mathematics, in the Naval College at Portsmouth, contended with each other for the honor of producing the most perfect model of small frigates and sloops of war; among these the Columbine, a flush deck sloop, of 18 guns, built by Captain Symonds, appears to have had the advantage, and was a great improvement in the large 18 gun brigs of 380 tons, and, in consequence of this success, Captain Symonds was ordered to build a ship of much larger dimensions on the same principle; he soon after launched the Vernon, a frigate of unheard-of capacity, and great draught of water; her sailing qualities have however been much disputed, and it is now reported, from the Mediterranean, that she gains nothing in a comparison with the Barham, a 74 gun ship cut down to a frigate. As I am no longer in the habit of going to sea, I cannot speak on the relative qualities of these ships from personal knowledge, but I have heard, from good authority, and am much inclined to believe, from a personal inspection of her bottom, that the Vernon is an uneasy ship in bad weather. Should this be so, Captain Symonds may amend that defect in his future productions, without deteriorating the sailing qualities. The Vernon carries 32 pound long guns on her main deck, and her ports nine feet from the water;

she is consequently, in bad weather, fully equal to any 80 gun ship.

Of the change in the form of the bows of our ships of the line, perhaps the following account will not be unacceptable. Sir Robert Seppings had the direction of cutting down the Namur (in 1805) from a three to a two-decked ship, and it occurred to him that it would add to her strength, if the circular bow remained in the wake of the middle-deck, now become the upper or main-deck; that it would not only tend to give the bow additional support, but would protect the men in that part from being exposed to raking fire. When this ship was completed, the change was universally approved, and its necessity shewn, by the Victory, after the memorable battle of Trafalgar; in which it was observed that she had suffered on her upper or main-deck, through the beakhead, when running down to the enemy, from the want of continuing the circular bow with the regular timbering, as is now practised; and it was perfectly evident that, had this ship been so formed, many a life would have been saved, as no shot of any description appeared to have entered the lower or middle-decks, where the bow was regularly and solidly built; while the common grape-shot had raked her through the slight bulkhead at the fore-part of the main or upper-deck. One great advantage of this new mode of building was raising the bowsprit and head-rails of the ship some feet higher than they had previously been. This plan is generally admitted to be good, and was universally adopted during the naval administration of Mr. Yorke.

The utility of the circular form at the bows being admitted, he was determined to introduce the same system at the stern; and thereby do away that which he supposed to be as weak in point of defence, as faulty in construction, compared with the rest of the fabric. By this change Sir Robert Seppings contends that he has obviated these imperfections; and I believe he has.

With respect to the construction and alterations of our ships, I myself addressed some letters to the Admiralty, in which I suggested what I thought would be great improvements; about twelve years ago I wrote

to Sir George Cockburn, then a member of the Board of Admiralty, pointing out to him the error of piercing our large frigates for too many guns. The Spartan, for instance, which I had commanded for three years, had 15 ports on her main deck, and, though rated an eight-and-thirty, could mount 52 guns; her weight of metal was 18 pounds—now had she been pierced for only 13 guns, she would have been made to carry 24 pounders, and the weight of her broadside from the main deck would have been 312 lb. instead of 252 lb., for, although she had 15 ports, she only mounted 14 guns; another advantage would have been the great space gained in the distribution of the guns and men, which from being less crowded together, have far less chance of being hit by the shot of the adversary. The Castor has been built precisely on this plan, but I dare say Sir Robert Seppings had never heard of my letter, nor have I any wish to deprive him of the honor of having been the original inventor of so fine a ship.

I some years after this addressed letters on service to the Admiralty, expressing my conviction that all ships of the line would be much improved in the sailing, fighting, and weatherly qualities, by the discontinuance of quarter-deck and forecastle guns. I contend that by this top-hamper, the ships are not only weakened and torn in pieces in bad weather, but that they are also made to appear of greater force than they really are, and this without producing any proportionable advantage. Let us for example, take six 74 gun ships, as seventy-fours full manned, their quarter-deck and forecastle guns eighteen in number for each ship. Suppose, as in the case of the Nile, or Copenhagen, or Trafalgar, these ships go regularly into action and engage their opponents, and that the victory is decided in their favour. Still I contend that these guns, taken from the six ships with 80 men from each, and placed on board a seventh ship, to the number of 60 guns (24 and 32 pounders would have produced a much greater effect on the enemy), that fewer men would have been killed on the upper decks, and less damage done to the rigging and upper works. If it be contended that the men stationed at these upper guns are

wanted for sail trimmers, I answer that, in the case of the Victory at Trafalgar, they were not wanted at all after the ship was in action alongside of her opponent, and that they were worse than useless, being almost to a man killed or wounded by musketry from the tops. The same might nearly be said of the two other actions above named; and if, by any common contingency, the men were wanted for sail trimming, they could be had up for that purpose in certain portions from the main deck, and sent down again when no longer required: there would be yet another advantage by this plan, namely, the upper decks would be kept much clearer and more ready for the manœuvres of battle than they could be when cumbered with these guns, which indeed are generally carronades or guns of a smaller caliber; the carronade is decidedly a bad class of gun, and a nine or a twelve pounder a trifling weight of metal against a ship of the line. Thus then, to sum up in a few words, for any six ships, 74 or 80 or 100 guns, fitted and manned according to our present mode, we lose one, besides having these six torn in pieces and worn out much sooner than they other wise would be; for all these supernumerary guns hanging on the top timbers or timber heads, became so many powerful levers in bad weather, to destroy the fabrick. I remember very well, when a midshipman in a 64 gun ship, coming home from India, cracking nuts by the working of the ship; we put them in under the knees as she rolled one way, and snatched them out as she rolled back again; this was a good joke to a boy, but reflection has since convinced me that it was no laughing matter. There would be other advantages attending reducing the guns and complement of two and three decked ships. They would stow their complement of men with much greater ease, and this is a very important consideration as to health; add to this that each ship would be able to carry one month's more provisions and water, and at any emergency could receive on board a large body of troops, to be conveyed from one port to another.

A fast sailing ship should never go within musket shot of her opponent, if she can be advantageously engaged without it. See the Brunswick on the first of June and

the Victory of Trafalgar, in illustration of this proposition. I would not remove the poop, that being of great use for the accommodation of the officers, but I would lower it as much as possible, the barricade upon it should be invisible, a small iron rail with a netting, this would look snug and hold no wind. The hammocks should be stowed outside of it and all in one line from the fore part of the quarter deck. There should be no gun ports, but a wide entering port, or even two in the main channels for the men to go aloft, and there should be also two on each side in the cabin opening into the mizen channels, whence a gallery should continue quite round the stern, the main and mizen channels being both in a line, and connected, so that there would be a perfect walk all round the after part of the ship. This would be useful, in cases of fire, for drawing water, or when a man fell overboard to render him prompt assistance; a ship of the line thus fitted would draw from four to six inches less water, consequently carry her lower deck guns by that much higher.

I cannot approve of what are called deep waisted vessels; the fatal effects of this sort of construction are too often seen by the loss of this class at sea, with all hands. I have served much in them myself, and have many a time seen them ship such a body of water as to render it doubtful whether they would rise above it: now had these vessels been fitted with a quarter deck and forecastle, of a very light scantling, and without any guns on them, they would have thrown off the sea, while the men would have been kept dry and healthy; this in a cold climate is a very serious consideration, nor is it less so in a warm one; the want of accommodation for the sick or the wounded is often severely felt, and productive of fatal effects: for this reason I have always condemned the practice of taking away the quarter decks and forecastles from the frigates which have been reduced at a great expense to corvettes; by such an arrangement as this the ship is not only rendered less sea worthy, less healthy, and less efficient in action, or any other movement where celerity is required, or where it may be necessary to work the guns, the

captsan, and the yards at the same time: a sailor will in a moment see the scope of my meaning, and the most elaborate explanation would be useless to a landsman. Let me ask any officer who has served in these rasees, as they are called, whether he would not, in any weather or any climate, have been glad to have had his quarter deck and forecastle, and if the guns were entirely removed and the barricades and hammocks lowered, whether they would not have felt themselves more comfortable and fitter for action. Their boats stowed above the main deck, and that battery perfectly clear without the danger of being incumbered by wreck falling from aloft, a casualty which has often occasioned the capture or caused the failure of a flush decked ship in action.

Frigates of 36 guns, if no longer required as frigates, might be made into corvettes, by simply reducing their guns and men, and lowering their barricades fore and aft, but why render them incapable, inefficient, or unsafe, by removing their upper decks at a vast expense? Lastly, I would, with great deference, suggest that our Packets for the conveyance of letters are of too small a class vessel, and frequently founder in a gale, or are taken by Privateers and small Cruizers in time of war.

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## SIGNALS.

The mode of communication between ships at sea, or between fleets and forts and armies, has been so much improved, within the last half century, as to place us at an infinite distance beyond the most enlightened of the ancients, in this most useful and now indispensable branch of naval and military service.

He that enabled the immortal Nelson to say to his fleet, from Van to Rear, in three minutes or less, "England expects every man will do his duty," perhaps contributed more to the Victory of Trafalgar than may be generally supposed. Imagination can hardly conceive the thrilling effects of that message upon the officers and men, the words were taken down by the signal officers, and repeated aloud by the captains to their ardent crews.

For the sea Telegraph, which on this occasion may be said to have personified Fame and her brazen trumpet, we are indebted to the late Rear Admiral Sir Home Popham.

The progressive improvement in the means of communication, by signal or sign, deserves our attention.

Polybius, the Greek historian (Hampton's translation, Vol. iii. p. 174), speaks of a code of signals, rude and imperfect no doubt, but sufficient to shew that the subject was one of great importance with his countrymen, inasmuch as it was connected with the art of war. The flaming torches to denote or attract attention, the inscriptions on the jars, from which the water was allowed to run out till the cork or bung floated on a level with the intended message, prove that the Greeks had some idea of the necessity and practicability of signals. The same author speaks of a plan of his own invention, which, though extremely complicated, bears some resemblance to the night telegraph. He embraces the whole alphabet, and conveys words and sentences; but we do not find any mode by which the ancients signified their intentions in the day-time by the symbols of flags, colours, balls, or frames.

Dr. Hooke, in a discourse to the Royal Society, in 1684, says it is possible to convey intelligence from one high place to another, though thirty or forty miles distant, in as short a time as a man would take to write what he would have said. His plan, though never adopted, was similar in principle to the land telegraph invented by the late Lord George Murray, Bishop of St. David's: he proposed to fix telescopes of great power on distant eminences, with people placed by them to watch at certain periods. The present mode is to have a constant watch at the telescopes, by which means a signal is immediately answered.

On what occasion flags of divers colours were introduced as a medium of communication, I do not exactly know; we learn, on the authority of Hume, that James II., when Duke of York, was the first inventor of sea signals; and the Pere La Hoste speaks of them as in common use in the French fleet in 1697. Vatinius,

the Roman General, in his action at Octian, with Mark Anthony, on the coast of Illyria, displayed the Roman Standard as the signal for battle. (Cæsar's Comm. War of Alexandria, vol. ii.)

We find in Josephus that the Roman Standard had the figure of the Cæsars on them, they were planted in Jerusalem in the reign of Caligula, and caused an insurrection among the Jews, being contrary to the second Commandment.

The Athenians, according to Burchet (p. 64), used signals when attacking the Persian and Phænician fleets off the Island Cyprus; and, after having defeated them, mutually made signals to each other to leave off chace; this was in the year of the world 3483. According to Thucidydes, when the Greeks prepared for battle, their signal to engage was a gilded shield hung out from the Admiral's ship, or at other times a red banner was displayed (see a memoir of Navigation and Commerce, Naval Chron., vol. ii., p. 190).

Signals, however, had made but little progress at the close of the American war, when the late Admiral Kempenfeldt, who was drowned in the Royal George, at Spithead, had applied himself to them, and had introduced great improvements. In the peace of ten years which succeeded, the science slept. The ships which sailed for India, in 1789, had a very scanty supply of flags, whose signification denoted nothing more than the common messages of calling officers on board, of discovering strange ships, or seeing the land, &c. The war of 1793 found the navy with Lord Howe's tabular signals, and the flag-ship's signal book. These were our only heralds on the 1st of June; but from that period their advance was rapid, and the benefits derived to the service equally great. In the year 1795, signal posts were established along the south coast of England. The approach of fleets, squadrons, or enemy's cruisers, was immediately made known, and our convoys apprized of any danger. These stations were furnished with a comfortable residence for a lieutenant, a midshipman, and two seamen, whose salary and comfort depended on their vigilance; their signals were made with balls and flags, or pendants

displayed on a mast or yard, rigged for the purpose.

The land telegraph erected by Lord George Murray, was established in the same year, between London and the principal sea-ports, and produced a celerity of movement and sudden departure of our ships quite unknown in our former naval history. The French had certainly preceded us in the use of this instrument, or one answering the same purpose; and, as early as 1793, had them between Paris and the Netherlands.

The code of signals as used by the navy, in 1783, was the first in which the flags singly had been made the representatives of the numeral figures. In 1793, No. 1, was a red flag. 2, White with a rectangular blue cross. 3, Blue, white, blue, vertically divided. 4, Yellow, with a black stripe at the top and bottom. 5, Quartered red and white. 6, Blue and white, diagonally divided. 7, Blue, with a diagonal yellow cross. 8, Yellow, with a blue fly, *i. e.* half yellow, half blue. 9, A Dutch jack reversed, or blue, white, red; the cypher blue, pierced with a white square, the substitute, striped red and white; and a pendant representing 100, white, with a red fly or tail Capable as these were of being extended to any amount, it is singular that the highest number in the book of 1793, is 183; this was Lord Howe's book in the action of 1794. There were, however, other signals with pendants of triangular or divisional flags, besides the fog and night signals, and the compass signals. The code used by the private ships was that which had been mentioned before, called the tabular signals; they consisted of eight flags, and a white flag as a substitute. They only made the number of 68, and were laid aside about the year 1799, when the whole code was much enlarged, and private ships had the same flags and signals as the admiral. At length, in 1803, the telegraph appeared, as the invention of Sir Home Popham, not in its present comprehensive form, but containing a sufficient number of sentences to satisfy the utmost wish of a naval officer of that day. At first it was confined to flag-ships, but soon after distributed generally to the navy; the flags of 1793 were retained, and the gradual improve-

ment of the sea telegraph, to what it now is, leaves little reason to expect higher perfection. We may converse on any subject at such a distance as flags can be discerned; and a word of Johnson's Dictionary, or an article of the Encyclopædia may be signified with a momentary waving in the wind of a graceful and beautiful flag.

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The land telegraph appears to have been first shewn by Lord Bacon, and afterwards by the Marquis of Worcester, in his Century of Inventions. This mode of conveying orders and making known intelligence between ships at sea has produced an entire change for the better throughout the service. The saving of lives, of boats, and even of ships, by the timely notification of approaching danger, is scarcely to be estimated or conceived by any but men who are conversant in such transactions; while it gives a strength, a power, and combination to scattered forces, which will enable them to perform the most wonderful evolutions with a celerity almost magical.

The Semiphore, at present used by the Admiralty, was copied from the French, who had it at their signal posts along the coasts; during the late wars in 1810, we had obtained their key and knew every message which was sent from one port to another. The merchant code now generally used by the trading vessels of England, and probably adopted by the whole of Europe, was invented by Capt. Frederick Marryat, of the Royal Navy, for which he has received both thanks and gratuities from the merchants of Great Britain; we believe also of the French Government.

There are but few incidents under the head of naval transactions to interest the reader during the peace, the loss of the Bounty, the Guardian, and of the two ships of the unfortunate La Perouse, have all been amply detailed in the first edition of this work, to the first and last of the events. I have now some few particulars to add. Mr. Marshal, in his Naval Biography, under the life of Captain Peter Heywood, has placed the misconduct of the late Rear Admiral Bligh, the commander of

the Bounty, in a point of view very far worse than I could have supposed would have been allowed to pass unpunished, still less, to have been rewarded with promotion to the flag. The duty of an historian is to relate facts with impartiality, never to palliate crime: if the unhappy wretch who is goaded on to mutiny by a system of tyranny, almost too grievous to be borne, should be visited with the heaviest sentence of the law, should the instigator to crime go not only unpunished, but rewarded? I can only refer my readers to the work above mentioned, and I doubt not that, however rigid his notions of discipline, however he may detest the act of Christian, he will nevertheless agree with me that, if the leader of the mutiny was punished by perpetual banishment, the guilty cause of it should not have been advanced to the rank of a Rear Admiral, and the governor of a Colony.

On the fate of La Perouse, I am now enabled to throw some faint light,—after a lapse of forty years, the fact of his having been cast away in the Island of Manicolo was placed beyond all doubt, by a letter received from a Mr. John Russel, to his uncle, Sir Wm. Betham, of Dublin; by this communication it appears that both the ships were wrecked on the same night, on a reef of the above-named Island, situated in 11 deg. 40 min. S., and in longitude 170 deg. E., being in that cluster called the Navigator's Islands, where the unfortunate La Perouse lost some of his associates in the early part of the same voyage. One of the ships sank in deep water immediately after striking, and the crew perished: the other was thrown on the reef and some of the crew escaped, who saved as much of the wreck as enabled them to build a small vessel, in which, with the exception of two men who continued on the Island, and those who were killed by the natives, they left the place about five months after their shipwreck, and were never afterwards heard of. Of the two men who remained, one, quitted the Island in a canoe, the other died about three years since: the facts and proofs are well authenticated, with some farther particulars, and will be found in the Literary Gazette, of April 12, 1828.

## CHAPTER III.

War between Russia and the Porte—Causes—Views of the Empress—Coalesced powers—Death of Frederick the Great—Conduct of the Grand Seignior and of the Turks—Russian minister shut up in the castle of the Seven Towers—Conduct of the Empress on this event—Reflections of the Count de Segur—Fleet of Russia in the Baltic, and preparations in the Black Sea—Sentiments of the different courts of Europe on the approaching contest—Remonstrance of the Republic of Venice—Policy of Great Britain at this crisis—Jealousy of other powers—Gustavus of Sweden hostile to Russia—Causes—Policy of the Emperor of Germany—Turkish forces—Attack on Kinburn—Defeat of the Turks—Farther defeat of the Turkish fleet before Otchakoff, and capture of that fortress—Description of the naval forces of Russia and Sweden—Base conduct of Swedish nobles—Precipitation of the King—He declares war—State of the contending fleets as to officers and ships—Hostilities—Drawn Battle between the two fleets—Count Horn killed—Greig soon repairs his damages, and attacks the Swedes again at Sweaburg, and defeats them—Distress of the Swedish fleet—Death of Greig—Mortification of Gustavus—His activity in recruiting his forces—Successes—Duke of Sudermania attacks Revel—Is defeated—The King attacks Fredericksham, and is successful—Duke of Sudermania's second action with the Russian fleet—Escapes into Biorko—Advice of Sir Sydney Smith—Battle of Wybourg-bay, and total defeat of the Swedes—Narrow escape of the King—British officers in the hostile fleets—Glorious efforts of the King to retrieve his affairs—Defeats the Russian galley-fleet—Gallant conduct of Sir Sydney Smith—Policy of Great Britain and the other powers—Peace—Observations.

A FIERCE and bloody war was at this time raging between the Turks and the Russians in the Black Sea, and on the banks of the Danube.

Catherine the Second, a woman of masculine understanding, had long entertained an implacable hatred against the Turks, and having gained the assistance of the Emperor of Germany, in a project which she had formed of driving them out of Europe, soon found a pretext for going to war. It is well known that the aggression was entirely on the side of Russia; who, as far back as the year 1783, had seized on the Crimea, and

the island of Taman; to which invasion, by a recent treaty, through the mediation of France, the Porte had submitted. The Emperor of Germany was at this time engaged in disputes with his Belgian provinces and the Dutch patriots. Frederick the Great of Prussia had a very large army in a high state of discipline, and kept a watchful eye on all the movements of the neighbouring powers: his death, however, which happened in August, 1786, relieved the Empress from much anxiety; and the subsequent termination of the misunderstanding in the United Provinces gave her, once more, an opportunity of renewing her favourite project. It was asserted, with some appearance of truth, that she intended to place her second son Constantine on the throne of the Greek emperors. The Grand Seignior, sensible that he was too weak to resist the united efforts of such powerful adversaries, confined himself to the rigid observance of treaties, the usual refuge of the feeble; but finding that no concession on his part could soften the heart of the Empress, he prepared for war; and, in a noble and manly style, excited the energies of his subjects to meet and brave the coming storm. The Turks, already exasperated to madness against the Russians for their repeated acts of tyranny and encroachment, needed no other stimulating power to rouse them into action.

Mr. Bulgakow, the Russian minister at the Porte, being summoned to attend a grand divan, a set of conditions was proposed to him as the basis of an agreement and reconciliation: among them, the restoration of the Crimea was the leading article, and many others, which he thought too extravagant to admit of a discussion; to all these he was ordered to affix his name in token of their acceptance. The Russian minister stated his inability to conclude any treaty; and, with regard to the cession of the Crimea, he declared that he dared not even name it to the Empress, as he well knew her determination never to resign the sovereignty of that country. Upon this answer, Mr. Bulgakow, with his secretary and two of the principal officers of the embassy, was sent to the castle of the Seven Towers.

The Empress, though she intended to go to war, was

not quite prepared to meet this decided step. She attempted to negotiate; while the people of Constantinople hurried their government to acts of hostility.

The Count de Segur imputes all the political afflictions of France to the machinations of England; and, consistenly with this doctrine, attributes the Turkish declaration of war to the intigues of our ministers. But it was not the interest of Britain to excite a war, in which it was more than probable she would have been called upon to take a part. She had too recently been at the verge of bankruptcy by her American contest. Her commerce was reviving in all parts of the world, and peace was the great object of the British cabinet. France, conscious of her demerits towards us, naturally expected that we should not lose a favourable opportunity of wounding her, by secretly or openly assisting in the destruction of her allies the Turks; but the king of England was too wise and too virtuous to sacrifice the good of his people to the gratification of his resentment.

Catharine continued her preparations both in the Baltic and the Black Sea. A fleet of eighteen sail of the line was equipped at Cronstadt, with as many frigates: Admiral Greig, a native of Scotland, was appointed to the chief command. This force was intended to attack the Turkish settlements in the Archipelago; and it was never once doubted by the Empress that all the great powers of Europe would join with her in the holy war against the infidels. But the spirit of fanaticism which had instigated the crusaders no longer existed; and it appeared that the belligerents of the American war had no inclination to renew their toils to please Catharine.

A fleet of light-armed vessels was fitted at the port of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, and the command of them given to the Prince of Nassau.

The republic of Venice, though not friendly to the Turks, caused a strong and energetic declaration to be delivered to the Emperor of Germany, on the avowal of his intention of joining Russia in the contest. The Emperor, who had no cause of complaint against the Turks, felt this reproof, perhaps, the more keenly, and expressed great

displeasure at the freedom of the senate, which had stated its determination not to admit the ships of Russia within their ports. Although, as the price of their alliance, the republic had been offered to be put in possession of the Morea and the Island of Candia, the Venetians were too wise to be deceived by such specious offers, which their long and rooted enmity to the Turks rendered the more alluring. They foresaw that the great powers of the north, having once overthrown the Ottoman empire, would, in all probability, soon swallow up the minor states on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was seriously alarmed, but incapable of warding any blow that might be aimed at him. The republic of Genoa not only granted a considerable loan to Russia, but also the free use of her ports and arsenals to the fleets of that power, and engaged to furnish them with stores and supplies. Sardinia refused its co-operation for the destruction of the Turks.

Naples and Portugal had recently entered into commercial engagements with Russia, but could give no effectual assistance. Spain entertained a Turkish ambassador in her capital. She was known to be particularly hostile to the power of Russia, and jealous of her acquiring any footing in the Mediterranean. The navy of Spain was at this time more numerous than that of Russia; but would not have sustained a general action wth the hardy sailors of the north.

France, for more than two centuries, had been the friend and ally of the Ottoman Porte, and shewed every disposition to resist the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Turkey. If she made no active demonstration of her good-will, it was for want of those means which she had profusely and shamefully squandered in America, with the view of subverting the British empire in the new world. Sweden observed for a time the strictest neutrality, and forbade her subjects entering into the service of the belligerents.

Denmark was supposed to be too much under the influence of Russia to have a will of her own, yet she must have viewed with secret dread the gigantic strides of Russian power.

Frederick William, successor to the Great Frederick, with less ability, pursued the same policy as his predecessor; and his armies kept a check upon those of the confederacy.

The conduct of Great Britain was regarded, at this important crisis, with more than common interest: she might be said to have re-established her dominion on the ocean. The fleets of France and Spain had not recovered from the effects of the late war, and had been left to decay, for want of finances to repair them; while that of England was daily increasing in the number and quality of her ships; and a flourishing commerce ensured her a plentiful supply of seamen at a short notice.

The arrival of the Russian fleet from Cronstadt was hourly expected in the British ports: pilot-boats waited their approach in order to conduct them into our harbours, where the Empress flattered herself that all their wants would be supplied, and every means employed to facilitate their voyage to the Mediterranean: but Catharine was not a favourite in England either with the government or the people, who were all alike ignorant of her real character. Some merchants in London had been instructed to hire eighteen ships, of four hundred tons each, to serve as tenders to the Russian fleet, to accompany it on its voyage, and to carry whatever supplies it might be likely to stand in need of. Thus far, every thing seemed propitious, when a proclamation appeared in the London Gazette, forbidding the services of any British subjects in foreign fleets. The merchants were at the same time informed that the transports would not be allowed to proceed, and that the government had determined to maintain the strictest neutrality: nor had it forgotten the rupture of the commercial treaty between Russia and England, by the intrigues of France in 1787, when the trade of the latter was substituted for that of Great Britain.

This disappointment Catharine affected to disregard, and she ordered her agents to hire as many ships at Amsterdam; but there she likewise failed, which she attributed, and perhaps with reason, to the management of Sir James Harris, our envoy at the Hague. The Em-

press is said to have felt the highest indignation at this second defeat: in fact, the courts of Europe began to entertain a secret jealousy of her power and encroachment. It was supposed that even the Emperor of Germany had joined her more from fear, than any enmity to the Turks. Catharine may have had her faults, but the English writers of her day did not know her character. I have the living authority of a Russian officer of high rank for saying that she was the only sovereign of Russia who ever gave them liberal institutions, she even tried to make it a free nation, but failed because her subjects then, like some other nations in the South of Europe now, were unprepared for the change. Far from being arbitrary, her government was of the mildest and best, and would have borne a comparison, in point of justice, with that of England.

It was fortunate for the Empress that these negotiations had detained Admiral Greig's fleet in the Baltic beyond the period appointed for its departure, as the impatience of Gustavus III., king of Sweden, completely changed its object and its destination; and, instead of going to seek the Turks in the Archipelago, the Russian Admiral found himself obliged to defend his own ports from the most imminent danger.

Gustavus was an active and enterprising, but wrong-headed, young monarch, and neither a good, nor even a fortunate, general: he had long beheld the career of Russia with the most anxious concern. He was the hereditary ally of the Porte, whose independence was threatened by the combined forces of Russia and Germany.

France, unable to assist the Turks, endeavoured to avert a war by a negotiation. Mons. de Choiseul (her ambassador at the Porte) used all his influence to restore harmony; but the coldness of his government in the cause had nearly proved fatal to himself. A haughty note was presented to Mons. Herbert, the imperial internucio, by the minister of the Grand Seignior, demanding, in a peremptory manner, what part his master intended to take in the impending contest. The answer of the Emperor was equally high. His Majesty informed

the Porte that he was bound by treaty, in case of war, to assist Russia with eighty thousand men; that if this were considered an act of hostility, he was prepared to abide the consequences; but that if, on the contrary, they should choose to maintain the good understanding already subsisting, he would, with pleasure, undertake the office of mediator. In the mean time, the Emperor prepared for wa..

The grand vizier, Hassan Bey, had collected an army of two hundred thousand fighting men, on the European side of the Hellespont, and the fleets in the Black Sea had had some desperate encounters.

On the right bank of the Dnieper, or Boristhenes, and at the mouth of that river, stands the fortress of Otchakof; contiguous to it was the anchorage of the Turkish fleet; opposite to this, and on the extreme point of a serpentine promontory, stands the fort and naval arsenal of Kinburn, of which the Russians had long been in possession. The capture of this fort was to the Turks an object of much solicitude: they attacked it before the break of day with five thousand men. The Russians remained at their posts, until day-light came, and shewed them the number of their enemies, when they sallied forth, and took or destroyed four thousand of them.

Hassan Bey, the Turkish vice-admiral, commanded the naval part of the force employed on this and other occasions. The failure was imputed to dissensions between the land and sea forces. England has often suffered from similar causes.

Hassan carried the news of his defeat to Constantinople, and his head (struck off without the form of a trial) was placed on the gates of the seraglio as a warning to his successor.

The Turkish fleet at the mouth of the Dnieper, under the command of the Captain Pacha, consisted of frigates and light vessels adapted to the nature of the waters in which they were to contend. The junction of the Dnieper and the Bog forms a large lake, known by the name of the Sea of Leman; there the hostile fleets displayed, if not valour, at least, a passive indifference and disregard

of life, quite unusual in modern warfare, and only equalled in the attack and defence of Rhodes and Malta in the 15th century. Had the Turks possessed professional skill and activity equal to their courage, Russia must have yielded to them the palm of victory, and the empire of the Black Sea; but, owing to that indolence, so peculiar to the votaries of Mahomet, and the believers in predestination, the Turks were ignorant of the shoals and dangers of a river that had been theirs for ages; and the Russians, with better ships and artillery, added the advantage of good seamen, and expert pilots. Details of battles are always to be received with caution; still more those of the Russian government, which had denounced the punishment of death against any one (save the official courier) that should dare to convey intelligence from Otchakof to Petersburg. The general statement, however, I believe to be correct.

The fleet of the Turks extended from the fortress of Otchakof to the mouth of the river; that of the Russians occupied the channels between the shoals, in front of their enemy, and extending over to Kinburn.

The Turkish Admiral, finding that he could not get his large ships into action from the shoalness of the water, endeavoured to assail the Russian fleet in smaller vessels; for which purpose he hastily armed all the boats and light craft he could collect: these, with some frigates and galleys, made up a force superior in number, but in all other respects very far inferior, to that of the Russians. The Admiral, with eagerness and intrepidity, took the command of this flotilla, and directed the attack in a frigate, with his standard displayed. The Russian fleet was advantageously drawn up in a line near Kinburn; where, besides the difficulties of the approach, they were covered by the guns of the fortress. The Turks, from their ignorance of the shoals, soon ran their vessels aground, and became exposed to the well-directed fire of the enemy. The Admiral, eager to close with a galling opponent, struck on a shoal, and for many hours remained immoveable, and exposed to the fire of the batteries and the Russian fleet. His ship took fire, but he refused to quit her until she was nearly de-

stroyed: a Russian boarded her, and brought away the standard a few minutes before she blew up. Victory declared for the Russians, and the shattered remains of the Turkish fleet retreated to their former position, before Otchakof.

The Russian army, in the mean time, under Prince Potemkin, pressed the siege of Otchakof by land, and in the rigorous winter of 1787 and 1788 carried it by storm, putting all the garrison to the sword. The number of the slain was enormous, but never certainly known; and twenty-five thousand prisoners were supposed to have been marched away in the depth of winter, probably to cultivate the lands of their conqueror.

Sweden and Russia were now to enter the lists; their naval forces were of two descriptions—the grand fleet, and the galley or in-shore fleet. The first was equipped and employed in the same manner as the fleets of other maritime powers, but the galley fleets were composed of vessels of every variety of construction; these were praams, carrying fifty guns on two decks, having flat bottoms drawing not more than twelve feet water; frigates of a similar description, carrying twenty-six thirty-two-pounders on a gun-deck under cover of a spar-deck; double and single galleys; polacre ships of a light draught of water, the topsides of which could be let down to a horizontal position, and become stages for landing artillery, cavalry, and ammunition, and consequently very desirable in a coast which in many parts is rocky and steep to the water's edge. With the exception of a very few seamen, for the management of the sails, these vessels were manned entirely by soldiers. The flat-bottomed frigates were attached to the Prince of Nassau, and commanded by the captains Marshall, Dennison, Greig, Green, and Travenion, all Englishmen.

The Swedish flotilla was commanded by the King in person: the ships and transports formed one division, under the orders of Colonel Stedinck; the galleys and gun-boats formed a separate division, under the command of Colonel Cronstadt.

If Gustavus was impolitic in the course he took to-

wards Russia, he was childish in his manner of seeking a quarrel: a Russian squadron of three sail of the line being on its passage to the Mediterranean, under the command of Vice Admiral Van Dessen, was met by the Swedish fleet and required by the Prince of Sudermania to salute. The answer of the Vice Admiral was, that out of personal regard to the Prince, and as Brother to the King of Sweden and a relative of his Imperial Majesty, he would salute, although it was contrary to the general regulations: so this affair ended, but soon after this the Swedish fleet fell in with that of Russia under the command of Vice Admiral Greig. In point of force they were both equal, each having 15 sail of the line, and the result of the action, which appears to have been begun by the Swedes, was the capture of one ship of the line by either party; the battle was fought on the 17th July, 1789; it began at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and ended about 10 o'clock at night, when the firing ceased, as if by mutual consent; both claimed the victory, and it is at least doubtful to which the honour should be given. The Uladisloff, of 74 guns, and 780 men, was taken by the Swedes, while the Prince Gustave, of 68 guns, one of the finest ships in the Swedish navy, was captured by the Russians; on board of her 200 men were killed and wounded.

The successes of the Empress in the Black Sea, and on the Danube, alarmed the King of Sweden, who eagerly panted for an excuse to go to war with Russia. The Swedish nobles did not participate in the generous feeling of Gustavus, who had dared to give liberty to his subjects in 1773, and they had never pardoned this invasion of their rights. Gustavus relied on their support, and was deceived. He rashly resolved on a war with Russia, while her armies were employed on the Danube; and so precipitate were his measures that he did not allow Greig sufficient time to quit the Baltic with his fleet. His mediation in favour of the Turks had been rejected by the Empress with scorn and contempt, and the success just related made him instantly decide on war. He, at the same moment, presented a menacing note to the Russian minister, containing a

string of demands which he knew would be rejected, and immediately commenced hostilities.

The noted and infamous Pirate, Paul Jones, was appointed to a command in the Russian fleet, under Admiral Greig, but the British officers at that time in the service of Russia, and who well knew this man's character, refused to serve under him or with him ; the Empress, who had been deceived by his representations, yielded to the respectful remonstrance of our gallant countrymen, and sent the renegado to serve under the Prince of Nassau, then in the Black Sea. The lover of humanity must ever regret that he did not end his guilty life on a gibbet at Execution Dock. In justice to Prince Potemkin, I am bound to add, in reference to this subject in the 1st Edition, p. 126, that he never used his cane to any one, and that this barbarous mode of correction was laid aside at the death of Peter the Great.

In the action off Hoogland, three of the Russian Captains were accused of misconduct, they were tried, found guilty and degraded, but not treated with so much severity as some authors have stated, and whose account I followed. Iron collars are not known, and never were used as a punishment in the service of Russia.

The Russian Admiral, from the proximity of his port, was enabled to put in and repair his damages, in a much shorter period than was supposed possible: this accomplished, he fell suddenly upon the Swedish fleet while it lay at anchor in the road of Sweaburg, in Finland. Taken thus by surprise, the best defence the Swedes could make ended in the loss of one ship of 64 guns, the Gustavus Adolphus, which was burnt. The Russians now held the fleet of Sweden blocked up in their port, and captured or destroyed every vessel bound with supplies for its relief

While the navy of Sweden was thus defeated and blocked up by a victorious enemy, the imprudent King was no less unfortunate by land. The Empress, far his superior both in natural resources as well as political sagacity, though taken by surprise when the war was declared, never lost her presence of mind. She quickly assembled a sufficient body of forces to defend her capi-

tal; and, to act offensively, she seduced the Swedish general Hesco to desert his post, a place of great importance, and thereby created a distrust in his whole army (for which he was soon after beheaded). She also found means to sow the seeds of disunion among his subjects; and, in conjunction with the base and selfish nobles, endeavoured to effect a counter-revolution.

Gustavus, when at the head of a well disciplined army in Finland, filled the Russian capital with alarm at his near approach; but cowardice and treachery had paralyzed his forces. At the siege of Frederickstadt he experienced the bitter mortification of seeing his officers refuse to lead on their men; he appealed in vain to his soldiers, they laid down their arms: the Danes at the same time made an irruption into his dominions, on the side of Norway, and ravaged the defenceless country. Gustavus, forced to quit his army, left it under the nominal command of the Prince of Ostrogotha, and went to oppose this new and formidable enemy.

The exertions of Denmark at this moment were checked by the spirit and energy of Mr. Elliot, the British minister at Copenhagen, who held forth in such forcible language the certain vengeance of Britain, for any hostility committed against the Swedes, that the Danish court judged it most prudent not to proceed any farther in support of Russia.

After the battle of Kinburn, in the Black Sea, the Prince of Nassau was recalled from that coast, and appointed to the command of the galley-fleet in the Baltic. During the winter, Gustavus employed himself in repairing the damages which his navy had sustained, in remanning his fleet, and recruiting his finances. The winter, of course, put an end to all naval operations, and both parties returned to their respective places of shelter. The ports of Sweden are usually free from ice much earlier than those of Russia, and this enabled the Duke of Sudermania to put to sea from Carlscrona before Admiral Greig.

The Duke determined to use this advantage in making an attack on Revel, in which ten ships of the line, and

three frigates, belonging to Russia, had mustered; this place was, at the time, but weakly fortified, and is still, I am informed, in a wretched state. The port is capable of holding no more than between 30 and 40 ships of all sizes. The road of Revel, in the interior part of it, is very much like that of Aboukir. As soon as the Russian Admiral heard of the intention of his enemy, he called a council of war (a practice, thank Heaven, long since discontinued in our service). The members of which, consisting of the flag officers and captains of the fleet, were all for placing the ships close in shore under the protection of the guns on the Mole; but the Commander in Chief was of a different opinion, he advised that the ships should be placed at such a distance from the shore as to admit of their getting under way, if necessary to assist each other, and should the enemy intend to pass between them and the land, he would find himself between the fires of the ships and the batteries: this was giving the Swedes credit for more than they deserved; their Admiral was not a Nelson, and although his force was three times as great as that of his enemy, the attack, which was conducted in the most awkward manner, ended in a complete failure. The Swedes advanced in line of battle a-head, when they had a fair wind, and might have sailed in line abreast; passing between the Islands of Wolf and Varzen, they came in succession before the Russian line; but to manœuvre and fight their guns, at the same time, was more than their skill and previous want of practice could accomplish. Some of their shot went over, others too low, according as their sails were acted on by the squally and accidental pressure of the wind: while the Russians, steady at their anchors, took good aim at point blank, and did serious execution. After having seen half of his fleet disabled, the Duke of Sudermania made the signal for the other half, which had not yet got into action, to haul their wind, and get out of the bay as they best could. The Swedish ship, the Prince Charles, was taken, another got on shore and was burnt: in this affair, besides the loss of two ships of the line, the Swedes had a number of men killed and wounded; while the loss on the

part of the Russians was three killed, and about thirty wounded.

The Duke of Sudermania appears to have been a very unskilful Officer, or, if he had talents, they were not displayed in this war. After having repaired his damages and refitted his fleet, he proceeded towards Cronstadt, with the intention of attacking the Russian fleet at that port, under the command of Admiral Krune; but nothing decisive was ever attempted by him, and, though he had the wind in his favour during the whole time that he was in presence of the enemy, he never came to a close action.

In the mean time the Russian Admiral at Revel having refitted his squadron, and his prize, the Prince Charles, sailed with eleven ships of the line in pursuit of the enemy. The Duke, while in action with the Division under Krune, which had lasted nearly the whole of one day, and was continued on the succeeding one, was suddenly surprized by the appearance of two of his own frigates running down under a crowd of sail, and announcing, by signal, the approach of the Revel squadron; consternation and confusion succeeded the hope of victory, and the Swedish Admiral sought safety for his fleet by an inglorious flight into the port of Wiburg, a place in which ships of the line had not been accustomed to enter, and of which the Russians themselves were completely ignorant. The Swedes had the advantage of some good coast Pilots, who however only contributed to their greater disaster by taking them into the intricacies of the harbour, where they were surrounded by the shores of Russia, and blockaded from without by her grand fleet; and in this position they continued for about a month, for it was not till the expiration of that period that the Russian galley-fleet, under the Prince of Nassau, joined; and the presence of this force was considered indispensable in the intended attack. On the day of this juncture, the Swedish fleet attempted to take advantage of a shift of wind, and to effect their escape, after having made a fruitless attack on the town of Wyburg. The following is taken from the accounts of a Russian and a British officer, who were both present on that occasion.

The Campaign of 1789 was one of mere show, little of importance was achieved, although the Russian fleet of 20 saïl of the line and 6 frigates was successful in forming a junction with a squadron which had been left at Copenhagen the preceding year—it consisted of three 3 deckers, three 74, and four 64s. The Swedish fleet, consisting of 30 sail of the line and 6 frigates, tried to prevent this junction, but, after two days' cannonading at a respectable distance, the Russians gained their point. The Swedish fleet then retreated to Carlscrona, before which place the Russian Admiral cruised for a considerable time, but finding the Swedes determined to remain in port, he returned to Revel, and heard no more of the enemy till the following spring.

The King had also been induced to take up this anchorage, in order to support the right wing of his army, and to prevent the Russian fleet from occupying the position. In adopting this measure, he was persuaded that he was following the example of Lord Hood, who, by a brilliant manœuvre, had deprived the French fleet of their anchorage, in the year 1781, under St. Kits: but his Swedish Majesty had not, like the British Admiral, calculated his means of retreat, when the object for which he had taken up the position should have been effected. No sooner were the Swedish ships anchored in the bay of Wyburg, than his Majesty was convinced of his error, by Admiral Tchitchagoff (the father of the present Admiral, and to whom I am so much indebted for information; he married an English Lady, daughter of the late Commissioner Proby), causing the narrow passage, by which alone the Swedes could have egress from the bay, to be occupied by five ninety-gun ships, whose united fire should be thrown upon a spot over which the enemy must pass in succession. Whatever degree of blame may attach to Sir Sydney Smith, at that time the confidential friend and counsellor of the King, in every thing that related to naval operations, it will be lost sight of in the skill and decision with which he planned the means of retreat. He saw the mistake the Russian Admiral had made in the disposal of his force, in keeping the body of his fleet to the eastward, instead of

taking up a position to receive the Swedes as they passed through the fire of the ships stationed to annoy them on their passage out; he therefore advised the King to make the following arrangement for his order of battle :—

The Swedish ships were to hold themselves in readiness to cut, by signal, which was to be made when a fresh easterly wind should give them the fairest prospect of success: on passing the Russian advance, they were immediately to haul their wind, in a close line, on the larboard tack, in order to give mutual support to each other, and repel the approach of the enemy's fleet. It was justly contemplated that, although the leading ships of the line must suffer considerably in passing the heavy fire to which they would be exposed, the Russian three-deckers must be too much crippled by that of the whole Swedish fleet, to give them much chance of gaining any advantage in the general struggle which was to ensue; and, to render this contingency still more uncertain, a fire-ship was ordered to follow the last ship of the Swedish rear, and to run on board the weathermost of the three-deckers. This arrangement was far better planned than executed: the leading ship of the Swedish van lost but seven men in her passage out, and received very inconsiderable injury in her rigging and sails. Instead however of hauling her wind as directed, she made all sail for Sweaburg, and was followed by her second a-stern: the fire-ship, instead of going out the last, took her station as third in the van, and was set on fire in the middle of the narrow passage without touching an enemy: to avoid running on board of her, one Swedish ship sheered over to port and another to starboard; both took the ground and were destroyed. The Russian ships instantly cut, and joined the remainder of their fleet in pursuit of the routed Swedes: the result was the loss of seven sail of the line of the Swedish fleet, and the King narrowly escaped being taken; he got off in a small boat from his yacht, and reached Swenskesunde with much difficulty: the yacht was taken, but, in the ardour of the pursuit, contrived to get away. After this the King of Sweden collected the shattered remains of his forces, from the disastrous defeat at Wyburg-bay, and

with his galleys took refuge in Swenskesunde, where he was attacked by the Russian galley fleet, under the Prince of Nassau, but the Swedes on this occasion recovered their honour, defeated the Russians with great loss, taking 40 sail of galleys, and between 4 and 5000 prisoners, besides an immense number of killed and wounded.

Sir Sydney Smith, coming in at the close of the action, released all the Turkish prisoners found in the Russian galleys, and continued, with them, the pursuit of the enemy. The consequence of this unexpected attack was the capture of three more large frigates, with many gallies and gun vessels, together with the destruction of two 50 gun praams, and the greater part of the flotilla, a most mortifying blow to the Russians, after a victory so recently obtained. Vice Admiral Tchitchagoff, the son of the Admiral who commanded the Russian fleet, among other information has furnished me with the following remarks on the battle of Wyburg: the victory would have been much more complete had the Prince of Nassau-Zeiger acted conjointly with the ships of the line; but that Officer, who commanded the galley fleet, "wished to have a victory of his own," and would not contribute to the glory of his chief: he said it was beneath his dignity to pick up the scattered vessels of the enemy: by this silly and unjustifiable decision, the whole of the Swedish galley fleet escaped capture, with Gustavus himself on board. The Prince of Nassau allowed them to assemble quietly among the Islands and shoals, after which he attacked them, and sustained the signal defeat which has just been related, and which was called the battle of Swenskesunde.

The Prince of Nassau was in disgrace for his conduct in the affair of Wyburg-bay; but although defeated in that of Swenskesunde which immediately followed; his valour was so conspicuous that the Empress, to whom he was related, forgave him.

In this campaign, however, it cannot be denied that the Russians shewed very considerable skill and perseverance: with 20 sail of the line, they kept 30 at bay, and succeeded in forming their junction with the Copen-

hagen Squadron, after this the same Admiral cruised with his whole fleet between Gothland and Dago, and the shoals and Islands lying before the Gulf of Bothnia. This was attended with much danger and difficulty in very bad weather, without the loss of one ship. The affair of Revel was also highly creditable to Russia, as well as the rigid blockade in Wyburg-bay, which ended in the destruction of 7 sail of the Swedish line.

Although the galley-fleet of Sweden was greatly augmented by the captures made from the enemy in this brilliant affair, yet the signal defeat, though it occasioned some inconvenience, and mortified the pride of the Empress, was of little real service to the cause of Sweden, already so much exhausted that she could ill afford to fight a battle, although it ended in victory; her largest ships were destroyed, and her means of continuing the war became daily more limited.

In the preceding year a Russian ship of the line, of eighty guns, was sunk by some Swedish gun-boats, on the coast between Sweaburg and Abo: the crew landed, and took possession of a small island with a few guns: here they were attacked by a regiment of Dalecarlians, who put every man to the sword; and their bodies remained still unburied, when a British officer, in the year 1790, passed over the ground.

Great Britain saw, with jealousy and concern, the rapid success of the Russian arms, and Catharine felt that the power of England and Prussia together might add a tremendous weight to the arms of Sweden, and, perhaps, fall on her with an irresistible force. Immediately, therefore, after the last action, a private intercourse commenced between the Empress and Gustavus: a suspension of arms was agreed on, and on the 14th August, 1790, a peace was concluded, which placed the belligerents nearly in the same situation as when they began the war: Gustavus, who made war without a cause, and peace without honour, was keenly and bitterly reproached by the King of Prussia, and the Ottoman Porte, for having concluded this treaty. To the former the King of Sweden owed nothing: he had seen him sustain defeat after defeat, and struggle with every kind

of misfortune, yet, with a vast army on foot, never offered to send a soldier to his relief. From the Ottoman Porte he had received large subsidies, and was bound, by the most solemn treaties, not to make a separate peace; nothing, therefore, could exceed the rage and indignation of the Turks, when informed that they were now left alone to contend with the united powers of Russia and Austria. It is probable that the timely interference of Great Britain saved not only Sweden, but the Ottoman empire, for that time, from impending ruin.

The battles between the Swedes and Russians offer few occasions for instructive reflection. The conduct of Gustavus was heroic, but the interest we take in his success is diminished by the knowledge of his private character. Catharine, who aimed at the subjugation of Turkey, to gratify her own ambition, was deservedly checked in her career. The naval reader, who forms an idea of these belligerents from what he may have seen between France and England on the ocean, will be greatly deceived. There was little of science or discipline, nor any approach to that refinement of manners, which has of late years contributed to the improvement of our service. An Englishman, who had received his education at Westminster-school, entered the Swedish navy in 1788, as a surgeon, and was, agreeably to their custom, called upon to perform the office of ship's barber, and shave the crew: this he declined, and very soon quitted a service where his talents were so little appreciated, and likely to be so much misapplied.

The ships of Russia and Sweden were chiefly built of fir, not all coppered, and some of them sailed tolerably well.

## CHAPTER IV.

Death of the Emperor Joseph—State of the empire, and conduct of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland—Dispute with Spain on the subject of Nootka Sound—Spain applies to France for assistance—The convention order thirty sail of the line—State of the French navy—Termination of the discussion—His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence—Ministers' motives for agreeing to the terms of Spain—Russia and the Porte—Ambitious views of the Empress—Russian armament—Perilous situation of Turkey—Defeat of Battel Bey—Siege and capture of Ismailhoff—Peace of Galatz.

The Emperor Joseph died on the 2d February, 1790, leaving the empire embroiled with France, at war with the Turks, and a rebellion in the Netherlands, the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria; at the same time, a powerful league was formed by the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, as electors of the empire, to restrain the ambition of the late emperor, and to destroy the dangerous alliance which he had entered into with Russia, the effects of which had already begun to be severely felt in Poland. Holland joined with England and Prussia; but the latter is supposed to have acted a treacherous part, and to have consented to the partition of Poland, upon conditions of receiving a large share of her dominions: if such were really the case (and there is but too much reason to suppose it was), the selfish policy of the King of Prussia soon had its reward; the cause of Poland was avenged in the plains of Jena, when the sword of the great Frederick was wrested from the feeble hands of his successor, and carried in triumph to the capital of France.

The Emperor's untimely projects of reform in Belgium

having excited a rebellion against his authority, induced him to withdraw from the alliance of Russia. The treaty of peace was signed between Austria and the Porte on the 4th of August, 1790; and it is believed that, had not hostilities ceased, the King of Prussia, with his allies, would have declared war against these belligerents in favour of Turkey

Unwilling to interrupt the narrative of the contentions between the northern powers, I have not hitherto noticed the dispute between Spain and England, which took place and terminated in the year 1790.

Spain, a prey at once to poverty, weakness, and ambition, urged exclusive claims to the whole coast of America, from Cape Horn to the sixtieth degree of north latitude; or, in other words, as far as they considered it habitable; in this, they comprehended part of the north-west coast which had been surveyed by Cook. It was not, however, supposed that the Spaniards would have gone to war, or even have made a remonstrance upon our forming a settlement on this inhospitable shore.

Some enterprising merchants of London had undertaken to establish a trade for fur and ginseng; their chief factory was in Nootka, or King George's Sound.

The produce was to have been disposed of in China, or brought to Europe, as circumstances might require: this trade was undertaken with the sanction of the East-India company, and the spot they had fixed upon far within the limits of our own discoveries. Two vessels were fitted and placed under the command of Lieutenant Meers of the royal navy. The first voyage was successful, and Mr. Meers was enabled to dispose of his vessels and their cargoes in China, and to purchase two others of larger dimensions, named the Felicé and the Iphigenia; the first he took charge of himself, the other he put under the command of Captain Douglas. The Felicé reached Nootka Sound in May, 1789; and in June the Iphigenia arrived in Cook's River.

Mr. Meers's first business, in Nootka Sound, was to purchase from Maquilla, the chief of the district, a spot of ground, on which he built a house, and hoisted the English flag, surrounding it with a breast-work, and

fortifying it with a three-pounder; this being completed, he proceeded to trade. The Felicé went to the southward as far as the latitude of 45° north, and the Iphigenia to the northward as far as 60°.

The British captains, in their respective voyages, found means to conciliate the good-will of the natives, from whom they obtained grants of land at Port Cox and Port Effingham, and the country bordering on the straits or inlet of Juan de Fuca, between the island of Nootka and the main land; no European having ever settled in these countries before. The trade thus established was soon found very lucrative, the skins of the sea-otter being the principal object furnished by the natives in return for the various articles which our settlers brought with them: this trade had been pointed out to our merchants by Captain King, who accompanied Captain Cook in his voyage to the Northern Pacific Ocean.

Spain, unable to derive the same advantages on her coast, could not endure a prosperous neighbour and rival; and, jealous at the same time of our acquiring a knowledge of her weakness in that part of the world, sent two ships of war, one of twenty-six, the other of sixteen guns, to Nootka Sound, to capture the traders, and take their fort. Don Joseph Martinez, the commander of the expedition, executed his orders with a degree of rapacious cruelty not usually practised in modern warfare.

The Iphigenia was plundered of every article, even to the wearing apparel of the Captain and crew; the latter were put in irons, and compelled, by severe punishment, to work at the fortifications. The British flag was torn down, and that of Spain substituted in its place; several other British vessels were captured in like manner, and the officers and crews sent prisoners to St. Blas.

The whole of this transaction, with the correspondence relating to it, was laid before parliament on the 25th May, 1790; when his Majesty was graciously pleased to inform both houses that not only could no satisfactory answer be obtained from the court of Madrid, but that the King of Spain was preparing considerable naval armaments in his sea-ports; and his Britannic Majesty recommended to his faithful commons to adopt such

means as would best secure the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people: to this message, a dutiful and loyal address was returned, expressive of the determination of both lords and commons to support his Majesty in his just rights, and to maintain the independence of the British flag. Many ships of the line were immediately put in commission: a large naval force was ordered to assemble at Spithead, and Earl Howe appointed commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet.

The Spaniards now began to feel alarmed at the preparations of Great Britain; they applied to France for assistance, agreeably to the terms of a treaty offensive and defensive, long since concluded between those two countries; but France was not at that time in a situation to afford it: Louis XVI. was in the power of the national convention, and this assembly, after much tumultuous and idle debate, decreed that thirty sail of the line should be immediately fitted, and sent to assist the Spaniards. By this time, however, the seamen in France had shaken off all ideas of subordination, and equalled the soldiers in every sort of licentious and disorderly conduct: they had refused to serve under any officers, but such as were of their own selection; constituted a committee to report on the nautical skill, as well as the political principles, of their commanders; and, in some instances, cashiered their captains, and appointed new ones. This part of their conduct was entirely conformable to the new order of things in Paris, where the national assembly had treated the King in a somewhat similar manner. The court of Spain now became sensible that no real advantage could be derived from the junction of the French fleet under such a state of discipline; and thought it not improbable that the Spanish seamen might be induced to follow the pernicious example set them by the French. They therefore endeavoured to evade the just demands of the cabinet of St. James's, and every unworthy artifice that sophistry could devise was resorted to, in order to gain time, and wear out the patience of the British government; well aware, no doubt, of the ruinous consequences to us of fleets and armies kept in a state of inactive suspense.

The affair was at length brought to a conclusion in the month of July, when his Catholic Majesty was pleased to declare in a note, signed by the Count de Florida Blanca, that he would make good all the losses sustained, and give satisfaction to his Majesty for the injury of which he complained.

The King of Spain, however, reserved to himself the discussion of his right to any settlement which his subjects might have made in the port of Nootka.

Thus ended this dispute, which, in the navy, is known by the name of "the Spanish armament:" it cost Great Britain upwards of three millions sterling, not uselessly thrown away, since it brought forward the naval service, which, in a peace of 7 years, had fallen much into disuse; it turned the attention of the government and the people to its improvement, and, in the succeeding years, was found to have produced the most salutary effects.

His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, his present most gracious Majesty, third son of King George III., was the only prince of the blood of the reigning family who was educated in the naval service, which he entered at the latter part of the American War, under the care of the late admiral Robert Digby. The young Prince went through all the gradations of the service, and was regularly advanced, as he became qualified, to the respective ranks of lieutenant, commander, and post-captain. In 1786, his Royal Highness commanded the Pegasus, on the West-Indian station; soon afterward the Andromeda, of thirty-two guns; and in the year 1790, the Valiant, of seventy-four guns: this ship, at the conclusion of the Spanish armament, was paid off, and his Royal Highness was then promoted, by an order in council, over the heads of the senior captains, to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, a mark of distinction never granted to any but the blood royal. Anxious for active employment, and devoted to his profession, the Prince would gladly have served during the war of the revolution, but was disappointed in the command of the Leeward Island station, given at that time to Sir John Jervis, the Loudon was fitted for his flag to serve under

Lord Howe, in the Channel fleet; but, having been denied the first object, he refused the second.

The differences between Russia and the Ottoman Porte were not yet adjusted; Great Britain and Prussia had in vain endeavoured, as mediators, to restore tranquillity. The two latter powers had long since taken the alarm at the successes of Russia, on the Danube, in the last winter's campaign: the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, however gratifying to the ambition or resentment of Catherine, might have destroyed that balance of power which it had been the ardent work of our ancestors to raise and to cherish. Her plans extended as far as the eastern side of the Hellespont, the Ionian islands, and even to Egypt: and, considering the immense population of the empire of Russia, millions might have been called from the regions of the north, to people, at her command, the more temperate shores of the Mediterranean: these were supposed to be her views, and it has already been hinted that a new Greek empire was to be founded for her grandson Constantine.

Whether, under such a vast extension of power and territory, even Great Britain herself would have been safe, remains a question. England, however, after what we have already related, had little to expect either from her mercy or her policy.

Ideas of this kind certainly prevailed in the councils of George the Third; when on the 28th of March, 1791, a message from his Majesty acquainted the two houses of parliament that, having, in conjunction with his allies, endeavoured in vain to bring about a reconciliation between the belligerent powers, his Majesty had thought fit, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some farther addition to his naval forces. The fleet, which in the preceding year had been paid off, was again called forward, and a large naval armament was speedily prepared, with a view to compel the Empress to accept such terms as the coalesced powers might think equitable.

The Empress had, by conquest, wrested a considerable territory from the Turks, who, driven to extremities, were desirous of peace. It was asserted that Great Britain and Prussia, the mediators on this occasion, had

insisted that Russia should resign the newly-acquired conquest: this she was willing to do, except as far as regarded Otchakof and its dependencies, the country of the Otchakof Tartary, between the Neister and the Bog. The possession of this conquest she seemed determined, at all hazards, to retain, and it certainly was of much importance to her: that part of Russia which approaches nearest to Otchakof, was said to be particularly weak and vulnerable; whence, at the commencement of hostilities, the Turks, and their tributary Tartars, had it in their power to overrun and plunder, at their pleasure, the unguarded part of the Russian dominions. The Empress knew that, while her enemies were in possession of Otchakof, they had an opportunity of cutting off entirely the whole trade of her subjects on the Dnieper, intercepting all communications between the interior of her dominions and the Black Sea. Otchakof was moreover, a good naval station, and the key of the Turkish provinces, and therefore indispensable for Catharine's prospective, as well as for her immediate, purposes; the cession of it would, consequently, have been quite inconsistent with her views and her policy.

The situation of Turkey was, at this period, truly critical: the armies of Russia, during the summer, had been entirely inactive on the Danube, reserving themselves for a winter campaign, when the Asiatic troops, of which the greatest part of the Ottoman army consisted, should, conformably to their annual custom, have repassed the Hellespont, and fled from the rigour of a European winter. The Turks of Romania and Bulgaria, thus left to contend against the whole force of Russia, were very unequally matched, though not surpassed in bravery by any troops in the world. These unfortunate people were conquered by the cold alone, while the Russians found themselves in the enjoyment of a climate resembling summer, when compared to the corresponding seasons of the north.

Suworoff, who commanded the Russian armies on the Danube, in the campaign against the Turks, was one of the greatest generals in Europe; and although his stern command caused thousands to be put, I fear, need-

lessly to the sword, his countrymen contend that he was merciful when compared to Turenne and others; this is giving him, at best, only comparative merit, but we must admit he shewed wonderful talent, as well as skill, in his campaign against the French, in the war of the revolution. On the 25th of December, 1790, he took the City of Ismailhoff by storm, when neither age nor sex were spared; the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem, enacted over again: could none be spared from the terrible carnage? when did our Marlborough or our Wellington do this? After this conquest the Turks were everywhere defeated, and obliged to consent to such terms as their enemy might dictate. The war between Russia and the Porte ended by the treaty of Galatz, which was signed August 11, 1791. This put an end for a time to the fears and jealousies of the British Cabinet, and our naval armament was discontinued in the autumn of that year. This was known by the name of the Russian Armament, on which occasion a very large fleet was assembled at Spithead.

## CHAPTER. V.

Death of Gustavus, king of Sweden—Affairs of Poland—Death of Leopold, Emperor of Germany—Gloomy aspect of affairs in France—Progress of sedition in England—National convention declares war against the Emperor, as king of Hungary and Bohemia—Affair of Tournay—France declares war against Sardinia—French squadron attack Nice—Villa Franca and Oneglia—Emigrants at Coblentz—Policy and measures of the King of Prussia, whose army enters France, and soon after retreats with great loss—Dumourier enters Belgium with a large army, defeats the Austrians at Jemappe, and overruns the whole of Austrian Flanders—The French decree the opening of the Scheldt—Dutch demand assistance from Britain—French party in Holland—Squadron sent to the Scheldt—Death of Louis the Sixteenth—Chauvelin ordered to quit England, bounties given to Seamen—King's message to both houses of parliament—War with France—Declaration of the convention—Motives of the King and ministers for going to war—Defection of General Dumourier—France offers to negociate—Attempt abortive—Lord Gower recalled—Insolence of the French ambassador—Treaty with Russia and Sardinia—Powers of Europe join against France—Duke of York with the guards sent to Holland—State of the public mind in that country—Siege of Williamstadt—Retreat of the French—League against France—Belgium united to France—Boundaries of the new republic—Success of the Imperial troops—Siege of Valenciennes and Condé—Duke of York turns off to Dunkirk, and is defeated—Blame imputed to admiralty and ordnance board—Emperor Francis repairs to Brussels, and joins the army—Squadron sent for the Princess Caroline of Brunswick—Immense armies of France—Disunion of the allies—Emperor takes command of the allied forces—King of Prussia withdraws from the coalition—Emperor returns to Vienna—Earl of Moira, with ten thousand men, sent to join the Duke of York, is accompanied by a squadron to the Scheldt—Austrians expelled from the Netherlands—Junction of the Earl of Moira with the Duke of York—French enter Antwerp—Lay siege to Sluys—Retreat of British forces from before the French—Emperor threatens to withdraw from the coalition—Is prevented—Anecdote of Captain Savage—Duke of York and Stadtholder retire to England—Dutch acknowledge the French republic—Disastrous retreat of General Dundas and his army—Final embarkation in the Elbe and Weser—French have entire possession of Holland—Fatal effects of it to the Dutch—War declared by England against Holland—Reflections of the Count de Segur—Admiral Duncan takes the command in the North Seas—Captain J. S. Yorke, in the Stag, takes the Alliance, Dutch frigate.

In the month of March, 1792, the unfortunate Gustavus the Third, king of Swe len, was shot at a masquerade, by

Ankerstroom,* an officer of his guards: his accomplices were Counts Horn and Rubbing, and some others among the nobles, who had never forgiven their king for conferring the common rights of humanity on his people. The Duke of Sudermania, as regent, succeeded to the government during the minority of the young prince, Gustavus the Fourth: the assassins suffered the punishment due to their crimes.

The kingdom of Poland this year became the theatre of war. The Empress of Russia, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, entered, by mutual consent, into that devoted country, laying waste with fire and sword, and taking to themselves its finest provinces. The constitution of Poland was annihilated, and that brave people subjected to the arbitary will of their conquerors: in 1794, its final partition was accomplished by the confederated powers.

The Emperor Leopold died the 1st of March, 1792: the extensive plans of this monarch and his predecessor, for the better government of his Belgic provinces, produced effects very different from what were intended, and finally terminated in throwing them under the dominion of the French republic. Leopold was succeeded by his son Francis, who, unfortunately for Europe, had a less share of prudence and moderation than his father.

The aspect of affairs in France assumed every day a more threatening appearance. The doctrine broached by the disciples of anarchy, went avowedly to overturn the throne and the altar: the bonds of civil society were loosened, and the internal tranquillity of every country was menaced. England, whose institutions were susceptible of much improvement, was threatened with internal commotion by the introduction of doctrines subversive of all order: to remain at peace with France became impossible, and, to ward off domestic convulsion, preparations were made for war. The royal family of France was confined to the capital; the princes of Europe sought to release them, but the strength of France in-

* The virtuous widow of Ankerstroom is, or was lately, living; and it is but justice to that unhappy lady to say that her character has been most cruelly aspersed in that trumpery pageantry called "Gustavus."

creased with the struggles of disorder, and, while she bid defiance at once to the laws of God and nature, and deluged her bosom with the blood of innocent victims, she prepared to meet the united powers of Austria and Prussia on the Rhine, and to dare the vengeance of Britain on the ocean.

On the 20th of April, war was declared by the French against the Emperor, as king of Hungary and Bohemia. This measure was proposed to the convention by Louis the Sixteenth, contrary to his own wishes; but, in obedience to the command of the tyrants who composed that assembly, it was received with the loudest acclamations of applause, and was the first war in which France had been engaged since the establishment of her new government.

The acts of his Imperial Majesty, which had drawn on him the anger of the convention, however just and honourable, only accelerated the catastrophe which he sought to avert. A general war involved the whole of Europe, and the first effects produced by the movement of the allied armies, was to hurry the unhappy King and Queen to the scaffold; their son to an untimely grave; and to moisten the soil with the blood of their fellow-citizens.

The Rubicon was passed at the affair of Tournay, where the republicans, under the command of General Dillon, were repulsed by the Austrians, and this favourable result encouraged the allies to hope for greater successes.

On the 16th of September, the national assembly declared war against the King of Sardinia. On the 26th, the French army entered the territory of Savoy, and a French squadron, of nine sail of the line, took possession of Nice, Montalban, and Villa Franca. Admiral Truguet, the commander, sent a flag of truce into the port of Oneglia; the boat was fired on, and several of the people in her killed; in consequence of which, the Admiral drew up his ships before the place, and cannonaded the town, while the troops stormed it by land, and it was taken, and given up to military execution.

The emigrants who fled from France to avoid the persecutions of the jacobins, assembled at Coblentz, and entered into negotiations with the court of Berlin, filling

the mind of the King of Prussia with the most extravagant notions of the power of the royalists, the preponderance of public opinion on the side of the king, and the certainty of a general rising in his favour the moment a Prussian force entered France; these, however ill founded, so influenced the mind of Frederick, that he commanded the Duke of Brunswick to advance with a powerful army. His Highness crossed the Rhine, and entered France by Longwy and Verdun. In every point of view, there seems to have been less cause for surprise at the retreat, than at the advance, of the Prussian general, who, in a barren country, had far outstepped his commissariat. His soldiers became a prey to disease, which shortly consigned twenty thousand of them to the hospitals or the earth. No movement of the French took place in their favour, and General Dumourier being upon their flanks with a large and enthusiastic force, all idea of delivering the King gave way to the dangers and privations with which the troops were surrounded, and a secure retreat was all that could be hoped for. There was some impolicy in the Prussian manifesto, and a harshness of treatment towards the guilty, or unfortunate, La Fayette and his friends, which gave the moderate party in France but too much reason to dread the same severity, should the allied armies enter and conquer the country, or restore the authority of the lawful monarch.

While the Prussians were advancing, the rage of the Parisians knew no bounds; and when they retreated (which happened in September), their cowardice and cruelty were equally conspicuous: the best blood of France flowed in streams through her capital, and the mob government breathed nothing but rancour and fury against kings, and the friends of monarchy and legitimate government.

With all these menacing appearances, France had yet taken no step to justify the commencement of hostilities on our part; this was not long wanting.

In November, 1792, General Dumourier, released from all fears respecting Prussia, entered Austrian Flanders, and defeated the forces of the Emperor at the battle of Jemappe, near Mons. The consequence of this victory was the surrender of the whole of the fortified places in

the Netherlands to the conqueror; Mons, Tournay, Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Malines, Charleroi, Louvain, and Ostend, all fell into his hands.

Holding possession of strong places on both sides of the Scheldt, it was not to be supposed that the national convention, which had hitherto disregarded those venerable monuments of antiquity, the laws of nations, would respect the treaties of Munster and Westphalia, by which the navigation of that river was prohibited under the guarantee of Great Britain; and, as might be expected, the Scheldt was opened, and declared free: this measure was supposed to be fatal to the commerce of the Dutch, and the Stadtholder claimed the assistance of England in virtue of the treaties: such was our ostensible cause of war with France; but it was not the opening of the Scheldt alone that would have induced the King of England to go to war; he plainly saw that no peace was to be had with France, on any other conditions than submission to her arbitrary will, and that the ambition of France would admit of no equal power in Europe, south of the Vistula and the Danube: in pursuance of this plan of aggrandizement, the jacobin leaders of Paris, in the madness of their revolutionary insolence, decreed that Belgium should be added to the departments of the republic. Holland, under the name of an ally, was to be equally dependant; and the subjugation of Great Britain was openly announced in the convention, as an event at no great distance.

The French party in Holland, which in the year 1787, had obliged the Stadtholder to have recourse to the arms of Prussia, to re-establish him in his government, now saw and seized the favourable opportunity of gratifying, at once, its revenge and ambition: previously, however, to any declaration of war on our own part, a small squadron was sent to the Scheldt, to assist the Dutch in repelling their invaders. Every day, towards the close of the year 1792, brought farther proof, if proof were wanting, that war with France was inevitable. On the 11th of January, Capt. Barlow of the Childers, sloop of war, reached the admiralty with an account of his having been fired at with much severity by the batteries on

either side of Brest harbour. This however, could not, or should not, have been considered a fair cause of hostility, on our part, because, in the then troubled state of Europe, the Childers and her captain had no business to be prying into the equipments at Brest, within gunshot of the forts: if we had seen a French vessel of war running from the Needles to St. Helens, and making observations, I suspect we should, at such a crisis, have taken the liberty to bring her to action. On the 21st of January, 1793, the death of Louis XVI. on the scaffold struck all Europe with horror, and put an end to all negociation; on the 24th, Mons. Chauvelin, the French ambassador, was ordered to quit England. From the fatal day of the 10th of August, in the preceding year, when the Swiss guards were butchered by the cannibals of Paris, Louis XVI. lost all remains of power, and could not be considered as responsible for any act done in his name.

The common council of the city of London, on the 10th of January, offered a bounty of 40*s*. to every seaman, and 20*s*. to every landsman, who should voluntarily enter themselves to serve in his Majesty's navy: the King's bounty was offered about the same time—viz. £5 to every able-bodied seaman, £2. 10. to every ordinary seaman, and 30*s*. to every landsman; press-warrants were issued. The Enterprise was moored off the Tower, to receive volunteers and impressed men.

February the 11th, orders were issued to make reprisals on the French, and on the 12th, his Majesty was graciously pleased to communicate to both houses of parliament that the French government, without any previous notice, in breach of the law of nations, and on the most groundless pretences, had declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces: under these circumstances, his Majesty had taken the necessary steps to vindicate the honour of his crown, and the just rights of his people; and his Majesty relied with confidence on the loyalty and bravery of his subjects, in prosecuting a just and a necessary war.

The declaration of war, by the national convention, against Great Britain, was dated the 2nd of February;

and the following are the causes assigned, in a state paper, which, with the King's message, was laid before parliament.

First, That the court of St. James's had endeavoured to impede the purchasers of corn, arms, and other commodities, ordered to be purchased in Great Britain by the French citizens or their agents.

Secondly, That it had prohibited the importation of grain into France, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other countries was allowed.

Thirdly, That, in order still more effectually to obstruct the commercial operations of the republic in England, it had obtained an act of parliament, prohibiting the circulation of assignats.

Fourthly, That it had, in violation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1786, obtained an act of parliament, in the month of January preceding, which subjected all French citizens, residing in, or coming into, England, to forms the most vexatious and inquisitorial.

Fifthly, That, at the same time, and contrary to the first article of the peace of 1783, it had granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the emigrants, but even to the chiefs of the rebels, who had already fought against France; that it had maintained with them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French revolution; that it had also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West-India islands; and,

Sixthly, In the same spirit, and without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers were at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James's had ordered a considerable naval armament, and an augmentation of its land-forces; that the object of this armament was not even disguised in the British parliament.

That although the provisional executive government had employed every means of preserving peace and fraternity with the English nation, and had replied to calumnies and violations of treaties, only with remonstrances founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of freemen, the English minister had persevered in his system of malevolence and hostility,

continued his armament, and sent a squadron to the Scheldt to disturb the operations of the French in Belgium; that on the news of the death of Louis, he carried his outrages to the French republic to such a length, as to order the ambassador of France to quit the British territory within eight days; that the King of England had manifested his attachment to the cause of that traitor, and his design of supporting it by different hostile resolutions adopted in his council, both by nominating generals in his land-army, and by applying to parliament for a considerable augmentation of his land and sea forces, and putting ships of war into commission.

To this violent abuse of the British government, they should have affixed their celebrated decree of the 19th of November, 1792, in which the convention encourages all nations to rebel against their legitimate governments: this alone was sufficient cause to unite, as it really did, all these governments against France.

On his Majesty's message being taken into consideration, the minister gave such unanswerable reasons for going to war that the house and the country in general remained convinced that we had no other alternative. Mr. Pitt stated, in substance, that there could be no security, either for the British dominions, or her foreign settlements, as long as such men governed France; and that, whether we went to war or not, we must, at all events, have maintained a very large establishment, which, to have kept in idleness, would have been more dangerous to the country, than the utmost rage of foreign hostility.

War was, therefore, resolved on; never was the British nation more unanimous—never were greater efforts made—or crowned with more glorious success.

The French general, Dumourier, after his rapid advance into Belgium, and opening the Scheldt in the preceding year, had, in the spring of 1793, been compelled by the Austrians to retreat, and abandon the whole of his conquests in that country: he entered France, and returned with his army to St. Maulde, where, reflecting on recent events, and the probable consequence to him-

self if he should fall into the hands of the jacobins of the capital, he resolved to turn royalist, and march with the allies against Paris. His plans were, however, suspected, and four commissioners sent to arrest him. Beurnonville, their principal, he attempted to corrupt, and, being unsuccessful, he erected the standard of revolt, arrested the deputies, and gave them over to the Prince of Saxe Coburg as hostages for the safety of the royal family. The army did not partake in the feelings of their general, who was forced to fly with a few followers from the camp, and take refuge in the Austrian lines. This feeble effort in favour of the Bourbons answered no other purpose than to expose thousands of their friends to suspicions which cost them their lives or their property. Dumourier, not trusted on the continent, came to England, which he was ordered to quit under the alien act: his farther history belongs not to this work.

March 23, 1793: the King of Spain declared war against France, and on the 2d of April, proposals for the commencement of negotiations for peace were sent over to Lord Grenville by Mons. Le Brun, and Maret was to have been charged with the confidence of the convention; but, before an answer could be returned, Le Brun was, with many others, cut off by the guillotine. On the French ambassador quitting London, Lord Gower was recalled from Paris.

A treaty of commerce was concluded with Russia, and a large body of German troops taken into the British service. The King of Sardinia was engaged for a yearly subsidy of £200,000, to join the Austrians in Italy with a military force. Alliances were also formed with Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Holland, and Portugal, all of whom agreed, with more or less reservation, to shut their ports against France; Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, refused to join in the confederacy. The King of the two Sicilies agreed to furnish six thousand troops and four sail of the line to the common cause. The empire also furnished its contingent of troops to the armies of Austria and Prussia. Three thousand of the foot-guards were sent to Holland under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to assist, in con-

junction with a large body of Hanoverians and Hessians, in the defence of that country: but such was the infatuation of the Dutch, in consequence of the unfortunate events of 1787, that no man could be found of sufficient virtue or courage to stand to his post. The gates of the strongest fortresses flew open at the approach of the victorious Dumourier; he advanced as far as Bergen-op-Zoom, Gertruy-denberg, and Williamstadt, fully expecting these places would follow the example of the others; but the garrison of the latter had been re-inforced by a detachment from the brigade of guards, assisted by the Syren frigate of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Manley, and some British gun-boats. This fortress stands on an island in the Hollands Deep, about thirty miles east of Helvoetsluys; the command of it was intrusted to the brave general Count Botzlaer: every attack was gallantly resisted, and the French were compelled to raise the siege with great loss, and retreat out of Holland; they evacuated Klundert, and, with a barbarity unknown among civilized nations, set fire to the village of Mardyke. In every act, the French soldiers of that period were worthy of their sanguinary rulers, whose cry was blood, and whose object was plunder. At the siege of Williamstadt the French and English came in contact, and Lieutenant John Western, of the Syren, was the first British officer who lost his life in the war of the revolution; he commanded a division of gun-boats, and fell while engaging a battery. The British forces in Belgium and Holland were much increased in the following summer, and ministers entertained a hope that the power of France might be kept within bounds, on the northern frontier, by the united forces of England, Prussia, and Austria, with the German contingent. Their expectations and exertions were for a time fulfilled and crowned with success. In the mean while the national convention, as we have observed, had decreed the union of Belgium with France: the boundaries of the republic were declared to be the Rhine, the Alps the Pyrenees, and the ocean.

The winter of 1792 and 1793 was passed by the French in idle discussions: their military operations were con-

fined to the siege of Maestricht, a very strong fortress on the Meuse, while the allies prepared for a vigorous campaign. The Imperial troops passed the Roer on the night of the 1st of March, and forced the cantonments which the French had established behind that river in the neighbourhood of Aix-Chapelle, which the French general, Valence, was forced to evacuate. The Austrians then divided themselves into three bodies, one of which forced Miranda to raise the siege of Maestricht; another corps turned upon Liege, into which the advanced guard of the French army had thrown itself, and was forced to evacuate it. In vain did the French generals, Valence, Lanoue, Stengel, and Dampierre, endeavour to stop the course of the victorious Austrians, or to restrain their troops from flying in every direction. The bloody Robespierre, with his accomplices, Danton and Le Croix, accused the generals Stengel and Lanoue of treason, and they were ordered to account for their conduct before the bar of the national convention; or, in other words, that their fate was decreed. In the course of the next month, the whole of the country of Belgium was again in the power of the Emperor; the French had evacuated every town which they had gained in the preceding campaign, and Francis appointed his brother, the Archduke Charles, lieutenant-governor and captain-general of the Low Countries. The Prince made his solemn entry into Brussels on the 28th of April, 1793. The allies followed up their success. The Prince of Coburg had his headquarters at Mons, and with Clairfayt defeated the French in a pitched battle on the 8th of May, between Condé and Valenciennes; the siege of those places was in consequence commenced. Condé made resistance, but surrendered on the 10th of July, to the Prince of Coburg. The siege of Valenciennes was conducted by the Duke of York in person, as commander-in-chief of the combined armies; and, after a bombardment of unexampled severity, by which the place was reduced to a heap of ruins, the garrison capitulated on the 28th July; and his Royal Highness on the surrender, marched towards Menin, to support the Dutch, under the command of the hereditary Prince of Orange, then hard pressed by the

French, who occupied a very strong redoubt at Lincelles, which the British guards, under the command of General Lake, stormed in the most gallant style, driving the enemy through the village with great slaughter. From this exploit, his Royal Highness turned towards Dunkirk, which he hoped to take before any assistance could reach it: unfortunately, Marshal Freytag was so completely overpowered by the French at Bergues, that the covering army which he commanded was rendered useless. The heavy artillery did not come up in time, nor did the naval part of the expedition; in consequence of which the Duke was forced to raise the siege, and retreat, leaving thirty-eight of his heavy guns behind him.

This want of co-operation became the subject of parliamentary inquiry, and a vote of censure was proposed on the admiralty and ordnance departments, the latter for not having artillery in readiness, but negatived by a large majority. Whether blame was really imputable to these boards, I shall not, at this distance of time, pretend to determine, because adverse winds might have prevented the junction of the naval reinforcements; but of the nature of the sea-force, intended for the siege of Dunkirk, I am enabled to speak with greater certainty, and I can confidently affirm that more inefficient vessels were never sent upon such service:—they consisted of river, or sand, barges, fitted with long guns and carronades—of a floating battery called the Spanker, of the most unwieldy and awkward construction; and the whole were ill found and badly manned. We have, therefore, little to regret on the subject of their not being in time, since they might, by swelling the numbers of the assailants, without being of use, only have added to the disgrace of our arms. In the mean time, the rage of the revolutionary government knew no bounds; General Custine, who had been defeated in Flanders, was dragged to execution, and the murder of the unfortunate Marid Antoinette, in the month of September, completed the measure of their iniquity, and left Great Britain and her allies no alternative but resistance or destruction.

Whatever may have been the naval preponderance of Great Britain at this period, it is very certain that

France possessed an army of enormous and overwhelming power, estimated, according to the most moderate calculation, at seven hundred thousand men; while the forces of the allies, amounting scarcely to half that number, laboured under all the disadvantages of separate interests and consequent disunion. The armies of the republic were commanded by men of the first ability and courage, Jourdain, Pichegru, Hoche, and Moreau; while their soldiers, independently of the enthusiasm inspired by the misapplication of the word "liberty," were, from their habits of life, enabled to endure cold, hunger, and privation, to a degree that astonished the most experienced in the art of war.

The separation of the allied armies was fatal to the cause; the Duke of Brunswick resigned the command of the Prussian troops early in January, and the Duke of York refused to serve under Clairfayt; which induced the Emperor to take the command of the armies in person. Negotiations were shortly after opened with the French government at Frankfort on the Maine; the Prussian general, Mollendorf, who commanded the army, was ordered to withdraw from the territory of Mentz, and take up his head-quarters at Cologne; and while the Prussian monarch retired from the coalition, the lukewarm services of sixty thousand Prussians, as an army of observation, were purchased by the British minister at the extravagant price of £2,200,000.

After the battles of Tournay and Fleurus, the Emperor returned to Vienna, the allied armies repassed the Rhine, and disunion and dismay took possession of the coalesced powers. It was calculated that the forces of the allies, which had at the opening of the campaign amounted to two hundred thousand men, British, Austrians, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Dutch, were now, from the common casualties of war, reduced one half: the British government, mindful of this fact, had sought every means to reinforce the Duke of York, and sent the Earl of Moira with a body of ten thousand troops to Ostend. His Lordship, on his arrival, immediately directed the evacuation of that place, and proceeded with his whole force to the Scheldt: he had with him many transports,

some small frigates and vessels of war, and he secured his junction with General Clairfayt on the left bank of that river, while the Duke of York retreated from Tournay and Oudenarde towards Alost, and soon after retired to Antwerp with a view of forming a junction with Lord Moira.

The people of Ostend, bending to the storm, hoped that the expulsion of the English was to secure their property, and therefore welcomed the French as their deliverers; but speedily repented, amidst the ruin of their trade and the destruction of their town.

From the plains of Fleurus, the Prince of Coburg retreated to the forest of Soignies, between Namur and Brussels, since become so famous in the annals of war by the battle of Waterloo, and resolved to oppose the march of the French army on the capital of the Austrian Netherlands; but, after a conflict maintained by his troops with extraordinary valour, he was forced to yield, leaving seven thousand of his men dead or wounded on the field of battle, and the victorious enemy pursued him through Brussels, whose inhabitants were the joyful spectators of the disasters of the house of Austria.

The Earl of Moira, on his arrival with the army in the Scheldt, proceeded to join the Duke of York: after a most tedious and difficult march he reached the town of Alost on the 5th of July, and was attacked by the French on the 6th, but beat them, and forced them to retreat with loss. After this action, his Lordship formed a junction with the Duke, and the British forces occupied the banks of the canal between Brussels and Antwerp: pressed by the enemy, they were compelled to abandon this position and retreat to Malines. Clairfayt was in the mean while at Louvain, where he was defeated with the loss of six thousand men; and thus the allies were hourly losing ground on every side, and falling back to the banks of the Scheldt, where fresh disasters awaited them. The French entered Antwerp on the 23d of July, and Liege on the 27th, but were disappointed of their plunder, the whole having been removed, and the military stores destroyed to a vast amount: the fort of Lillo was also taken by them, and they experienced no resistance of any conse-

quence until they came to Sluys, whose brave garrison, under the command of Vanderduyn, assisted by a British naval force, held them in check until the 25th of August, when it capitulated. Newport, in Flanders, was bravely defended, but compelled to surrender to the French on the 15th of July: the British squadron, under the command of Captain William Carthew, assisted at the defence of this place.

Valenciennes and Condé, with all the towns which had in the preceding year surrendered to the allies, were now retaken by the French.

While the squadron lay in the Scheldt, co-operating with the army and protecting the transports, a curious incident occurred, highly characteristic of the manners and customs of the British navy. Captain Savage, of the Albion of sixty-four guns, lying at anchor before Flushing, in company with the Dutch squadron, under the command of Rear-admiral van Spangler, a friendly intercourse was kept up between them. Captain Savage was dining with the Dutch Admiral, when the latter received a message which occasioned some agitation; the Admiral went on deck, and returning soon after to his seat, informed Captain Savage that he had caused two of the crew to be taken out of his (Captain Savage's) barge and to be put in irons, as they were found to be Dutch subjects: Captain Savage quietly observed, without interrupting his dinner, "You had better put them back again into the boat, Admiral."—"Why," asked the Admiral in some warmth, "had I better do so?"—"Because," rejoined the British veteran, "if you do not, I shall order my first lieutenant (and he seldom disobeys my orders) to bring the Albion alongside the Utrecht, and (raising his voice just so much as to harmonize with the subject,) d—n me if I don't walk your quarter-deck till he sinks you." It is scarcely necessary to add the men were immediately returned to their boat.

The occupation of Belgium by the French is an event of much importance to the interests of Great Britain; and as its effects were felt in the farther operations of the war, as well as in the negotiations for a general peace, I trust I shall be excused for tracing a slight sketch

of the occurrences which led to this great political change.

It will be remembered that the Stadtholder in 1787, and the Emperor in 1791, both owed the continuation of their government in Holland and Belgium to the interference of military power. The Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian armies, restored the authority of the house of Orange, but left the elements of discord still rankling in the heart of the country; and the persecutions with which the Emperor Joseph had afflicted the Austrian Netherlands, were fatally avenged under the reign of his successor. Evil counsellors, with ignorance and obstinacy, combined to alienate the hearts of the Dutch and the Belgians from their lawful sovereigns, and the innocent and the guilty suffered in the general calamity. From Strasburg to Nimvegen, in the beginning of 1794, the French armies, of two hundred thousand men, swept the banks of the Rhine as the winter torrent did its bed: the murmuring discontents of the Dutch broke out into open rebellion as the armies of the republic advanced to the Waal and the Leck; the British troops, under General Dundas, did all that valour and patience could achieve; the Duke of York, whose person was no longer safe from assassination in Holland, returned to England; the Stadtholder abdicated and fled; and the states of Holland, in October, agreed to acknowledge the French republic, and enter into terms of peace and amity with that sanguinary and faithless government. The passage of the Waal was opposed by the British army, and for a time with success; but in the severe winter of 1794 and 1795, the waters of the Waal and Maese were so completely frozen, that the French army crossed both these rivers, and carried all before them from right to left, in an extent of forty miles. Under these circumstances, an enemy in arms against them of ten times their force, and the whole population, either secretly or openly, hostile to them, the British General determined to retreat across the Issel, with his sick and wounded in deplorable numbers, to which were added, by the false indulgence of the government at home, a hapless multitude of women and children. The doors of the peasantry, through the bar-

ren and desolate country over which they passed in the dead of winter, were invariably shut against them, nor was it without the execution of some of those people that any supply of food could be procured. The cold was intense; the snow lay in drifted heaps, and hundreds fell and ended their wretched lives in a country to which they were unwisely sent, to save from pillage and slavery; destitute of the commonest means of subsistence, harassed by a victorious army in their rear and on their flanks, the British soldiers never lost their courage, but by firmness and obedience secured their retreat through Deventer, Bentheim, and Rhenen, on the banks of the Weser, and excited the admiration even of the proud and insolent republicans. A squadron of small frigates and sloops of war, under the command of Captain Sotheby, of the Andromeda, with a number of transports in the rivers Elbe and Weser, received the gallant remains of this band of heroes on board at Bremen and Cuxhaven. The last division of them was collected and preserved by the attention of Colonel Barnet of the Guards, and Colonel Boardman of the Scotch Greys. Among those were few who had not lost a limb, either from the casualities of war or the inclemency of the weather: many had lost both legs and arms, and numbers of them were reduced to skeletons.

The Dutch, having now received the French as liberators, and expelled the friends of their legitimate government, had soon sufficient cause to repent of their folly; and the contributions levied by the French commissaries often made them look back with regret on the mild and more economical government of the house of Orange. It may with truth be affirmed that the French party in Holland has caused the ruin of that country. The capture of all their foreign settlements by the British forces shortly succeeded the evacuation of the Netherlands, and compensated, in some measure, for the cruelty and injustice which our brave troops and seamen had experienced in those regions; and if the republic of Holland gained her emancipation by the arms of France, it was at a price far above the value of the benefit conferred

In the month of January, 1795, orders were given to seize all Dutch vessels in British ports; in consequence of which, two ships of sixty-four guns, nine East-Indiamen, and about sixty sail of other vessels, were captured at Plymouth. On the 9th of February, a proclamation was issued, authorizing the detention, by all our ships of war and privateers, of Dutch property found at sea, and also of all neutral vessels bound into the ports of Holland with military or warlike stores. A squadron sailed in the winter of 1795 to the Elbe, under the command of Commodore J. W. Payne in the Jupiter, to bring over Her Royal Highness the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, who was married in April of the same year to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the fourth.

In April, 1795, Admiral Duncan hoisted his flag in the Venerable as commander-in-chief, and sailed on a cruise in the North Seas with two ships of the line, 3 fifties, and a frigate.

A Russian squadron under Vice-admiral Heninghoff, consisting of four ships of seventy-four guns, eight of sixty-six guns, and seven frigates of forty-four guns, joined and obeyed the orders of Admiral Duncan; but, unfortunately, were so defective and incomplete, in every respect, as to render them unavailable for any service in action: they were built of fir, old, and out of repair, but full of men, though with few sailors, and under no discipline: accustomed only to the smooth water of the gulf of Finland, they were incapable of serving with a British fleet on the ocean. The demands of these ships were innumerable, and their wants insatiable; and when supplied, the sea-stores were too often made an improper use of by the unskilfulness or corruption of those intrusted with their expenditure.

The Suffisante and the Victorieux, two beautiful French brigs of war, of sixteen guns each, and one hundred and thirty-five men, were captured, in June, off the Texel, by Admiral Duncan's fleet: they were bound on a cruise against our Greenland fishery, and were both taken into the service.

August the 22d, 1795, a squadron under the command of Captain James Alms, was detached from Admiral

Duncan's fleet, and cruised on the coast of Norway, where they fell in with a Dutch squadron, consisting of two frigates and a cutter. At a quarter past four in the afternoon, the Stag, Capt. J. S. Yorke, got alongside of the sternmost ship, and commenced a close action, which continued for an hour, when the enemy struck, and proved to be the Alliance, Dutch frigate of thirty-six guns and two hundred and forty men. The other frigate the Argo, effected her escape into Egero harbour, where she remained till the spring of the following year.

# CHAPTER VI.

Mediterranean—Force employed there—Its object in time of peace—Rear-admiral Gell sails with a squadron at the breaking out of the war—Takes the St. Jago—Boyne and Powerful claim—Vice-admiral Hotham sails with a squadron—Lord Hood with another—Hostilities commenced—Cagliari attacked—Description of Toulon—Surrenders to Lord Hood—Accounts of it reach England—Its effect on the government and country—Opinion of Mr. Pitt—Conduct of Spain, and Admiral Langara—Carteau compelled to retreat—Convention resolved to retake the place—Napoleon Buonaparte—Measures of the French—Five thousand French seamen sent away—Royalists not hearty in the cause—Plan pursued by Lord Hood—Arrival of Lord Mulgrave—Approaches of Carteau—Unfortunate step of ordering ships into inner harbours—Court of Naples—St. George engages forts—State of the garrison and public mind at Toulon—Impossibility of keeping it, proved—Lord Mulgrave—Deficiency of British troops—Heights of Pharon taken—Captain Beresford—Successful sortie—Arrival of O'Hara with reinforcements—Capture of Lyons—Unfavourable to Toulon—Corsica—Alcide, Fortitude and Ardent defeated at Forneille—Increased danger of Toulon—Attack on Fort Mulgrave—General O'Hara communicates to the Toulonese the resolution of the British government—Falsehood and treachery of the Toulonese—Perseverance of the chiefs to defend the town—Reflections—Arduous duty of the British troops—Miserable state of the allies—Error in not withdrawing in time—Fatal sortie and capture of O'Hara—Causes—Rapid advance of the enemy—supposed amount of forces on both sides—Desertion from the republican army—Desperate state of the garrison—Crisis—Sudden embarkation of the emigrants—Dreadful scenes—Heroic conduct of the British—Number of French on board British ships—Sir Sydney Smith—Destruction of arsenal—Conduct of the Spaniards—Blowing up of Powder-ships—Promotion of Gravina—Spanish policy—Cruelty of French—Conflagration—Sir Sydney Smith's letter—Retreat of the British forces, and final evacuation—Hieresbay—List of ships brought away and supposed to have been burnt—General Dundas's letter to the Secretary at war—Motives of Lord Hood for taking possession of Toulon—British faith—Opinion of Sir C. Grey confirmed—Loss of the royalist cause in the south of France—Reflections—Unanimity of the army and navy—Captain Hood and the Juno—The chiefs propose attacking Corsica.

The command of the British squadron in the Mediterranean, on the peace establishment, was held by Vice-

admiral Cosby, whose flag was in the Trusty of 50 guns; he had under his orders a small squadron, consisting of six frigates, and three sloops of war.

This force was intended chiefly as a check to the Barbary powers, and to guard against the machinations of France and Spain in the south of Europe.

It was not till the month of April, 1793, that a squadron could be got ready, on the war establishment, to proceed to that part of the world. Rear-admiral Gell sailed in the beginning of the month, having with him the following ships—

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|---|
| St. George | 98 | J. Gell, Esq., rear-adm. (blue)<br>Captain T. Foley |
| Boyne | 98 | William A. Otway |
| Edgar | 74 | A. Bertie |
| Egmont | 74 | A. Dickson |
| Ganges | 74 | A. J. P. Molloy |
| Powerful | 74 | T. Hicks |
| Phaeton | 38 | Sir A. S. Douglas |

This squadron, on its way to Gibraltar, captured the Dumourier, a French privateer, and recaptured her prize the St. Jago, a Spanish register-ship, with specie on board to the amount of nearly a million sterling. The Boyne and the Powerful, which had parted company a few hours previously on their way to St. Helena, laid a claim to share for this valuable prize, under the plea that, being within hearing of the guns which were fired by the chasing ships, they had thereby rendered constructive assistance: the case was argued before Sir James Marryat, the judge of the admiralty court, and given against the claimants, upon the principle that they could not in anywise have contributed to the capture: thus settng at rest the question of claims for constructive assistance, which from that time have been constantly rejected. Lord Hood, as commander-in-chief, received for this prize £50,000 to his own share; the captains about £30,000 each: and so great was the conviction that gold and jewels were concealed in her lining, that no part of her was left unsearched.

Rear-admiral Gell's squadron arrived at Gibraltar soon after, and was speedily reinforced by six sail of the line

and two frigates, which sailed in the month of May, under the command of Vice-admiral Hotham; and on the 22nd of May, Lord Viscount Hood with the third division sailed from Spithead, to assume the chief command, and to commence the most active operations against the republic of France. His lordship had his flag in the Victory, and now counted twenty sail of the line under his orders.

Hostilities had been begun by the French some time before the fleet under the command of Lord Hood reached the station.

On the 21st of January, the republican squadron attacked Cagliari in the island of Sardinia, of which they wished to gain possession, but the Sardinians were not yet infected with the republican mania; the royalist party prevailed, and, after a bombardment of three days (during which they attempted to land), they were beaten off, and obliged to desist.

The great and only naval arsenal of France in the Mediterranean is Toulon; a place that has been called one of the finest ports of maritime equipment in the world, though it falls infinitely short of Portsmouth, either as a harbour or depôt, or of Spithead as an anchorage. The French build their largest and best ships here. Besides the inner harbour, which encloses the arsenal, they have an outer harbour and a road. The inner harbour is a work of art formed by two jetties, hollow and bomb-proof, running off from the east and west sides of the town, and embracing a space large enough to hold thirty sail of the line, stowed in tiers very close together, as many frigates, and a proportion of small craft, besides their mast-pond. The arsenal is on the west side, and the ships in ordinary, or fitting, lie with their bowsprits or their sterns over the wharf; the storehouses are within fifteen yards of them; the rope-house, sail loft, bake-house, mast-house, ordnance, and other buildings, are capacious and good: the model-loft is worth the attention of strangers, but it is seldom they can obtain the indulgence of an admission. I was permitted to see it when I was there in 1818, with the late Earl of St. Vincent.

The water in the basin is, of course, sufficiently deep to receive a first-rate with all her stores. The east side is occupied by the victualling department and the gun-boats: the north side is a fine capacious quay, on which stands the town, extending from the dock-yard to the victualling office; immediately in front of it is the mouth of the basin, formed by the meeting of the two jetties to the distance of about eighty feet, on the easternmost a pair of sheers is erected for masting the ships; a boom closes the entrance at night, and another runs from the jetty to the town, confining all the small craft and timber on the east side of the harbour; the basin is never ruffled by any wind to occasion damage: the outer sides of the jetties present two tremendous batteries, a fleur d'eau, or nearly even with the water's edge, which we consider the very worst species of fort for a ship to encounter, because any shot is nearly certain of striking the object.

The space for the anchorage of ships of war in the inner road is very confined, and probably not more than two or three sail of the line could lie there at a time; the ground is in general foul and rocky. The great road is a good anchorage, but neither extensive, nor secure from the effects of a Levanter, which throws in a heavy sea; it is defended on the south side by a peninsula, terminating at Cape Sepet: the bay of Toulon, which is eastward of this, is open, and the water deep, therefore not to be relied on as an anchorage in all weathers. The town, which, it has been observed, occupies the north side of the inner harbour, is fortified with great art, both on the land and sea approaches; but being commanded by the heights with which it is surrounded on three sides, must be dependant on them for protection. A semicircular chain of mountains on the north extends from the Hieres-road on the east to the pass of Oliol on the west; this pass might have bid defiance to any force, had it been guarded by British troops: it is five miles from the town. Strong batteries from the heights command also the arsenal and the anchorage. Fort Mulgrave (as we called it) occupied the heights of La Grasse, and opposite to it on a point of land on the north side, which forms

the little road, stands the Fort of La Malgue; Aiguillette, and Bellaguer, are on the south side, whence, to Cape Sepet, the shore is one continued chain of forts.

The heights of Toulon are estimated at six hundred yards, and are of the most rugged and difficult ascent: the rocks crumbled under the feet of our daring countrymen as they mounted to the assault, and often precipitated huge masses on the heads of those beneath; the tops are guarded by the redoubts of St. Antoine, Artigues, St. Catherine's, and others: from the battery of La Croix, on the peninsula, to Cape Brun, the distance is two thousand yards, and this may be taken as the extreme breadth of the great road from north to south; westward of this may be about the same distance towards the grand tower and Bellaguer: this boasted sea-port consequently sinks into insignificance in point of extent, when compared to the capacious anchorage of Spithead, which, including its contiguous roadsteads, affording the most perfect security, extends from St. Helens to Yarmouth, a distance of twenty-five miles, and in breadth, on an average, about one; forty sail of the line, as many frigates, sloops, and small vessels, have been seen at these places at one time, while the Mother-bank, Stokes-bay, Yarmouth-roads, and Southampton-water, have contained between four and five hundred sail of merchant shipping, and have still had space for many more; nor, during the long hostilities recently concluded, have we witnessed any serious accident to a ship of war occasioned by bad weather, and rarely any to other vessels.

Brest is but an indifferent harbour, the water is shoal, and the entrance dangerous. L'Orient and Rochefort are neither of them good. Bordeaux affords no anchorage for ships of the line. Cherburg is small, and not a natural harbour. The Bays of Douaminez and Quiberon are no doubt beautiful and capacious anchorages, so is the Pertuis D'Antioche, these are in the Bay of Biscay. The Gulph of Frejus, and the Bay of Hieres, in the Mediterranean, are good in certain positions of the wind only; but the whole of the places above enumerated were, during the late war, much more resorted to by British than by French vessels; whether the introduc-

tion of steam will not render our anchorage uncomfortable, to say the least of it, in future, remains to be decided; the want of a port of equipment contiguous to them, of docks and arsenals, and other convenience for the repairs of ships, render them of little or no value to France, in time of war.

The Mediterranean, though subject to strong and irregular currents, has very little rise or fall of tide: this peculiarity of the inland sea subjects the port of Toulon to difficulties unknown to the rest of Europe, and its improvement, under such natural disadvantages, is highly creditable to the ingenuity and public spirit of the nation.

They have but one large dock, which, when filled for the reception of a ship, is afterward pumped out by the convicts, who were formerly employed in working the galleys; but that species of force being now disused, these people are kept to such labours only as their crimes have deserved, and their strength will enable them to perform: they are always in chains, and in 1818, their number amounted to about five thousand.

Lord Hood, on his arrival in the Mediterranean, took his station off Toulon, and having received some intimation of the disposition of the people in the country of Provence, he secretly opened a negotiation with some of the leading men of the provisional government; they very soon agreed to deliver up the town, arsenal, forts, and shipping, of Toulon to the British forces, in the name of Louis the Seventeeth, who was to be proclaimed King of France. After some fluttering and wavering, the Toulonese threw off their allegiance to the Convention, and admitted the British forces within their harbour.

The terms on which Lord Hood was permitted to bring the fleet within the Port of Toulon were such as a loose and disorderly government could hastily pack together. They were never very rigidly adhered to, and less so by the French than the English: the forts were put into our hands, the gunners to be half French, half English, and thus in a few days did this light and frivolous people place their grand fleet, and their best arsenal, in the hands of their most powerful and implacable enemy: the convention was dated on board the Victory, August 28th, 1793.

This event was in England considered as one of infinite importance to the cause of royalty, and supposed by many to be the immediate forerunner of a general peace.

Before Lord Hood, with his fleet, entered the road of Toulon, it was judged necessary that the forts commanding that anchorage should be put into possession of British officers and men; which was accordingly effected at midnight on the 27th, when one thousand seven hundred marines and seamen from the different ships were landed, under the command of Captain the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, of the Robust, who received an appointment from the Admiral as governor of Fort la Malgue, commanding by its situation both the town and the inner and outer roads. The British and Spanish fleets entered the great road at the same time, the Spanish division under the command of Admiral Gravina. A message was sent to St. Julian, the French admiral, desiring that he would immediately cause all his ships to proceed into the inner harbour, and put their powder on shore, otherwise that they would be treated as enemies. St. Julian, who was the Admiral appointed by the seamen in lieu of Trogoffe, a royalist, had seized some of the forts and refused to admit the English. All the ships except seven complied with the order, the desertion of the crews with their Admiral preventing its completion with the others. The British fleet anchored in the bay, and rear-admiral Goodall was appointed governor of Toulon, and the Spanish rear-admiral Gravina commandant of the troops; Lord Hugh Seymour Conway and the Hon. Captain Waldegrave were charged with the Admiral's despatches, and ordered to proceed to England by different routes. It is to be lamented that the whole of the French ships capable of being navigated had not been sent, with as many of the inhabitants as chose to embark or could have been conveyed, to the island of Minorca; as it would have borne the appearance of confidence in the Spaniards, and have subjected the general cause to no great danger; for, being dismantled, they would always have been at the disposal of Great Britain, at any rate, lost to France, even had the Spaniards declared against us.

On the arrival of the despatches in London, a privy council was called, and measures agreed on, which the sanguine mind of Mr. Pitt induced him to believe would secure all the advantages he hoped to derive from the fortunate event. He sent for Sir Charles Grey, and inquired what he supposed would be a sufficient force to defend the place from the attacks of the republican army? —The General replied, fifty thousand good troops would be no more than enough to answer all the purposes: Mr. Pitt shook his head, in token of dissent from this opinion, and dismissed this gallant officer with the observation that "he hoped they should be able to defend it with a much smaller number." This information was given to me by the late Earl of St. Vincent.

No sooner had the British Admiral secured the possession of Toulon, than the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara, who, with a fleet of twenty-one ships of the line, was on the coast of Roussillon, wrote to congratulate him, and offer the services of himself and his forces in aid of the common cause; an offer the comnander-in-chief was obliged to accept, lest he should offend the court of Spain, whose king was a member of the Bourbon family, and also of the coalition. The accession of the Spanish troops was a real injury to the cause; they never defended the posts intrusted to them; so that the enemy was sure of an entrance wherever these people were stationed to prevent them.

The republican general Carteau reconnoitred the approaches to Toulon on the 31st of August, the fourth day of our entrance: he had with him seven hundred and fifty men, and ten pieces of cannon. Governor Elphinstone marched out to meet him at the head of six hundred British troops and some Spaniards, and quickly defeated him, taking his guns and colours; the national convention, resolved at once to regain possession of the place, and to gratify their revenge by the destruction of the royalists; for which purpose they lost no time in concentrating their forces round this devoted town. The armies of the republic approached it from the east, west, and north; their communication was only open by sea,

whence the people received their supplies and derived all their hopes, which were soon to vanish.

It was on this occasion that the celebrated Napoleon Bonaparte first made himself conspicuous: his talents and courage were greatly instrumental in the reduction of Toulon. A Lieutenant Colonel of artillery, he had the art and the audacity to command respect and obedience, even from his superior officers, who blindly submitted to be led by him whom they could not instruct.—To him the convention owed the surrender of the place and the retreat of the British forces, together with the horrors which afflicted that unhappy town.

About the middle of September, Admiral Trogoffe represented to Lord Hood that the seamen, who to the number of five thousand were still in the town, were very troublesome, and suggested the necessity of disposing of them for the safety of the place: his Lordship caused four old ships of the line having no guns, except two for signals, with a few pounds of powder, to be got ready for their reception, and, having embarked them, he gave to each ship a passport, and sent them off to Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort. This, under the circumstances by which he had got these men into his power, was a wise, humane, and prudent measure, as far as it regarded Toulon; but it unfortunately enabled the republicans to man their fleet at Brest, and meet us on equal terms the ensuing year in the Channel. It now became evident that we were not to expect much assistance from the royalists, who had no sooner been the means of admitting the enemy than they repented of it; their numbers daily decreased, by their re-conversion to republicanism, and the apostates sought to make their peace with the convention by denouncing their neighbours or their friends. Many, however, it must be observed, had on this occasion assumed the title of royalists without the smallest pretension to that denomination.

Lord Hood had certainly taken upon himself a greater degree of responsibility than he was aware of; he had engaged to defend the inhabitants of Toulon and Marseilles against the immense armies of the republic, with-

out having the means of doing so, or knowing the number and strength of the forces he had to encounter.

Early in September Lord Mulgrave arrived at Toulon, and, at the request of Lord Hood, took upon him the command of the land-forces. One of the advanced posts towards Marseilles had been ordered to be abandoned, as being of no importance; but before this measure could be carried into execution, Carteau attacked it with a large body of troops, and drove in the French royalists and Spaniards who had charge of it, their retreat being covered by the British, who received no injury. This was the manner in which the royalists and auxiliaries always acquitted themselves; and the English soldiers were invariably called in to their rescue, even from an enemy of inferior force.

It appears inexplicable that the French fleet, which at our first coming was lying in the outer road of Toulon, should have been ordered to take out their powder and proceed into the inner harbour. The first injunction not having been disputed, it would seem that the second was unnecessary. It is painful to think how many innocent victims might have been saved, had the women and children, with the aged and infirm, been placed on board these ships and kept in the outer road, or sent to Minorca as a pledge at least for the fidelity of their relatives on shore. The allies now flocked into the town to consume the provisions, without contributing to its security, thus adding to the confusion and miseries of the unhappy Toulonese, the victims at once of a mistaken policy, and their own treachery and cowardice.

As soon as the court of Naples was informed of the surrender of Toulon, a body of two thousand Neapolitan troops, with two ships of the line, and two frigates, were despatched to join Lord Hood; a supply of two thousand more soldiers was promised within three weeks, and on the 24th of September the Colossus brought a corps of Sardinians from Cagliari.

On the morning of the 18th October, the republican troops, whose valour and vigilance were seldom surpassed, opened two mortar-batteries at the head of the inner road at La Petite Garenne, and kept up an incess-

ant fire on our advance during the whole of that day. A frigate and a gun-boat were ordered up to cover the magazine; another battery was opened upon our works on the 19th, from Les Geux; the Princess Royal, of 98 guns, and a gun-boat, were sent to silence it; they lay in the inner road, and succeeded, but with very severe loss: the gun-boat was sunk, the crew saved, the Princess Royal had a gun burst on her lower deck, which killed and wounded twenty-two men. The Princess Royal was well supported on this service by the French ship of the line Le Puissant, commanded by a royalist officer—who did his duty to admiration. I am sorry I do not know his name.

On the 20th, a small force, consisting of 150 British, and 350 Spanish, troops, under the command of Captain Brereton, were taken across the harbour from Toulon, and landed at Fort Bellaguer, whence they marched immediately forward to reconnoitre the heights of La Grasse; they were attacked in the afternoon by a body of about seven hundred French, whom they put to flight, with great loss on their side and very little on ours: this gave us an opportunity of seizing the western hill, on which a battery of three twenty-four-pounders was instantly established, and a deep trench dug arround it. The guns were got up by the seamen under the command of Captain Charles Tyler, when the post, being supposed in a perfect state of defence, it was named Fort Mulgrave, and a small garrison placed in it under the command of Captain Duncan of the British Artillery. In the mean time, the exertions of the enemy were persevering, and while the republicans laboured without, the garrison within was a prey to treachery and discord. The duties devolving on Lord Mulgrave, and his handful of British troops, became every day more arduous and difficult; in short it ought now to have been perceived that the defence of the place was impossible, and therefore it was time to prepare for the evacuation, and to secure the fleet, as well as the lives of such of the royalists as chose to avail themselves of the protection of the British flag, and who knew that they had no chance of making their peace with the national convention: but

the Admiral and the General having submitted the state of Toulon to their government at home, waited for instructions. For want of sufficient troops, the important pass of Oliol on the west, and the road leading from Nice to Toulon on the east, were not secured; a fact which proves, beyond all doubt, the correctness of the information supplied by Sir Charles Grey, in the early part of the campaign.

On the 1st of October the enemy gained possession of the heights of Pharon, and a very strong post above these heights had been stormed and taken by the republicans. Its recovery was thought indispensable, and Lord Mulgrave led out a body of men to the attack; he was accompanied by Admiral Gravina, Governor Elphinstone, and Captain Beresford, of the sixty-ninth (now Lord Beresford), with his grenadiers. The latter officer, on this occasion, distinguished himself in a remarkable manner; while Lord Hood remained at Toulon, and with the seamen and marines under his command took charge of the garrison and fort La Malgue. In the attack the enemy was routed, the fort retaken, and the guns spiked; but the republicans, notwithstanding this advantage, continually contracted the limits of the out-posts.

On the 13th, the garrison in a sortie did very considerable injury to the enemy's works, and spiked some guns; another battery was then opened on the town from the heights, and many heavy shot and shells thrown into it, when a sortie succeeded in dislodging them, and again spiking the guns and mortars. In this way the troops were hourly harassed, and a serious diminution of their forces announced the approaching calamity. A reinforcement arrived on the 27th of October, from Gibraltar, with General O'Hara, who took upon him the chief command; at the same time, intelligence was received of the capture of Lyons, by the republicans; and it was rightly conjectured that the termination of that important siege, which had held the forces of the convention so long in check, would admit of a large body of troops being sent to assist the army before Toulon. Lord Hood had, about the 6th of October, received a pressing solicitation from General Paoli, the royalist governor of Corsica, to send

him three ships of the line. This requisition he immediately complied with, and added two frigates. The command of the squadron was given to Commodore Linzee, who, on his arrival on the coast of that island, made an unsuccessful attack on the tower and redoubt of Forneille, but received so much damage from one of the Martello towers, that he was forced to haul off: his ships of the line were the Alcide, Courageux, and Fortitude of 74 guns, and one or two frigates. The Commodore imputed his failure to want of co-operation on the part of the Corsicans, who had agreed to storm the batteries in the rear, while the ships engaged them in front.

At Toulon, in the meantime, the enemy still pressed on, and carried the defences on the heights of Cape Brune, which look down upon Fort La Malgue, and are nearly within gun-shot of it on the eastern side of the harbour: they were retaken by the British troops, on the same day, with little loss. On the 15th of November, the republicans made a most determined attack on Fort Mulgrave: they were repulsed by the British troops with great loss.

On the 20th, General O'Hara assembled a deputation of the inhabitants of Toulon, and informed them that the engagements which had been entered into by Lord Hood had received the sanction of his Britannic Majesty, who had commanded him to assure the assembly that they should be punctually fulfilled: his Majesty was sensible that the possession of the town had laid him under the most sacred obligation, and presented objects of the highest importance; and that his Majesty had already taken, and would still continue to take, such measures as were necessary to provide for the safety of the town and the inhabitants; and to this end he had appointed three commissioners, under the great seal of England, viz. Lord Hood, Sir Gilbert Elliot (afterwards Lord Minto), and himself, who were authorized to act in his Majesty's name, not only in the direction of the civil affairs and interests of Toulon, but of any other places in France, which might be occupied by his Majesty's arms.

The whole of the transactions relative to this ill-fated place seem to have sprung from the same source as the

misfortunes of the Prussian army,—namely, the falsehood and treachery of a set of men calling themselves royalists, and emigrants; the first, by being instrumental in the surrender of the town,—the second, by filling the minds of the British government with the most unfounded accounts of the anti-revolutionary spirit which pervaded the territory of the republic.

To those who are acquainted with the local situation of the British troops and their allies, surrounded by commanding heights, on which an overpowering military force was hourly approaching the focus with irresistible fury, it would seem wonderful, at the very period when the General was haranguing the assembly, that he and his auditors were not actively employed in removing the ships out of the basin, embarking the women and children, securing the naval stores, spiking the guns on the sea-batteries, or throwing them and all the ammunition into the water, and disarming the most disaffected, who made no secret of their intentions the moment they could execute them: the order for an embarkation was expected to have been the signal for universal confusion, massacre, pillage, and revenge.

The duties of the garrison, and the extensive works on all sides of the town, devolved on a small body of British troops, augmented by a miserable collection of Spaniards, Sardinians, and Neapolitans, never to be relied on, and all exhausted with fatigue and privations. Cowardice, treachery, and famine, within, a daring and merciless enemy without, whose repeated assaults, however gallantly repulsed, were always sure to weaken the ranks of the English, the only defenders of the garrison, and the only human beings who deserved the name of soldiers, or of men.

It has been asserted that the faith of the King and the nation was pledged to keep possession of the place, and protect the people from the fury of the convention. This I admit; though I cannot see how either would have been compromised by withdrawing, in time, from an untenable post, and thereby securing the lives and property which we were pledged to protect. I may remark that in this, as in all other subsequent events,

wherever the forces of Britain have been lent to the cause of the royalists, they have invariably been deceived and blamed by both parties, as the instigators of civil war for the destruction of France.

On the 30th of November, the enemy opened a heavy battery on the heights of Arenes, and from Malbousquet, and Pharon at the same time, which greatly annoyed our out-posts. Major-general Dundas, with a mixed force of two thousand three hundred men, marched out to attack it, under every disadvantage of stony ground, deep ravines, and broken bridges. He succeeded in surprising the post, and had won the day with trifling loss; but the ardour of his troops led them to pursue their enemy far beyond the object of the sortie. Instead of forming on the heights, which they had gained, they descended into a valley and ascended other heights, where they were checked by superior forces, thrown into confusion, and driven back far within the fort they had taken. General O'Hara, who had entered the battery on its capture, was involved in the consequences of the defeat, surrounded, wounded, and taken prisoner. The loss on our side was very severe. This enterprise failed, first, from the want of previous arrangement; secondly, from the foreign troops dispersing in quest of plunder; and thirdly, because our soldiers, unaccustomed to war, and led by their own natural ardour, could not be restrained from the pursuit of their enemy: they had fallen into an ambuscade, from which they were obliged to retreat in disorder, with the loss of seven hundred men, including the General and some of our best officers, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

December the 13th, the approaches of the enemy were rapid, their batteries stronger, and more numerous. The number of their troops was supposed to amount to fifty thousand, ours to about fifteen thousand, of which four thousand were sick in the hospitals. Deserters from their camp, sent no doubt by the French General, conveyed some truth, with much false information, spread reports of an immediate attempt to storm, and, having gained all the intelligence they wished for, soon disappeared and regained their own camp. These men should

invariably have been sent to the fleet as soon as they came within the lines: no soldier of any experience could suppose that a deserter, the most despicable of all cowards, would fly from a victorious army, to share the imminent danger and certain privations of a blockaded town.

After the capture of General O'Hara, the command of the garrison and troops devolved on General Dundas: from that time till the 18th of December, the republican army advanced with rapid strides, and in a dark and tempestuous night (always the favourite seasons of their enterprise) they attacked Fort Mulgrave, and carried it. The situation of the town and its unfortunate inhabitants now became desperate; and the crisis, long foreseen by a few, burst upon them like a great convulsion of nature: no imagination can picture the horrors attending the sudden order for the evacuation of Toulon: no proposals, however humiliating, could gain a moment's attention from the ferocious and blood-thirsty Carteau, and his savage army,—death, vengeance, and plunder, were their cry and their watch-words.

The French ships of the line, which had either not entered the basin when that fatal order was given, or had been timely withdrawn from it, were, the Commerce de Marseilles of one hundred and thirty guns, the Pompeé of eighty, and Puissant of seventy-four; these, on the first alarm, were quickly filled with emigrants of all ranks, ages, and sexes, flying from inevitable destruction; every boat, every shallop, however decayed or forlorn, had its freight of woe; parents separated from their children, husbands from their wives, all property abandoned, the love of life overcame, as usual, every other consideration. The officers and crews of the British ships of war, ever foremost in danger, as in the work of humanity, rendered every assistance in their power to these unhappy fugitives, and, to save them, were willing to sacrifice their own lives, and cheerfully resigned every comfort for their accommodation. The Princess Royal had on board, at one time, nearly four thousand people, and the Robust three thousand, besides their own crews: they were as speedily distributed into different ships as

time and circumstances would admit; and I fear no contradiction in saying that, under such pressing emergency, "none but the brave English" would have done so much. The ships lying in the inner road were, by the greatest exertions, brought out of the reach of the guns on the east side of the anchorage, sustaining for some time a heavy and galling fire. Part of the artillery-stores, with the troops and emigrants, were huddled off in the greatest confusion. This service was performed under the direction of the Hon. Captain Keith Elphinstone (the late Lord Viscount Keith), assisted by Captains Hallowell and Mathews; and the important charge of destroying the arsenal, and ships of war, was intrusted, by Lord Hood, to Captain Sir Sydney Smith. This officer happened, at that time, to have arrived at Toulon from Smyrna, where he had been on his travels, and was consequently on half pay. Don Juan de Langara, the Spanish admiral, was appointed his coadjutor. The whole service was, from the hurry and extreme hazard, very imperfectly executed, particularly that part of it which fell to the Spaniards, who gave up the advanced post at which they were stationed, and admitted the enemy before the trains were complete, or the embarkation effected; and, instead of scuttling the powder-ships, according to the orders they had received, blew them up, by which they destroyed a gallant British officer, and some seamen, and very greatly and uselessly damaged the town, doomed to suffer as much from the indiscretion of its friends, as from the violence of its enemies.

Six weeks previously to the evacuation of Toulon, Lord Hood received a letter from Don Juan de Langara, acquainting him that his Catholic Majesty had promoted Admiral Gravina, in consequence of his gallant conduct, to the rank of lieutenant-general, and appointed him commander-in-chief of the combined forces at Toulon! This is the more remarkable, as the capitulation was solely made to the British government; it was, however, received as the warning of an approaching rupture between Spain and England.

Lord Hood paid no attention to the letter: Langara, though an honourable and a good man, paraded his fleet,

of twenty-one sail of the line, in a menacing position, before that of Britain, of only half the number; and complained of the unequal distribution of power between the Spanish and English forces; but at length quietly submitted, knowing that resistance would only have brought destruction on himself and his fleet. The detention of the property captured in the St. Jago, which we have related, was one of the causes which Spain assigned for her hostility; but it should be remembered that this act of our government was preceded by the condemnation of an English transport in the Spanish courts, though not of equal value, yet under exactly similar circumstances.

I pass over in haste the horrors which succeeded the entry of the republicans into the fortress of Toulon; here, as well as at Marseillois, every one suspected of loyalty, or of having had any connexion with the English, was either butchered or thrown into the sea and drowned; many were disposed of by the infernal Marseillois weddings,—a man and his wife, a brother and sister, or any people of different sexes known to be dear to each other, were tied back to back and thrown into the harbour from the quays, while the brutal rabble, with hellish malignity, sported with their dying agonies. These scenes were subsequently practised at Nantes and other places, by the regicide Carrere, or Carrèer.

The catastrophe at Toulon was not finished; and the last touch was yet wanting to complete the picture of desolation, of which the citizens of civilized nations of the eighteenth century were at once the authors and the victims.

"Agreeably to your Lordship's orders (says Sir Sydney Smith), I proceeded to the arsenal with the Swallow, tender, three English and three Spanish gun-boats, and immediately began to make preparations for burning that place and the fleet. We found the dock-gates well secured by the judicious arrangement of the Governor, although the workmen in the dock-yard had already substituted the tri-coloured cockade for the white. The galley-slaves, to the number of six thousand, shewed themselves jealous spectators of our operations: their

disposition to oppose us was evident; and being unchained, which was not usual, made it necessary to keep a watchful eye over them on board the galleys, by pointing the guns of the Swallow and one of the gun-boats in such a manner as to enfilade the quays on which they must have landed to get at us; and they were kept in order by the continued fire of shot and shells into the dock-yard by the enemy from Fort Malbousquet and the surrounding heights, which looked down upon us and our labours; the fire therefore, which was intended for our destruction, operated in our favour, by keeping the republican party in the town confined to their houses, while it gave little interruption to the work of preparing and placing the combustible matter in the storehouses and on board the ships. The enemy, in great numbers, were seen coming down the hills towards the town and dock-yard wall which joins it; and as the night closed in, poured upon us a heavy fire of musketry from the Boulangerie, and cannon from the heights: we kept them at bay by continued discharges of grape-shot, which prevented their approaching so near as to discover the insufficiency of our force. To repel a closer attack, a gun-boat was stationed to flank the wall on the outside, and two field-pieces within at the wicket-gate, to guard against the workmen, of whom we were apprehensive. About eight o'clock Lieutenant (now Vice Admiral Sir John) Gore towed in the Vulcan fire-ship, and Captain Hare, her commander, placed her, as I directed him, across the tier of ships of war, while the additional force of her guns and men abated our apprehensions of the rising of the galley-slaves; the tumultuous debates of whom ceased on her appearance, and we heard the noise of their hammers while knocking off their fetters, which humanity forbade my opposing, that they might be more at liberty to save themselves from the intended conflagration. In this situation we waited most anxiously for the signal from the Governor to light the trains;" the British troops, it must be observed, being still in possession of the town.

"The moment the signal was made, the flames arose in every quarter. Lieutenant Tupper, charged with the

burning of the general magazine, the pitch, tar, tallow, and oil stores, succeeded most perfectly; (I have great reason to doubt this perfect success. The storehouses were all standing in 1795, and in 1818; and it is supposed that they suffered very little damage. Of the ships I shall give a tolerable account when we see them at the Nile and elsewhere) and the hemp storehouses were involved in the destruction. Lieutenants Middleton and Pater, of the Britannia, set fire to the mast-houses: the retreat of the latter had nearly been cut off by the enemy. As soon as the blaze of light enabled them to direct their guns, their fire redoubled on us. Lieutenant Ironmonger, of the royals, remained with his guard at the gate to the very last moment; the Spanish guard being withdrawn, he was brought safely off by Captain Edge, of the Alert, who covered our retreat and collected our detached parties, that were saved to a man. Captain Hare, of the Vulcan fire-ship, who gallantly put the match to the train, was blown over-board and much hurt. One would have thought that the most common sense of precaution would have suggested the scutling of the powder ships, in the outer road, or, at the mouth of the basin, which would, for a time at least, have prevented the ingress and egress of the enemy's ships; this may be called an after-thought; true, but should it not have occurred to the many experienced men who were there present; and may not such an idea be serviceable hereafter? the blowing up was a cruel and sadly misguided affair: civilised nations should concur to discontinue the use of fire-ships, the bravest, or the most innocent, most frequently are their victims; and, like the murder of Cabreras's mother, they only excite a horror and disgust at the perpetration of such useless destruction.

"The guns of the fire-ship, going off as they became heated in the direction given to them, checked the career of the enemy, who attempted to force their way in upon us: their shouts and republican songs were heard until we were all thunderstruck by the explosion of some thousands of barrels of gunpowder, which had been most injudiciously set on fire by the Spaniards on board the Iris frigate, lying in the inner road, and consequently

outside of us; and we narrowly escaped destruction from the concussion and the falling shower of burning timber and other articles around us. Lieutenant Patey, of the Terrible, and his boat's crew, had nearly perished, the boat being blown to pieces; the people were saved. I had given it in charge to the Spanish officers to fire the ships in the basin before the town, but they reported it impracticable: we attempted it together, as soon as I had completed the work at the arsenal, but found it impossible to cut the boom which runs from the town quay to the batterie royal, whence a heavy fire of musketry was kept upon our boats; the guns on that fort had fortunately been spiked by order of the Governor."

"We now proceeded (he continues) to burn the Heros and Themistocles, two ships of seventy-four guns lying in the inner road. We had hitherto been prevented approaching them in the boats, as the prisoners who had been left in the latter ship had shewn a determination to resist any attempt to board them: terrified, however, by the scene of conflagration and the explosion of the Iris, they thankfully accepted my offer to land them in a place of safety, and this was happily effected. They shewed us every mark of gratitude for our humanity in not burning them with the ships, which, as soon as the people were removed, we set on fire. This was scarcely done, when a second explosion of a powder-ship, even greater than the first, and equally unexpected, exposed us to the most imminent danger; and, considering that we were within the sphere of the falling timber, it is next to a miracle that none fell in our boat: Lieutenant Ralph Willet Miller, of the royal navy, highly distinguished himself on the occasion. Having now set fire to every thing within our reach, and exhausted our combustible preparations and our strength to such a degree as that the men dropped upon their oars, we steered our course to join the fleet, receiving a few ill-directed shot from forts Bellaguer and Aiguillete, on the peninsula, proceeding first to the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many as we could carry.

"We can ascertain that the fire extended to ten ships

of the line: I am sorry to be obliged to leave any, but your Lordship will, I hope, admit that we did as much as circumstances and our limited means would allow."

The military and naval reader must now judge for himself why Sir Sydney was limited either in time or means. If there was any breach of faith in taking away the ships and stores out of the naval arsenal, which we think cannot be maintained, there was surely much greater in setting fire to the ships and storehouses, which occasioned the ruin of thousands, and the destruction of lives and property of friends as well as foes: it is indeed wonderful that the whole town of Toulon did not share the fate of the arsenal which joined it.

Lord Hood, after the night of the 18th of December, retreated with his fleet to Hieres-bay, a fine anchorage about ten miles east of Toulon: he was accompanied by the French admiral, Trogoffe, and his three ships of the line bearing the white flag. In the course of the following year they arrived in England, and were taken into the British service, but all their officers and crews were previously discharged; the reader is not to be surprised if he should hereafter find some ships of the line that were supposed to be included in the conflagration taking their stations in the French line of battle at sea. I do not mean to impute blame to Sir Sydney Smith, who certainly performed as much as any officer could have done similarly situated; but the ships had not time to burn before the active enemy extinguished the flames in many of them, and even those that were the worst damaged were repaired. No sooner had the British Admiral effected his retreat from the road to Toulon, and moored his fleet in Hieres-bay, than a gale came on from the eastward, which, had it occurred two days sooner, might have proved disastrous. Our fleet, confined in the road of Toulon, exposed to all the batteries of the enemy, would not have found the means of eluding such powerful adversaries; and the consequences cannot be contemplated without a grateful sense of providential interference in our favour. The Commerce de Marseille, 120 guns; the Pompée of 80; and the Puissant of 74; were brought away; and of the ten sail of the line said to have

been destroyed, almost all were found to be at sea shortly after, and, as the sailors say, all a taunto.

Lieutenant General Dundas addressed a letter to the secretary at war, in which, after detailing the noble exertions of his troops, and the events which had brought himself and his companions in arms to that humbled and mortifying situation, he gives such an account of the strength and resources of the enemy, compared with his own, as leaves us astonished at the magnanimity which could persevere under such insurmountable difficulties: "From concurring testimonies (says the General) the enemy's army now amounted to between thirty and forty thousand men, and an attack upon our posts was daily expected; these, from their essential, though detached, situations, had been severally strengthened in the proportion their circumstances required, leaving such central force in the town as might serve for its immediate guard, and for affording a degree of succour to any point that should be attacked.

"For the complete defence of the town and harbour, we have been long obliged to occupy a circumference of at least fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with their several intermediate ones; the greatest part of these were of a temporary nature, such as our means allowed us to construct; and of our force, which never exceeded twelve thousand men bearing arms, composed of five different nations and languages, near nine thousand were placed in, or supporting, these posts, and about three thousand remained in the town.

"On the 16th, at half past two in the morning, the enemy, who had before fired from their batteries upon Fort Mulgrave, now opened two new ones, and continued a heavy bombardment and cannonade upon that post till day-light; the works suffered much, and the number of killed and wounded was considerable: the weather was rainy and the fatigue very great. On the morning of the 17th, the enemy made a most determined attack upon this fort, and, in spite of the gallant resistance of Captain Conolly of the eighteenth regiment, finally carried it; the garrison of seven hundred men retreated upon Bellaguer, a most important post for the

preservation of the harbour, and with which we had no communication except by water. These heights had been occupied for some time past by two thousand two hundred men, and were reinforced the preceding day by seven hundred more: the firing on the peninsula ceased, and we waited in anxious expectation of day-light, when a new scene presented itself; all our posts on Pharon heights, which are immediately in the rear of the town, were attacked and carried, except on the east side, where they were repulsed: here was our principal force of seven hundred men, commanded by the brave Colonel de Jernagnan, a Piedmontese officer who died at his post. The back of the mountain, eighteen hundred feet high, steep, rocky, and nearly inaccessible, the enemy found means to ascend, during a thick fog in the night-time, and to penetrate between our posts, which occupied an extent of two miles, guarded only by four hundred and fifty men, and in a very short space of time we saw great numbers of troops crowding the heights which overlook the town. A council of flag and field officers was immediately called, and it was then decided that the place was untenable; the troops were withdrawn from the heights of Bellaguer, and the army was concentrated in and about the town; on the 18th the sick and the artillery were embarked; and on the 19th, by day-light in the morning, were followed by the whole of the troops."

In taking possession of Toulon, Lord Hood was actuated by the purest patriotism and philanthropy; and as a nobleman, endowed with the highest sense of his own and his country's honour, he acted with becoming caution in guarding both from the imputation of bad faith. The pledge that he had given was sanctioned by the King and his ministers; and those who best knew the upright and undeviating principles of George III. will be convinced that to abandon the cause he had once espoused was no part of his character. The implicit confidence placed by Lord Hood in the promises of men, whom he measured by the standard of his own integrity, was the great cause of his failure. He was taught by them to believe that, with the assistance of

British troops, he might bid defiance to the power of the republic. His representations to his government gained the same credit that he gave them himself; and Mr. Pitt, as we have seen, quite ridiculed the ample estimate of Sir Chales Grey, when that officer spoke of fifty thousand men as a force not too great to answer all the purposes of defending the conquest.

With the fall of Toulon to the arms of General Carteau, fell all hopes of the royalists in the south of France: all the flattering prospects of counter-revolution vanished ere the flames of the arsenal were extinguished. The conventional commissioners in the south, Freron, Record, the younger Robespierre, and Salicetti, in announcing the evacuation to the convention, observed that their first despatch should be dated "from the ruins of Toulon;" and the convention passed a decree on the 24th of December, on the motion of Barrere, for changing the name of that rebellious city to Port Mountain, and for levelling all the houses which it contained with the ground, leaving nothing standing but the naval and military establishment. This stupid decree was never carried into execution: of the attack on Toulon little more can be said; to have kept the place was impossible, as Sir Charles Grey hinted from the first; but the fleet, the naval stores, and any person who wished to have left might have been removed from it, and the Dockyard and Arsenals rendered useless to the enemy, at least for a very long period.

A few days after the British fleet had quitted the great road of Toulon, and retired to Hieres-bay, the Juno frigate of thirty-two guns arrived; and, being quite ignorant of the recent events, entered the inner road at night, ran a-ground, got off, and tailed again upon the rocks, with which that anchorage abounds: she was immediately boarded by a French boat full of officers and men, from whom Captain Hood learned, though they endeavoured to conceal it, that the English were no longer masters of the place; when, instantly ordering all the Frenchmen below, who drew their swords and attempted to resist, he set his sails, cut his cable, and worked out of the anchorage, in defiance of every ob-

stacle of shoals or batteries. In passing the fort on the point of Bellaguer, he indulged his ship's company by firing some broadsides at it; but this was not a measure sanctioned by prudence, since the firing had the effect of lessening the breeze, already too light, and taking the attention of officers and men from the trimming of the sails, an object of more importance to them than even the certainty of killing a thousand Frenchmen. Captain Hood, however, deserved and gained great credit for his conduct. It was a fine sample of seamanship and discipline united.

Driven from the continent, the two commanders-in-chief next considered where the forces under their orders might be the most beneficially employed for the advantage of the public service; when the island of Corsica, a colony of France, and not more than eighty miles from the anchorage they now occupied, appeared to them to afford the fairest prospect of success. This romantic spot had, in the year 1789, at the request of the Corsicans, through General Paoli, been declared the eighty-third department of France; but in consequence of the events of the revolution, which was felt to the utmost parts of the world where the French had any influence, the Corsicans, like all uncivilized people, became restless, revolted again from their new masters, and Paoli, at their instigation, sent an invitation to Lord Hood to come and take possession of the island.

The Admiral, too happy to have at once an object to divert the attention of his people from the late disastrous events, and to annoy his enemy at the same time, bent his whole united force upon the acquisition of the island for his country.

## CHAPTER VII.

Channel—Nymph and Cleopatra—Crescent and Reunion—Sailing of Lord Howe, and chase of the French squadron in August and November—Sir John Warren takes the Pomone—Swiftsure takes the Atalante—Castor taken with convoy—Lord Howe sails with the grand fleet, and four hundred sail of convoy—French fleet sails under Villaret—Observations on the state of both fleets, as to officers and men—Clerke's naval tactics—Log of the Queen Charlotte—Battle of the 1st of June—Logs of the Royal George and Orion—Lord Howe's letter—List of captured ships—List of British and French fleets, with killed and wounded—Rear-admiral Montagu's squadron meets the French off Brest—They chase him—He returns into port—Observations on that affair, and conversation of the Author with Admiral Villaret—Arrival of the French convoy—General observation—Anecdote of Trowbridge—Ships of the line cut down to frigates.

If we except the co-operation of the navy at the defence of Williamstadt, Sluys, and Newport, there was no naval action of any importance, till the question for maritime superiority was in some measure decided by the gallant action between the Nymph and the Cleopatra.

The convention in the year 1793, at the instigation of Robespierre, passed a decree forbidding quarter to be given to the English or their allies; and in one or two instances in our conflicts in Holland the republicans obeyed their orders, and some of our brave countrymen were surrounded on the spot, and put to death in cold blood. But this detestable act was soon so wofully retaliated that the French discontinued the practice under their usual plea of humanity. I have no well-authenticated instance of similar conduct being pursued at sea.

In the month of June, 1793, Captain Pellew, in the Nymph of thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and two

hundred and fifty men, fell in off the Lizard with the Cleopatra, a ship in weight of metal and number of guns of nearly equal force, but with a more numerous ship's company. The action began with a mutual desire, and being the first of the kind since France had assumed the republican flag, was fought by both parties with equal courage and zeal for the honour of their country: the enemy displayed valour and good conduct, but, after a se ere contest, was compelled to surrender, with great loss; among others, Monsieur Moulon, the captain. Nor did the Nymph escape without injury; her number of killed and wounded fell little short of that of her enemy.

The Nymph took her prize into Plymouth. Captain Pellew received the honour of knighthood; his first lieutenant was promoted to the rank of commander and captain; Israel Pellew, who was serving as a volunteer with his brother, to the rank of post-captain. The decided superiority shewn by the British officers and seamen on this occasion, had no doubt a wonderful effect on the subsequent actions at sea, where the French seemed as conscious of their inferiority as they were of their own skill and bravery on shore, compared to other troops of the continent.

In the month of October, Captain Saumarez, in the Crescent, of thirty-six guns, fell in, off Cherbourg, with the French frigate La Réunion of the same force, and after a short action took her, with the trifling casualty of one man wounded on board of his own ship by the recoil of a gun: the enemy lost about one hundred and twenty killed and wounded. Captain Saumarez brought his prize into Portsmouth, and received the honour of knighthood; his first lieutenant, Mr. George Parker, was promoted to the rank of commander. The Crescent, after losing her fore-topmast, shot away the enemy's fore-yard, and took her position in such a manner, athwart her bow, as not to receive any damage. This instance may be fairly adduced in support of the proposition, that a long list of killed and wounded is not always a certain criterion of the merit of the action.

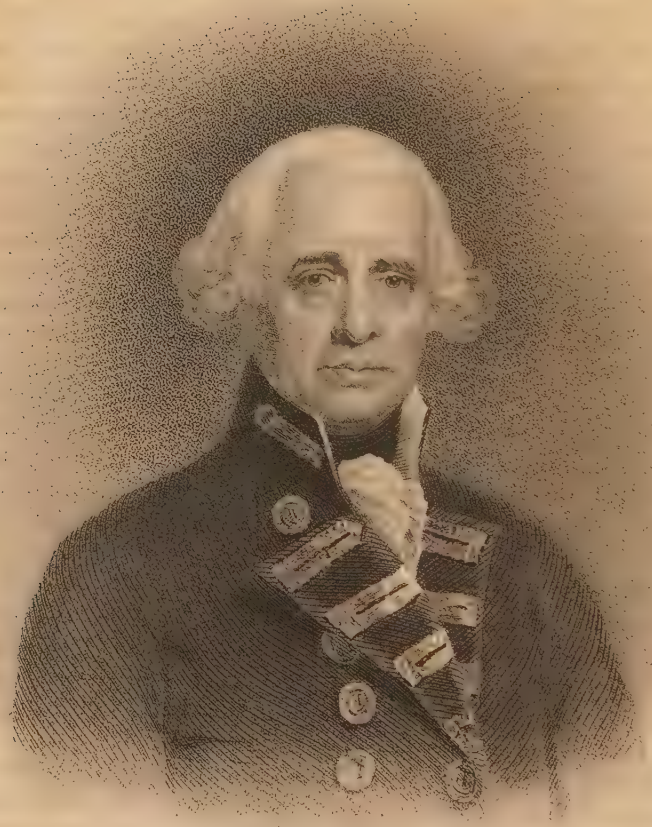
In the month of November, the Channel fleet was col-

lected in Torbay under the command of Earl Howe, and soon after put to sea. His Lordship fell in with a French squadron, of five sail of the line and some frigates. Chase was given, but the shortness of the days prevented his coming up with them, and unfortunately the Defence, Montagu, and Vanguard, three of our most advanced ships, carried away their topmasts in chase. Two of our frigates, the Latona and the Phaeton, exchanged some broadsides with them, but were unable to arrest their flight. This squadron was bound on a cruise, in which it succeeded in doing much injury to our trade.

A very brilliant action was fought on the 23rd of April, 1794, by the squadron of frigates under the command of Sir John B. Warren, off the island of Guernsey. The British force consisted of the

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|---|
| Flora . . . . . | 36 . . | Commodore Sir J. B. Warren, K. B. |
| Arethusa . . . . | 38 . . | Sir Edward Pellew |
| Melampus . . . | 38 . . | Thomas Wells |
| La Nymph . . . | 36 . . | George Murray |
| La Concorde . . | 36 . . | Sir Richard J. Strachan, Bart. |

Early in the morning, the enemy was perceived, four in number, standing out from the land; they formed a line of battle on the larboard tack. Sir John formed his on the starboard, and, crossing each other on opposite tacks, the enemy began a distant and harmless fire, and then put about. The wind at this time fortunately shifted, and enabled the British ships to weather the enemy and bring them to close action, and at the same time to cut off their retreat from the coast of France. Sir John Warren, in the Flora, came first into action, followed by the Melampus and Arethusa. The Flora very soon lost her main-topmast, and dropped a stern with the Babet, a French corvette, also disabled, and which she soon after took possession of. The Pomone having lost her main and mizen-masts, and being on fire, still gallantly continued to engage the Melampus, until the Arethusa coming up, poured in a broadside, and she struck the Concorde—engaged the Engageante, and took her; the Melampus instantly went in chase of the 4th ship, but she escaped.



Admiral Earl Howe.

Engraved by R. Cooper from a Picture by Maquignon,
in the possession of Capt. E. P. Brenton.
Published as the Act directs.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | POUNDERS. | MEN. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pomone | 44 | 24 | 400 |
| L'Engageante | 36 | 18 | 300 |
| Le Babet | 22 | 9 | 200 |

The Pomone was one of the finest frigates ever seen in this country: she was immediately fitted for Sir John Warren, and sailed inimitably well. The Endymion was built after her: both had a long and successful run.

On the 7th, the Swiftsure, of seventy-four guns, captain C. Boyles, captured, after a chase of thirty-nine hours, L'Atalante, of thirty-eight guns and two hundred and seventy-four men, commanded by the celebrated Monsieur Linois, who did not surrender to such superior force until he had ten men killed and thirty-two wounded.

On the 10th, Captain Trowbridge, in the Castor of thirty-two guns, with fourteen sail of ships and brigs under convoy, bound from Guernsey to Newfoundland, was captured with the whole of the vessels, by a French squadron under the command of Admiral Nieuilly, in the San Pareille, of eighty-four guns.

The Channel fleet, during the winter, remained very much in port. Torbay, Plymouth, or Portsmouth, were the usual rendezvous. The frigates kept the sea, under the command of Pellew, Warren, Strachan, Keats, Saumarez, and others, and made an incredible number of prizes.

On the 2d of May, Lord Howe sailed with the fleet, consisting of thirty-two ships of the line, and about four hundred sail of convoy, for different parts of the world. The French fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line sailed from Brest nearly at the same time, under the command of Admiral Villaret, an officer of great merit of the old school; he had been selected by Robespierre, and was, under pain of the guillotine, required to take the command and put to sea at all hazards, to save the convoy then expected from North America.

The French fleet was no longer officered as in the splendid times of Louis the Sixteenth. The high-spirited men who were the companions of De Grasse, Suffrieu, and D'Orvilliers, had all fallen beneath the axe of the

guillotine, or fled from their country to avoid it: but for seamen the French ships had as large a proportion as our own. The captains of the ships of the line were men totally unqualified from their habits for such a station; they had been, with few exceptions, masters of merchantmen, and knew nothing of the signal-book, or the mode of conducting a ship of war. On board the Montagne was the representative of the people, Jean Bon St. Andre, a sort of spy upon the conduct of the admiral and captains, sent for the purpose of seeing that they did their duty, and reporting the transactions of the fleet to the national convention.

Most of the ships composing the French fleet were of their finest classes, possessing in a very superior degree the qualities of sailing and carrying their lower deck ports: their weight of metal was superior to ours, as fourteen to twelve, being nearly the difference between a French and an English pound. The ships of the British fleet were all smaller than those of a comparative class in the French service, and consequently of a more diminished scantling, or smaller dimension of timber, an object of immense consequence when closely engaged.

The hostile fleets had been at sea about three weeks, and England awaited the account of a naval action as of an event that was to decide her future destiny.

Lord Howe, after seeing the convoys to the southward of Cape Finisterre, detached Rear-admiral Montagu, with six ships of the line, to protect the trade still farther, while his Lordship returned and cruised one hundred leagues to the westward of Ushant; and having intelligence that a fleet of merchantmen, richly laden, was daily expected home from America under the escort of four French ships of the line, the rear-admiral had orders to endeavour to intercept them, after having seen his own convoy in safety.

The object of the French government was to bring this supply into port, France being at that time menaced with a famine.

The Fleet expected home from America consisted of the whole West-India trade, which, in the month of July 1793, had put into the Chesapeake under the convoy of

the Jupiter of eighty guns, and L'Amerique of seventy-four guns, reinforced by two more ships of the line. Here many of the merchant vessels, either transhipped their cargoes into American bottoms, or obtained false or similated papers; but this flimsy covering would not have availed them: accepting the protection of a French convoy must, under such circumstances, have constituted them enemy's property, and ensured them condemnation.

This fleet was joined by a numerous collection of American vessels loaded with flour; and, considering the dreadful state to which France was reduced that year from a defective harvest, the friend of humanity will rejoice that they reached the ports of that unhappy country in safety.

The British fleet was remarkably well manned, but the officers were generally deficient from want of practice, the natural consequence of ten years' retirement: some of them had little idea of keeping a ship in her station, either in line of battle or order of sailing, during the night, and in blowing weather. Habit, however, soon conquered this difficulty; so that had the enemy been discovered at day-light in the morning, the Commander-in-chief might have formed his line of battle with perfect facility from his three columns in the order of sailing. The exercise of great guns was not sufficiently attended to during the cruise. Much time was employed in manœuvring the fleet, and putting the ships through the various evolutions that might most probably never be executed in presence of an enemy. This branch of naval science had been then recently introduced into our service by Mr. John Clerk, of Eldon, in a work he published for the first time about the year 1782: of this performance I have no great opinion; certain it is that our sea-officers, before its appearance, were extremely deficient in that part of the duty of their profession, to which they never seem to have attached any importance until the theory of Mr. Clerk asserted that many of our naval disasters might be attributable to a want of system; and it is a singular fact that, since the days of the Pere La Hoste, no work on this subject had ever been attempted; and a landsman has now the credit of having instructed

our Admirals, and of being the founder of a system by which we have acquired the empire of the seas. To this proposition I can never subscribe: I have abundance of evidence to prove that neither Lord Rodney nor Lord St. Vincent, ever thought of Mr. Clerk, in the day of battle, any more than Nelson, at the Nile; and that Admiral violated the first principle of Clerk in his mode of attack in the memorable battle of Trafalgar, though that order of battle, I should say, ought never to be repeated. The practice of breaking the line is as old as the days of James II. (see the Work of the Pere Paul La Hoste, the father, I may say, of the whole theory.) The breaking of the line on the 12th of April was purely accidental, as I have been assured by the present Admiral Lord de Saumarez, who commanded the Russell in that action, and the victory would even, according to Clerk's new theory, have been more complete if he had not done so, but kept to leeward of the enemy. I once put the question to Lord St. Vincent, whether he was guided by Clerk on the 14th February? "I never once thought about him, Sir," was his reply.

Let us now attend to the British fleet, which was coming into the presence of the enemy. On the 28th of May, when the French fleet was first discovered, it was blowing hard, with a heavy sea; the chase was therefore arduous and difficult, the enemy being four or five leagues to windward. The van of the British fleet succeeded in bringing on an action that night; and the Audacious, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain William Parker, ran alongside of the French ship La Revolutionaire of 122 guns. These ships, having disabled each other, parted company: by the Log of the Queen Charlotte, it appears that at 7 in the evening of the 28th, the Bellerophon, of 74 guns, was firing on a French three-decker, the Raphael; Marlborough and Thunderer lashed their main top-sails and fired at the enemy's rear at a great distance. At 9 it blew a fresh gale from the S.W., the enemy's lights were seen on the weather bow. Thus ended the 28th of May, and on the following morning, the 29th, the enemy was in sight to windward, a strange ship of the line joined the French fleet. Our fleet carry-

ing all sail on a wind on the starboard tack, its course S.E. by E. the wind S. by W. At 11 our fleet was going at the rate of 3 miles an hour. At 7 the British fleet tacked and stood West; at 11 in the forenoon on the 29th our van, then going at the rate of 3 miles an hour, was engaged with the van of the enemy; at noon the action continued; at 12 the Queen Charlotte tacked and stood S.S.E. close to the wind, endeavouring to cut through the enemy's line, which she effected a-head of the 5th ship from the rear; having succeeded thus far, the Queen Charlotte tacked again and stood West in chase of a three-decked ship: she took in a great deal of water on her lower deck. There was a heavy sea running. At 13 minutes past 1, the Cæsar was observed not to have gone through the line, but to be on the starboard tack: she did not answer the signal that was then flying. At 30 minutes past 1, the Queen, Orion, Invincible, and Valiant, were observed on the contrary tack: we then tacked, followed by the Bellerophon, keeping our wind main tack on board. Passed to leeward of the French Admiral, and stretched along the enemy's line, receiving and returning the fire as we passed, until we cut their line; then tacked and gave chase to a three-deck ship (bearing an Admiral's flag), leaving two disabled ships to leeward to be brought-to by our ships a-stern. The above three-decker obtained the centre of the enemy's fleet before we could bring her to action: they had got on the starboard tack, and were stretching on to support their disabled ships, which obliged us to wear and run down to cover the Queen, which was much disabled. The enemy's disabled ships joined their fleet, which we could not prevent, as our ships were not near enough to support us. As soon as we arrived within random shot of the enemy, they wore round, and stood large on the contrary tack to rejoin their rear ships, firing at us as they passed. We wore also and formed on the larboard tack. Thus ended the day of the 29th of May, called the 30th, or nautical, day in the Log, the weather continued blustery all that night; on the morning of the 31st, though not so much wind, there was a thick fog which continued all

that day and the night of the 1st, with a considerable degree of rough weather which retarded our ships very much in repairing their damages. Most of the time the Queen Charlotte was in action her lower deck was full of water and her pump kept constantly going. The Royal George, having the flag of Sir Alexander Hood, was greatly distinguished on this day. She had two officers and eleven seamen killed, and a great number wounded.

The fog on the 30th and 31st of May having separated the fleets, kept the British Admiral in much anxious suspense; at length the sun rose on the glorious 1st of June: it was Sunday; the weather was more moderate and the sea smoother than they had been on the preceding days. In the interval between the 28th and the 1st of June, a ship of the line had joined the French fleet, and replaced the Revolutionaire, making their number twenty-six, and leaving ours twenty-five. At half past seven Lord Howe directed his people by a general signal to have their breakfasts. About half-past eight, A. M. his own fleet was formed in such compact and excellent order, that as he looked to the right and left, to starboard and to port, his ships were in a perfect line parallel to the enemy, with the wind S. by W. on the larboard quarter, running north-west under their single reefed topsails at the rate of five miles an hour. The French fleet about two miles to the westward, waiting the attack with great apparent resolution; this is the first instance on record of the French waiting for a general action upon comparatively equal terms; and their ships not being all commanded by naval officers, I am confirmed in the opinion that the threat of the guillotine had much share in fixing the enemy's line, and that many heads would have fallen on the return of their fleet to Brest but for the timely fate of Robespierre: this I say on the authority of Admiral Villaret.

The signal No. 39 had been made and answered; its purport was "that, having the weather gage of the enemy, the Admiral means to pass between the ships of their line and engage them to leeward; or *being* to leeward, to run through and engage them to windward:" but it is

added in a note, "the different captains and commanders, *not being able* to effect this intention, are at liberty to act as circumstances may require." This was an excuse for a fault before it was committed: the explanation was useless to a good officer, and fatal to a bad one: it disconcerted the plan so ably laid down by the Admiral, and left him, with the bravest of his followers, to bear the heat of the battle. Those who nobly disdained to avail themselves of this indulgence, and passed through the line, proved that with them every consideration vanished before the honour and safety of their king and country.

When the hostile fleets were in the position just described, and not many minutes previous to the action, Lord Howe, turning to Bowen the master, said, "I now shut up my signal-book, and I trust I shall have no occasion to re-open it to-day." This was the language of an officer confiding in the valour of his captains; and determined, after having obtained a proper situation for commencing the action, to do his own duty, and to set an example to his followers. The words were scarcely spoken before one of his ships, on his larboard beam, brought-to, in direct disobedience to the signal which enjoined him to run through the line and engage his opponent to leeward: it is true, he had a discretionary power, but only in the event of his finding it impossible to execute the intention of the signal, and not otherwise. This conduct was both mortifying and alarming. The firing had begun; the signal was immediately thrown out for the ship to make sail, but it was not obeyed; and this, I am sorry to say, was not the only instance of misconduct which occurred in the battle of the 1st of June. At fifty-two minutes past nine the Queen Charlotte opened her fire; some British ships went through the line and engaged to leeward, and one or two fell on board of their opponents, and continued to engage them. In going down to the enemy some of our ships had been much disabled from their fire, particularly the Queen Charlotte, the Queen, the Brunswick, and others. Lord Howe walked on the front of the poop, attended by Sir Roger Curtis the captain of the fleet, Sir Andrew Douglas the captain of the ship, and

the signal officers: the men were falling fast around them, which the veteran Admiral beheld with perfect composure and without returning a shot. At length, after much persuasion, he consented that they should fire from the main and quarter deck guns only, meaning to reserve the middle and lower decks for closer action. The officers, at those batteries, hearing the firing over their heads, supposed they were at liberty to begin, and gave the whole broad-side, re-loading however with great celerity. The Montagne was still the object of the British Admiral, the largest, perhaps the finest, ship at that time in the world. Lord Howe desired Bowen to lay him as close along-side of her as he could: Bowen, a steady, brave, and determined seaman, knew his duty and did it: he conducted the ship so close under the stern of the Montagne, that the fly of the tri-coloured ensign brushed the main and mizen shrouds of the Queen Charlotte as she poured her larboard broadside into her opponent's starboard quarter. The Montagne does not appear to have been prepared for action on that side; her ports were down, and it was some time before she returned a gun: the effect upon this unfortunate ship was the loss of three hundred men killed and wounded; so Admiral Villaret assured me himself when we talked the battle over in our voyage home from Martinique. Jean Bon St. Andre, the representative of the people, was standing near the French Admiral when the firing began; but he instantly disappeared, and remained in the cockpit during the rest of the action. At this moment the Jacobin, second a-stern of the Montagne, either by accident or design, ran so close up under the lee of his Admiral that there was not room for the Queen Charlotte to take the position intended by Lord Howe on the lee beam of his opponent; and in consequence of this failure the Queen Charlotte's helm was kept a-port, and she passed between the stern of the Jacobin and head of her second, raking them both at the same time: the Jacobin then made sail, and the Queen Charlotte immediately came to the wind on the larboard tack to engage the Montagne, in doing which her fore-top-mast fell over the side. The French Admiral instantly

taking advantage of this accident, moved off, leaving the Queen Charlotte engaged with the two ships second and third a-stern of the Montagne. At ten minutes past one the action had ended with the centre, and Villaret made sail to leeward to join his disabled ships, but the firing did not entirely cease till four o'clock; when the French Admiral having collected his ships, five sail of which were dismasted, stood to the north-east, leaving Lord Howe master of the field of battle with seven sail of prizes, one of which foundered before the prisoners could be removed: two hundred and eighty men were all that could be saved out of seven hundred, with which she began the action; the rest were killed or drowned. There was no cry of "Vive la nation," so falsely stated in the convention. The French colours were struck, and she sank down with the English jack over the Republican flag. The boats of the British fleet were very active in saving the men, who implored their mercy: this ship was named Le Vengeur, and was the same that had engaged the Brunswick.

At five o'clock the British ships with their prizes were closing round their Admiral. The damage sustained by our fleet was inconsiderable, except with a few ships. Those that were most distinguished in the action were the

| SHIPS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|
| Queen Charlotte | First Captain, Sir Roger Curtis.<br>Second Captain, Sir A. Douglas. |
| Royal George | Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Hood.<br>Captain William Domett. |
| Royal Sovereign | Vice-admiral Graves.<br>Captain Nichols. |
| Queen | Rear-admiral Allan Gardner.<br>Captain John Hutt, killed 29th May, then by Captain (since Vice-admiral) William Bedford. |
| Glory | Captain John Elphinstone. |
| Barfleur | Rear-admiral Bowyer.<br>Captain C. Collingwood. |
| Impregnable | Caldwell. |
| Bellerophon | Rear-admiral T. Pasley.<br>Captain W. Hope. |
| Leviathan | Capt. Rt Hon. Lord Hugh Seymour. |

| SHIPS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|
| Defence | Captain James Gambier, now Lord Gambier. |
| Invincible | Captain T. Pakenham. |
| Marlborough | Captain the Hon. George Berkley, and, after his wound, by Lieut. (now Rear-admiral) Monkton. |
| Brunswick | Captain John Harvey. |
| Ramillies | Captain H. Harvey. |
| Valiant. | Captain T. Pringle. |
| Russel | Captain John Willet Payne. |
| Alfred | Captain Bazeley. |
| Orion | Captain J. T. Duckworth. |
| Montagu | Capt. Montagu, and on the death of that officer, who fell in action, by Lieut. (now Rear-admiral) Ross Donelly. |

The Audacious, Captain William Parker, was not in the action of the 29th of May, or the 1st of June, having parted company in his gallant attack on the Revolutionaire on the night of the 28th.

I have shewn that there were, after the action, fifteen sail of the line ready to renew it; and I am sorry to think that the securing of the prizes should have delayed or impeded the pursuit of "the beaten and flying enemy." The consideration of taking a few old ships into port as trophies, seems to have been an object of greater importance at that period of the war than the final and complete destruction of the enemy. The capture of a ship of the line, whether she arrive safe or not, should always be paid for at a certain ratio, without any deduction for repairs of damages sustained in the action, and the captors honourably remunerated for the loss of their prizes, should it be necessary to destroy them. Had Lord Howe burnt his captured vessels, and followed up his advantage, he might have completed the greatest naval campaign recorded in history: this is no speculative opinion; the facts are clear, and the most undoubted proof shall follow the assertion. It is remarkable that, between the breaking out of the war and July, 1795, we lost three opportunities of annihilating the Toulon and Brest Fleets

*Extract from the Royal George's Log, 29th of May and 1st of June, 1794.*

"Wednesday, 28th of May, wind S.S.W., light winds and cloudy: bore up in order of battle. At nine o'clock A. M. the signal was made for a strange fleet being in sight.

"29th. Fresh breezes and thick weather—carrying a press of sail to come up with the enemy. At forty-three minutes past one the signal was made to attack the enemy's rear; at fifty minutes past one the same signal repeated with two guns, and to chase; at fifty-six minutes past one, to engage the enemy as they came up with them; at four minutes past three the Bellerophon and Russel hoisted their colours and fired at the enemy, who returned it; at twenty minutes past three the Queen Charlotte made the signal to tack; at forty minutes past three got down topgallant-yards, and housed the middle and lower deck guns; at four o'clock the enemy's fleet S. E. b. S. our fleet under a press of sail; at six the Queen Charlotte S.E. b. E. three miles, the body of the enemy's fleet on the weather beam, wind S. S. W. six or seven miles: made and shortened sail occasionally. At two minutes past four A. M. the Queen Charlotte N. half a mile: at eight tacked in succession, Queen Charlotte east, one or two miles. Our van passing the enemy's rear, engaging each other: at nine the enemy's fleet wore in succession, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack: at half past ten the enemy's van ships began to fire: they edged down and brought our van ships to action; at noon the whole fleet in action.

"May 30th,* P. M. wind S. S. W., the action nearly general—tacked according to signal, passing along the enemy's line to leeward: at half past two, having passed the enemy's rear ship, ceased firing. We found our yards and rigging much cut, and several dangerous shot-holes between wind and water, from having engaged the

* This was in reality the afternoon of the 29th, the absurd method of commencing the nautical day at noon, was discontinued about the year 1806.

weather side. The action still continuing, our rear having cut through the enemy's line and gained the weather gage, we were employed in repairing and refitting damages, the ship making a good deal of water.—The enemy having wore, a few ships still continued engaging, as they seemed inclined to steer for the Queen Charlotte, who lay disabled. The Admiral made the signal to form the line as most convenient; and, having got sufficient sail made to keep the ship under command, we bore up to form the line. The enemy instantly wore, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack. Our fleet wore, according to signal, and came to the wind on the larboard tack: the enemy's fleet N. N. E. four miles. Unbent and bent new sails: employed refitting and making ready for action. Main-mast shot through in two or three places, also bowsprit. Lost in the action Lieutenant G. Needham, Mr. Hughes, Midshipman, and eleven men killed, many wounded. At eight A. M. Admiral made the signal for enemy's fleet being in sight; saw them to the northward. At nine a tender came from the Admiral to ask if our leaks were stopped? answered they were, and we ready for action: employed fishing the main-yard, and getting up an anchor-stock to fish the bowsprit."

The engagement between the Brunswick and the Vengeur stands nearly unrivalled for valour on both sides. The Brunswick being a smaller ship, was overlooked, and consequently much exposed to the grape and musketry of the enemy. On the other hand it has been shewn, by an officer of the Brunswick, that she was assisted by the Ramillies: without this assistance, however, it is very evident that, while the Brunswick was beaten on her poop, quarter-deck, and forecastle, the lower-deck was victorious, and had completed the destruction of the enemy; and this unfortunate situation of the crew of this noble ship, thus exposed to the musquetry of their opponents on a higher deck, fortifies my former opinion, that these brave fellows should have been quartered below, and only kept ready to resist boarding or to trim sails; but I hold it to be wrong at any time to lay an enemy on board unless you are determined to

carry him by a coup de main; because, in so doing, you lose all the advatage of superior seamen, ship-gunnery, and manœuvring. This caused the loss of Nelson and so many of his men along-side of the Redoutable at Trafalgar, and the Ambuscade frigate was carried by boarding, and by a vessel of inferior force, which would have surrended in two minutes if the ships had not closed.

## LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

### Wednesday, June 11, 1794.

*Admiralty Office, June* 10.

Sir Roger Curtis, first Captain to the Admiral Earl Howe, arrived with a despatch this evening from his Lordship to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy.

*Queen Charlotte at sea, June* 2, 1794.
*Ushant E.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *N.* 140 *leagues.*

Sir,

Thinking it may not be necessary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the present information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly in this despatch to the occurrences when in presence of the enemy yesterday.

Finding on my return off Brest on the 19th past, that the French fleet had a few days before put to sea, and receiving on the same evening advices from Rear-admiral Montagu, I deemed it necessary to endeavour to form a junction with him as early as possible, and proceeded immediately for the station on which he meant to wait for the return of the Venus.

But having very credible intelligence on the 21st of the same month, whereby I had reason to believe the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to the westward, the course before steered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th the enemy was discovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather-gage having been obtained in the progress of the last-mentioned day, and the fleet being in a situation for bringing the enemy to close action, on the 1st instant the ships bore up together for that purpose between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force consisting of twenty-six sail of the line opposed to his Majesty's fleet of twenty-five (the Audacious having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line captured in the night of the 28th), waited the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after, the close action commenced in the centre, the French Admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships in the van in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally dismasted ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The Queen Charlotte had then lost her fore-topmast, and the main-topmast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were at this time so much disabled, or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy in a state for action, and with which the firing was still continued, that two or three even of their dismantled ships attempting to get away under a sprit-sail singly, or smaller sail raised on the stump of the fore-mast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession, one of which however sunk before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many, however, were saved.

The Brunswick having lost her mizen-mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreating ships, was obliged to put away large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy in that predicament, I flatter myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other twenty-four of his Majesty's ships re-assembled later in the day, and I am preparing to return with them as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured for Spithead.

The material injury to his Majesty's ships I understand is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not been yet able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Captain Montagu is the only officer who fell, of his rank, in the action. The numbers of both descriptions, I hope, will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of being obliged to add, on the same subject, that Admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that Rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley, and Captain Hutt of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are, however, I have the satisfaction to hear, in a favourable state under those misfortunes. In the captured ships the number of killed and wounded appears to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers and the ships' companies under my authority will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited

exertions; and I trust I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of the other transactions of the fleet thereon for being communicated at a future opportunity, more especially as Sir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this despatch, will be able to give the farther information the lords commissioners of the admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheless, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his counsels as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties; and I have similar assistance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my second Captain, Sir Andrew Douglas.

I am, with great consideration, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

HOWE.

A very great injustice was done both to the Queen and the Glory in the relation of the battles of the 29th May and 1st of June in my former Edition of this work. I cannot however, while I make this acknowledgment, take the whole blame to myself: the Glory, and her gallant captain the late John Elphinstone, were not mentioned in Lord Howe's Letter, than which perhaps a worse was never written on a similar occasion. Captain (the late Vice-admiral) Bedford, who, under the flag of Admiral (the first Lord) Gardner, commanded the Queen from the death of Captain Hutt, who was killed on the 29th of May, had an equal right to complain of partiality in the mention of names and the subsequent and consequent distribution of medals. I can find no other memorial of the conduct of Captain Elphinstone than the general admission by all who were present that he did his duty in the most distinguished manner; with respect to the Queen I have been more fortunate, that ship was well known to have been a very bad sailer, yet, on the morning of the 29th of May, she was one of the leading ships close up with the enemy, tacked when other ships failed, particularly the Cæsar, and three times attempted to pass through the enemy's line, but was baffled by the crippled state of her sails and rigging. Such was the determination of Admiral Gardner to close with the enemy that the Queen would have been cut off from her fleet had she not been released and supported by Admiral Graves, in the Royal Sovereign, who with some other ships ran to her assistance. The Queen passed through the

enemy's line on the morning of the 1st of June, stuck to to her opponent (a three decker), dismasted her, and only ceased firing when the French, to save themselves from farther slaughter, displayed a British flag over a French one on the quarter of their ship. The Queen was at this time too much disabled to take possession, and had not a boat that could swim; and her officer and crew had the mortification to see their conquered and shattered enemy towed away to leeward by a frigate. This ought not to have been, and had the Queen Charlotte run before the wind, as the Montagne did, it would not have happened: the Queen's mainmast was gone close to the deck, and the only sail she could set was a launch mainsail on the staunch of her ensign staff, and a studding-sail on the tottering mizenmast; this last was thrice shot away, her foremast was too much wounded to set a sail on it; the ship drifted to leeward, separated from her antagonist and from the British fleet. No less than eleven sail of the enemy's line passed, and gave her their broadsides, while not one British ship offered to approach her. Fortunately, the enemy, either from an honourable feeling of not firing into a ship that had so greatly distinguished herself, or from mistaking their distance, did her very little injury in this last effort: but while the Queen sustained their fire, her only maintopmast, which had been nearly rigged as a jury mainmast, was lowered into the hold, as less likely to be shot away. The Queen, miraculously preserved from this danger, was left at liberty to secure her masts and yards, a frigate took her in tow, and by six o'clock in the evening, she was enabled to dismiss this attendant and take her station in the line. It is singular that, a short time before his death, Lord Howe wrote a letter to Captain Bedford, in which he says, that "had Captain Bedford's case been known to him, he certainly should have considered him worthy a medal." To have deserved a medal and not to have had one was far better than to have obtained one without deserving it: the most noble and unsophisticated compliment that ever was paid to merit was the unanimous cheers of the British ships as they passed the Queen in succession, on the afternoon of this day.

The escape of the five dismasted French ships, with the Montagne, after the severe beating she had received from the Queen Charlotte, is a subject of serious reflection, and ought to be a lesson to all our future commanders. Lord Howe was an officer who, by a part of the service at least, and by a great part of the nation, was supposed to have been perfect; my riper judgment has convinced me of this error, and I have long regretted that the naval career of his Lordship had not terminated with his relief of Gibraltar: that he had been both a good and gallant officer cannot be denied, but, on the 1st of June, in the 72nd year of his age, his energies were exhausted, and, after five days and nights of sleepless anxiety, we cannot be surprized at his being contented with a victory greater than Lord Rodney's—and before Nelson had shewn what a naval battle ought to be. I am well aware of some important remarks which were made on the quarter deck of the Queen Charlotte, between one and two o'clock on the 1st of June; but as I have no wish to hurt feelings, though I have been unjustly accused of it, I shall let the subject die with me. My destiny, some years after this event, brought me acquainted with Admiral Villaret, the commander in chief of the French fleet on this occasion, and from him I learned some particulars of this action which will be mentioned in another place. I have too much respect for the memory of Lord Howe to impute to him want of courage or zeal, but I may say that, in this series of battles, he was not very happy either in his selection of merit or in reprehending the want of it.

There may appear to be a little presumption in passing this slight censure on the memory of an officer of distinction, but, while I do it, I cannot forget that I have a duty to perform, and that if I err in my judgment, there are those living who can correct me.

With respect to the tactics of those days, I have the pleasure to express my decided admiration: the perseverance of the 28th and 29th of May was not rewarded with success, although the battles were fought on the very best principles of Mr. Clerk, by an attempt to break the enemy's line from to Leeward.

It would, I apprehend, puzzle Mr. Clerk, and his greatest admirers, to point out any mode by which an attacking fleet, from to Windward, could be covered from the force of an enemy, drawn up to receive them to Leeward: his "curve of pursuit," by approaching on the quarter, is contemptible: the experiment on the 29th, if such it could be called, had failed, and the British fleet having the weather gage on the 1st of June, the mode of attack was both seamanlike and scientific; and, though the result was not so glorious, I prefer it to the tactics of Nelson, at Trafalgar. Lord Howe brought the whole of his ships into action at once, and trusted to his Captains to do the rest; Nelson advanced in the lines, leading one himself, and giving the other to his second, the consequence was that the concentrated fire of the greater part of the enemy's fleet fell on the best ships of the British line; and both the Victory, RI. Sovereign, Tonnant, Belleisle, and others, were nearly disabled before they came fairly along-side of their opponents; of this, we shall say more in its proper place—at present, I confine myself to the 1st of June, a battle much better begun than ended. When the Queen Charlotte lost her feretopmast, the Montagne ran to Leeward, and was not followed by her opponent, from this moment I disapprove of every thing that was done: an attempt was made by the Master, to wear the Queen Charlotte, with a view of running to Leeward, but he was overruled and obliged to put the helm down, much, I believe, against his inclination, and that of every officer in the ship, except Lord Howe, and Sir Roger Curtis; how came Lord Howe to suppose that he had sunk the Jacobin? Can any one believe that such an event would have taken place without such a degree of confusion, screaming, and terror, as would have made it manifest to the surrounding ships? would not some at least of her crew have been picked up, some of her boats, or floating spars, been seen when the smoke cleared away? What then are we to think of such assertions, or of the censure cast on real merit, by the same erring hand? The action was over too soon, there were 14 sail of the line ready to renew it, and as 12 sail of the enemy had been dismasted, the odds

were in our favour; Caldwell, Collingwood, Bazely, Elphinstone and Schomberg were undeservedly stigmatized; what could the latter do more than remain by his Commander-in-chief? He was ready in the Culloden to have received the flag, and to have led up the fleet to renew the action: whose fault then was it that Villaret not only escaped with his fleet into port, but carried the valuable convoy along with him? My patience is almost exhausted when I think of my wrongs, as connected with this transaction; but the truth must come out at last, and indeed it cannot be concealed. I hope, however, it will be understood that I have the greatest wish to avoid giving offence.

The glorious conduct of Captain John Harvey in the Brunswick led me, in my first Edition, beyond the fair limits of such a work. In this I shall confine myself to shewing that the conduct of that lamented officer was such as ought to be the example of any one who may hereafter be called to the enviable command of a ship of the line in a general action: it was, to say every thing of it in a few words, exactly what Nelson did at Trafalgar; he singled out his opponent, and fought her till she struck to him: like Nelson, also, losing his life in the discharge of his duty. The action between the Brunswick and her opponent the Vengeur had lasted about an hour and forty minutes, when a French ship came to the relief of the latter, and, as she ranged up on the larboard quarter of the Brunswick, the French ship received such a broadside as soon brought her mast by the board. Soon after, Captain Henry Harvey in the Ramillies came up to the relief of his brother, in the Brunswick, which at this time had separated from the Vengeur: he poured in two or three broadsides, which effectually settled the enemy, whose masts fell over the side; but neither of the British ships had time to take possession of their prize; the French fleet was coming down upon them, the Ramillies hauled her wind to rejoin the British fleet, but the poor disabled Brunswick was left to her fate, and Lord Howe "flattered himself that she might reach some British port in safety;" and the Queen had very nearly fallen a sacrifice to the unfortunate notion that

the Queen Charlotte "would not wear." The present Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, who was first Lieutenant of the Queen Charlotte on that memorable day, may probably be able to bear testimony to the correctness of this statement; and he knows that the Queen Charlotte could have been wore, and knows how and why the main-top-mast of that ship came to fall over the side—a very serious misfortune at that moment of time. The late Admiral Lord Exmouth was right: in a letter to me he says, "in a future war we must fight better than we did in the last, or we shall be beaten."

*List of French ships captured, &c. on the 1st of June, 1794, with the killed and wounded.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Le Juste | 80 | 100 | 145 |
| La Sans Pareille | 80 | 260 | 120 |
| L'Achille. | 74 | 36 | 30 |
| L'Amérique | 74 | 134 | 110 |
| Le Northumberland. | 74 | 60 | 100 |
| L'Impétueux | 74 | 100 | 75 |
| | Total | 690 | 580 |
| Le Vengeur (sunk). | 74 | 320 of her crew perished. | |

*British fleet in order of battle, June 1, 1794.*

## Van Squadron,

Under the Commander in the second post.

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Commanders.* | *Killed.* | *Wded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cæsar | 80 | 700 | Capt. A. J. P. Molloy | 18 | 37 |
| Bellerophon | 74 | 615 | T. Pasley, Esq. Rear-admiral of the white<br>Captain William Hope | 4 | 27 |
| Leviathan | 74 | 650 | Capt. Ld. Hugh Seymour. | 10 | 33 |
| Russel | 74 | 600 | Capt. Jno. Willet Payne. | 1 | 26 |
| Marlborough | 74 | 600 | Capt. Hon. G. Berkeley. | 29 | 90 |
| Royal Sovereign | 110 | 875 | T. Graves, Esq. admiral of the blue<br>Capt. Henry Nicholls | 14 | 44 |
| Defence | 74 | 600 | Capt. James Gambier | 18 | 39 |
| Impregnable | 98 | 765 | Benjamin Caldwell, Esq. rear-adm. of the red.<br>Capt. G. B. Westcott. | 7 | 24 |

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Commanders.* | *Killed.* | *Wded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tremendous | 74 | 600 | Capt. James Pigot | 3 | 8 |
| Invincible | 74 | 600 | Capt. Hon. T. Pakenham | 14 | 31 |

CENTRE SQUADRON,

Under the Commander-in-chief.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Culloden | 74 | 600 | Capt. Isaac Schomberg | 2 | 5 |
| Barfleur | 98 | 765 | G. Bowyer, Esq. rear-admiral of the red<br>Capt. C. Collingwood | 9 | 25 |
| Gibraltar | 80 | 700 | Capt. Thos. Mackenzie | 2 | 12 |
| Queen Charlotte | 110 | 900 | Earl Howe, Union<br>1st capt. Sir R. Curtis Kt.<br>2d capt. Sir A. S. Douglas | 14 | 29 |
| Brunswick | 74 | 600 | Capt. John Harvey | 44 | 115 |
| Valiant | 74 | 620 | Capt. T. Pringle | 2 | 9 |
| Orion | 74 | 600 | Capt. J. T. Duckworth | 5 | 24 |
| Queen | 98 | 765 | A. Gardner, Esq. rear-admiral of the white<br>Capt. John Hutt | 36 | 67 |

REAR SQUADRON,

Under the Commander in the third post.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ramillies | 74 | 600 | Capt. Henry Harvey | 2 | 7 |
| Alfred | 74 | 600 | Capt. John Bazely | 0 | 8 |
| Royal George | 110 | 875 | Sir Alexander Hood, K. B. admiral of the blue<br>Capt. William Domett | 20 | 72 |
| Montagu | 74 | 600 | Capt. James Montagu | 4 | 13 |
| Majestic | 74 | 600 | Capt. Sir Charles Cotton | 3 | 5 |
| Glory | 98 | 750 | Capt. John Elphinstone | 13 | 39 |
| Thunderer | 74 | 600 | Capt. Albemarle Bertie | 0 | 0 |
| Total 25 | 1,938 | 16,810 | | 277 | 789 |

The Audacious, Captain William Parker, parted company in the night of May the 28th. Her return was four killed, and eighteen wounded. Consequently the whole loss sustained was two hundred and eighty-one killed, and eight hundred and seven wounded.—In all one thousand and eighty-eight.

*Frigates attached to each squadron.*

VAN.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|---|
| Niger, to repeat signals | 32 | Capt. Hon. A. K. Legge |

CENTRE.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|---|
| Latona | 38 | Capt. E. Thornborough |
| Pegasus, to repeat signals | 28 | Capt. Robert Barlow |
| Phaeton | 38 | Capt. Bentinck |

REAR.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aquilon, to repeat signals | 32 | Capt. Hon. R. Stopford |
| Southampton | 32 | Capt. Hon. R. Forbes |
| Venus | 32 | Capt. W. Brown |
| Incendiary | (F.S.) | Capt. John Cooke |
| Comet | (F.S.) | Capt. W. Bradley |
| Charon | (H.S.) | Capt. G. Countess |
| Kingfisher | (brig) | T. le M. Gosselin. |
| Rattler | (cutter) | Lieut. Winne |
| Ranger | (cutter) | Lieut. J. Cotgrave. |

*French fleet in order of battle, June* 1, 1794.

VAN SQUADRON,

Under the Commander in the second post.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | MEN. | DIVISION. |
|---|---|---|---|
| L'Amerique | 74 | 700 | Second |
| Le Revolutionaire | 120 | 1000 | |
| Le Gasparin | 74 | 700 | |
| L'Indomptable | 74 | 700 | First |
| Le Terrible | 120 | 1000 | M. Bouvet, commander in the second post |
| L'Impetueux | 74 | 700 | |
| Le Mutinus Scævola | 74 | 700 | Third |
| L'Æole | 74 | 700 | |
| Le Tourville | 74 | 700 | |

CENTRE SQUADRON,

Under the Commander-in-chief.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Le Pelletier | 74 | 700 | Second |
| Le Tyrannicide | 74 | 700 | |
| Le Juste | 80 | 800 | First |
| Le Montagne | 120 | 1,100 | Admiral Villaret Joyeuse commander-in-chief |
| Le Jacobin | 80 | 800 | |
| L'Achille | 74 | 700 | Third |
| Le Vengeur | 74 | 700 | |
| Le Northumberland | 74 | 700 | |

REAR SQUADRON,

Under the Commander in the third post.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | MEN. | DIVISION. |
|---|---|---|---|
| L'Entreprenante | 74 | 700 | Second |
| Le Neptune | 74 | 700 | |
| Le Jemappe | 74 | 700 | |
| Le Mont Blanc | 74 | 700 | First |
| La Convention | 74 | 700 | M. Nieuilly, commander in the third post |
| Le Republicain | 120 | 1000 | |
| Le Scipion | 74 | 700 | Third |
| Le Montagnard | 74 | 700 | |

*Frigates, &c., attached to each squadron.*

VAN.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | SHIPS. | GUNS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brutus, Rasée | 50 | Le Courrier (cutter) | 14 |
| La Tamise | 32 | L'Atalante | 38 |
| Le Diligent (brig) | 14 | La Gentile | 40 |
| Le Jean Bart | 20 | | |

CENTRE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| L'Insurgente | 36 | La Seine | 40 |
| La Precieuse | 36 | La Proserpine | 36 |
| La Société Populaire | 18 | La Mutine | 20 |

REAR.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Bellone | 36 | Le Furet | 20 |

*The following ships joined between the 28th of May and the 1st of June.*

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | MEN. |
|---|---|---|
| Le Sans Pareil | 80 | 800 |
| Le Trajan | 74 | 700 |
| Le Patriote | 74 | 700 |
| Le Téméraire | 74 | 700 |

Le Revolutionaire parted company on the night of the 28th of May, and, it is said, was towed into port by L'Audacieux of seventy-four guns.

We now return to the squadron which had been detached from the grand fleet under the command of Rear-admiral George Montagu, with orders to see the East and West India convoys to a certain distance, and then

go in pursuit of the French squadron and a fleet of merchantmen expected home from America. After parting with the convoy, the Rear-admiral cruised in the Bay of Biscay, made many captures, retook the Newfoundland convoy, and also a great number of Dutch vessels from the Mediterranean; but, in the midst of this road to fortune, they came so close upon the track of the French fleet, that the Admiral expected every moment to meet with them; and, deeming it imprudent to remain longer at sea, he returned into Plymouth Sound, where he arrived on the 30th of May, 1794: the Audacious came in soon after, and gave an account of the action between the two fleets, in consequence of which, every ship that could be got ready was instantly ordered out under the command of the Rear-admiral, to cruise off Brest, and to intercept the shattered remains of the French fleet. Nine sail of the line and some frigates were at sea in a few hours, and reached Ushant the next day. The following is a list of the ships, viz.,

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|---|
| Hector (flag) | 74 | Admiral Montagu<br>Captain Halstead |
| Theseus | 74 | R. Calder |
| Bellona | 74 | George Wilson |
| Colossus | 74 | C. M. Pole |
| Alexander | 74 | Richard Bligh |
| Ganges | 74 | William Truscott |
| Minotaur | 74 | Thomas Lewis |
| Ruby | 64 | Sir R. Bickerton |
| Arrogant | 74 | James Whitshed |
| **FRIGATES.** | | |
| Pallas | 32 | Hon. H. Curzon |
| Concord | 36 | Sir R. J. Strachan |
| Circe | 28 | J. S. Yorke |

On the 8th of June the Rear-admiral chased eight sail of the line into the harbour of Brest, one of them a three-decked ship. Our squadron, at sunset, finding the enemy had gained their port, stood off for the night with light airs and an easy sail. At day-light, on the 9th, they discovered the fleet of Admiral Villaret stand-

ing in for the land, from which the British fleet was about fourteen leagues distant, and the enemy outside, or to the westward of ours, about three leagues farther off.

The Rear-admiral now felt himself very unpleasantly situated: the force which he commanded he considered not sufficient to justify his attacking that of the enemy; neither did he think himself warranted in quitting his station. As the two fleets approached each other, both cleared for action—the water was smooth—the day most beautiful. The French Admiral had his fleet in compact order: his five disabled ships were taken in tow by the more effective ones: our ships could have weathered them, had they kept their wind, then about north, but at nine o'clock Admiral Montagu bore up and stood to the southward.

The French Admiral kept on his course for some time, but detached two ships from his rear in chase of ours, and when his van came into the wake of our squadron, his whole fleet bore up in chase. By this undecided manœuvre he shewed no disposition to engage: his effective ships out-sailed ours, and his advance came very nearly within gun-shot on our starboard quarter.

The Ganges and Alexander sailed so ill on that day that with all the canvas they could crowd they were unable to keep up with the other ships; the Bellona particularly had her topsails on the cap, her courses hauled up, and her yards braced by, it being the determination of the Admiral not to forsake them. Villaret, however, about twelve o'clock, afraid of being decoyed to leeward of his port with his crippled ships, hauled his wind, and the British squadron, a short time after, followed his example.

Had the fleet under Lord Howe been in sight, even at any distance, there could have been no doubt of the line of conduct which would have been pursued: unfortunately the time lost in securing the prizes was about thirty-four hours; and the British fleet on the morning of the 9th of June, 1794, was just fifteen leagues from that of France, which had a strong British squadron between it and its port. I trust my naval readers will

be convinced from this statement, that so glorious an opportunity was never so unfortunately lost, and that I have redeemed the pledge I gave, of proving that Lord Howe might have completed the greatest naval campaign recorded in history.

Rear-admiral Montagu, after this event, quitted his station and returned to Plymouth; and on the day, or nearly about the time, he took this step, the French squadron of four sail of the line, with their convoy of about one hundred and twenty sail, made the land, and got safe into the ports of the Republic.

For the account which I gave, in my first edition, of this most melancholy and unfortunate naval campaign, I have been severely censured, and I have replied, in such a manner as to satisfy any reasonable and well informed person, that I had stated nothing but the facts of which I was an eye witness; that I drew no inferences nor made any remarks but what were strictly justifiable from the transactions, and the documents relating to them; and, so far from intending to wound the feelings of Sir George Montagu, I would have gone out of my way, and have sacrificed any thing but the truth, rather than have done it, for I always respected and esteemed his character, and do so still, although himself and his well-meaning, but certainly indiscreet, friends, did every thing in their power to injure me, not only with the public and my brother officers, but even with Royalty itself, and for a time succeeded but too well; it would, however, have answered their purpose much better if they had let the matter sleep: their publication called "A Refutation of the Misstatements, &c.," did much injury to their cause, and added a great deal of which the world, without their meddling interference, would have remained ignorant.

It was asserted, in a very stupid publication, the 9th number of the New Edinburgh Review, one of the abortions of the press which screamed and expired, that the French Convoy, of which we were sent in search, separated and got into the ports of France, far to the Southward of Brest. This was false, it did no such thing: it got into Brest and Douarnenez bay about the 12th of

June, just two days after we quitted the very spot—see the Times Newspaper of the 17th and 18th June, 1794—also the speech of Barrère in the National Assembly: and the late Earl of Huntingdon, who was at that time a Midshipman on board the Flora frigate, assured me that from that ship they saw the French Convoy and our squadron at the same moment; and made signals to us to that effect; but they were too distant at the time to be seen or understood; or, probably, if seen, were not reported. I never pretended to find fault with the Admiral for coming into Port: he was supposed to have had very good reasons for so doing, until himself or his friends chose to give them publicity, and then they turned out to be no reasons at all. I now ask why we returned into Port before we knew of the battle of the 1st June: when the Admiral, by his own letter, shows the French Convoy, the object of his pursuit, was still at sea, and to the westward of him? Why did he not keep the sea, when, as Lord Chatham told him, and as he himself well knew, the enemy was at sea in great force? If the Admiralty was right in packing us out again in double quick time, it was surely a proof that their Lordships disapproved of our coming in; they had no fear of our being snapped up by a superior force. The Admiral is made to say that we came in for topmasts and topsail-yards, and to land prisoners; now I will take upon me to say that we had only lost or sprung in the squadron two topmasts and as many topsail-yards during the whole cruise, which began on the 2d, and ended on the 30th, of May, 1794, during which we had the most delightful weather I ever remember at sea; and as to our prisoners, two frigates could have taken them all to Plymouth, for their number did not exceed 400 men. So much, as far as the Convoy is concerned, which was the great object of his orders. What instructions he sailed with, as to the pursuit of the French fleet, I know not; all I know is, that when we see an enemy, it is our duty to beat him if we can; and, that we fully expected to meet with the disabled fleet of France returning into port after the action of which Captain Parker had seen the commencement, no one, I think, will doubt.

I will now give the evidence of the French Admiral himself, with whom I afterwards became intimately acquainted he was Governor of Martinique when we took that Island from the French in 1808, and came home a prisoner in the Belleisle of 74 guns, which at that time I commanded under the broad pendant of Commodore (now Vice Admiral) Sir George Cockburn. Villaret was a gentleman of high polish, and one of the best officers Suffrein had in his fleet in the East Indies: he was a man of talent and bravery. He frequently sat down with me in my cabin, and we talked over the battle together. He told me that he had been directed, by Robespierre, to take the fleet to sea, and at his peril to allow the great Convoy to fall into the hands of Lord Howe; that his head should answer for it under the Guillotine. This accounts for his avoiding an action so long, and endeavouring to draw Lord Howe out of the track of the Convoy, and far away from the intended port of their rendezvous: in this he succeeded admirably; and he only gave battle when he knew that the Convoy was near at hand, and that it would fall a prey to the British fleet, unless that fleet was disabled by action, or busied in securing prizes; for he had made up his mind to the loss of a few of his ships; "what did I care," said he, "for half a dozen rotten old hulks which you took?" "Pendant que votre amiral s'amusait en les équipant, je sauvai mon convoi, et je sauvai ma tête. Mais quand, sur le matin du 9 Juin, je voyais votre escadre entre moi et la terre, j'étois petrifié: si j'avois eu quelque envie de vous atteindre, vous savez bien que j'aurois pu le faire; mais ce n'étoit pas mon intention. Mes vaisseaux étoient dans la plus mauvaise condition; les entreponts chargés de malades et de blessés; enfin, un combat étoit la dernière chose à souhaiter pour nous." These words I committed to paper shortly after they were spoken. I think them replete with sound judgment and good sense. I give the facts simply as they occurred, and I impute no blame; but I do say that the result of the campaign was unfortunate and disastrous, for, had Lord Howe followed up his blow, leaving the prizes which he had taken, and proceeded off Brest, he would have placed the

disabled French fleet between Admiral Montagu's and his own, and few, if any, would have escaped; the Convoy from America would have fallen into our hands to a certainty. I have some reason to think that Lord Howe was advised to pursue this plan; but the prizes, it seems, were wanted as trophies—and pretty expensive ones they were. After this, may I be allowed to say a word for Admiral Montagu? It is due to his memory to add that a more honourable and gallant officer never lived; that he was as amiable in private life as he was esteemed in public; and that if, from this relation of facts, any blame should be imputable, we are to recollect that we are judging from results, and that, at the most, his was an error in judgment, from which the greatest warriors have not been exempt. "I am the servant of posterity," as Lord Bacon says; these pages are intended for the warning and admonition of future Admirals, and a *suppressio veri* would be as culpable on the part of an historian as the *suggestio falsi*. The papers relating to this unhappy affair are carefully preserved; not the private letters, for they are all destroyed; but the documentary evidence, which still remains.

The Editor of James's Naval History, 2nd edition, vol. i. p. 178, makes an observation on my former work, which is scarcely borne out by the facts. Speaking of the battle of the 1st of June, he says, I have "laboured hard to disparage that victory, and that I had endeavoured, though I had afterwards retracted in part," to fix upon Rear-admiral Montagu a very serious imputation for not having attacked Villaret on the morning of the 9th of June, 1794. Now I deny that I ever did, or ever thought of fixing any imputation on the Rear-admiral: that my words bore a construction different from what I intended, I do admit; and I was in hopes that the full and ample explanation in the Preface of my third volume would have been received as an atonement for the injury so unintentionally committed; but it was not received in that spirit in which it was written; nor is it kind or fair to the memory of the gallant Admiral again to refer to the subject, when forty-two years have elapsed since the transaction, and when almost all

my witnesses are dead; in my own vindication, I am now compelled to say that I was complained of to His late Majesty, King George IV., and much injured in my professional prospects with other high and illustrious individuals.

Acquainted with facts which I wish ever to conceal from the public, I bore every thing with more patience than I thought I possessed; I gradually withdrew from the society of my brother officers, and suffered in silence.

Sir George Montagu having rested the justification of his conduct on the orders he had received, and having given his own reasons, they are before the public and the profession, by whom both himself and I are to be judged; but while I here completely exonerate him for not attacking Villaret, I still retain my former opinions as to the necessity of his returning into port on the 30th of May and 11th June; for the latter step however his best plea would have been found in the immense numerical superiority of his enemy, and his not knowing what had become of the Channel fleet. Whether the Editor in question, or myself, be the best judge, or the best authority for the facts and inferences respecting those transactions, must likewise be submitted to the same tribunal of public opinion. He admits fully with me and other authors, that more might have been done; he shows the same number of British ships, or nearly the same, as I do, which came out of action ready to renew it. The value of the French prizes taken on the 1st of June is a mere matter of calculation. I think, while I greatly admire the construction of the Sans Pareil, that it would have been much cheaper to have burned them all; and if, after having removed the sick and wounded, this had been accomplished, and the Channel fleet had repaired to Ushant, we should have had both the defeated French fleet and the American convoy between Lord Howe and Admiral Montagu; nor is this an after-thought, it was the known, the spoken and written sentiments of the Admirals and Captains, as well as "of a Midshipman," of that day.*

* Let me hope that I have now done with the subject; I would not have said so much, if I had not been called upon by the before-named observation. I perceive that I am very amply quoted in Mr. James's

It has been stated that the Montblanc, the Montagnard, and the Audacieux, of seventy-four guns each, foundered on their return to Brest after the action: this is an error. The Vengeur was the only ship in the French fleet which foundered on that occasion. The number of ships we fell in with on the 9th was nineteen sail, which exactly answers to the number (twenty-seven) with which they began the action, viz. six taken, one sunk, and the Revolutionaire, which arrived in port after the action of the 28th. The Jacobin, it has been said, was sunk, but it was not the fact—nor was the Revolutionaire taken by the Audacious. Villaret assured me, some time after this event, that he attributed his defeat on the first of June to the Captain of the Jacobin allowing his line to be broken; he was the second a-stern to Villaret; but the line was broken in other places, nor could the Jacobin have prevented it. Before we close the subject of the 1st of June, it will be necessary to make a few remarks.

Lord Howe, after taking his fleet into action, did the duty of a private captain only; nor could he do more when he had chosen that part. I wish he had been on board the Charon to windward; his orders would then have been better executed; those who did, and those who did not, obey, with the exception of being mentioned in the public letter and receiving a medal from his Majesty, met with nearly the same treatment. Even Captain Molloy was not brought to a trial by Lord Howe, until, at his own earnest application, eleven months after the action. This was not a proper manner of treating an officer charged with such an offence.

I have ever held an opinion, in which history and experience have confirmed me, that the Commander-in-chief should not be the first in action, but should remain at a

new edition; whether it is quite fair to do so, is a question which I shall not pretend to decide. I can only say that my permission has never been obtained, and never will be; and that, at all events, it appears to me most unjustifiable to borrow so largely from a living author, and not to acknowledge the loan. I certainly cannot repay myself in kind. Mr. James's facts and statements I am not disposed either to borrow or to criticize. Mine are drawn from the best sources available in a long professional life, and from an acquaintance more or less intimate with most of the leading men of the period under discussion.

proper distance, to give directions by signal, to see his intentions carried into effect, and to be ready with a select corps de réserve to carry aid to any part of his line which might require it. An order to this effect must, however, originate with his superiors; for no admiral would subject his honour and courage to suspicion, even with the certainty of a victory; though it is to be supposed that the government who employed him must have had ample proof of both, before he was intrusted with such a distinguished command.

Worn out with five successive days of fatigue, two of which were passed in severe fighting, it is not surprising that, at the age of seventy-two, he should have felt incapable of further exertion. I have deeply and maturely considered the conduct of the British Admiral after this victory; and now am fully impressed with the conviction that he should not have allowed Villaret to depart, and that he should have proceeded off Brest with the least possible delay to reap the fruits of his victory. Of this I have reason to believe he was made sensible when too late, and probably regretted, for the remainder of his life, that he had permitted a beaten and a flying enemy, with an inferior number of ships, to rescue five sail of the line, which, if they had not surrendered, required no more than a summons to have done so.

Lord Howe arrived at Spithead with his fleet and prizes on the 13th of June: he was received with all that enthusiasm and joy which his victory was supposed to deserve. The royal family came down to Portsmouth, and went on board the Queen Charlotte, where his Majesty, on the quarter-deck, presented his Lordship with a diamond-hilted sword, valued at three thousand guineas, and suitable marks of royal approbation were bestowed on the admirals and captains: to the former he ordered gold medals, commemorative of their services, to be worn round their necks with a gold chain; to the latter, the same medals, to be worn suspended from the button-hole of the coat by a blue and white riband. Admiral Graves was created an Irish peer, with the title of Lord Graves; Sir Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport, Vice Admiral Gardner, and Rear-admirals Pasley, Curtis, and Bowyer,

were created baronets. All the first-lieutenants of the ships of the line were promoted to the rank of commanders, a precedent then established: many lieutenants were also promoted to that rank out of the Queen Charlotte, and from the other flag-ships in proportion. Rear-admirals Pasley and Bowyer, having each lost a leg, received a pension of £1000 a year in addition to their honours.

On the 30th of November, 1796, more than two years after the action, every officer mentioned in Lord Howe's letter received his gold medal; and this caused much jealousy and heartburning in the service. At this distance of time, there is no harm in saying that the distribution, and omissions, were in many instances unjust. Every officer in a general action is entitled either to approbation or censure: if he does his duty, let him have his reward, if he does not do it, let him be displaced by another and a better man; in this point of view, there were many good and gallant men very ill treated; Schomberg, of the Culloden; Bazeley of the Alfred; Elphinstone, of the Glory; Collingwood, of the Barfleur; and some others.

A liberal subscription was made by the merchants at Lloyd's for the relief of the wounded, as well as for the widows and orphans of those who fell in the action: the cities of London and Edinburgh, and the corporation of the Trinity-house also, contributed very largely.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to direct the following proportion of prize money to be immediately paid, viz.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To each of the warrant officers . . . . . | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| To each of the petty officers . . . . . | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To each seaman, marine, or soldier . . . . . | 2 | 2 | 0 |

And, as a farther mark of encouragement and favour, the legislature repealed the duty of five per cent. on all prize-ships taken, as far at least as related to ships of war and privateers.

The action of the 1st of June was fought farther from the land than any sea-fight between fleets recorded in history; this was Villaret's plan to save his convoy.

We find it asserted in the Annual Register for 1795,

that the French, in this engagement, lost 10,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners: I have no wish to gratify national vanity by exaggerating the losses of our enemies; nor any delight in detailing the destruction of the human species. The seven ships taken, at a fair average of 700 or 750 each, might have contained 5000 men; and it is impossible to suppose that the fleet which escaped, took away with it more than 2000 killed and wounded; which would give the enormous number of 106 to each ship: I therefore calculate their loss at between six and seven thousand men.

It was stated in the first number of this work, page 142, that Sir Edward Codrington was first Lieutenant of the Queen Charlotte in the action of the 1st of June. This is a mistake. The late Captain Thomas Larcom was the first Lieutenant, and Sir Edward Codrington was one of the junior, but became first Lieutenant in the following year, after the promotion of Lieutenant Cochet, now a Vice-admiral.

## CHAPTER VIII.

West Indies, from 1783 to 1793—Effects of the peace—Cause of the distress of the colonies—Navigation act—Impolicy of the British government—Fatal effects—Conduct of Nelson—New laws for their protection—Account of the islands' population, produce, and revenue—French settlements—St. Domingo—Origin of the civil war, and events which led to the destruction of that island—Conduct of the Captain of a French ship of war—the Assembly embark for France—Mauduit and Ogé—Policy of the British government towards St. Domingo—Destruction of Port au Prince—Description of the West Indies—Yellow fever—Mode of prevention—Station preferred by seamen in general.

THE peace which in 1783 had restored tranquillity to Europe, left the West-India islands to enjoy a small portion of that repose for which they had so long panted.

The active and almost exterminating warfare carried on in the Caribean seas and islands, during the American and preceding contests, kept the colonies in a constant state of alarm, and had reduced their inhabitants of every description to the most deplorable wretchedness: peace however being restored, it was hoped that plenty would have followed; but in this hope they were disappointed.

The Americans, who, from subjects of the British empire, had now become an independent people, could no longer be permitted to trade under the laws of the mother country; and the navigation act particularly excluded them from all commerce with our colonies, where the commodities which they imported had become indispensable necessaries of life; nor could the trade of the West-India planters be supported without the lumber

which was grown in America and exchanged for the overplus of the colonial productions.

In 1783 Mr. Pitt saw, and immediately provided for, the wants of the islands, by bringing a bill into parliament for their relief, enabling them to trade as before the separation. The limitation imposed regarded the size and description of vessels, which were to be sloops or schooners not exceeding eighty tons' burden, without topmasts, and having no deck farther forward than a small cabin for the accommodation of the master and crew.

This was an act of justice and sound policy, due to a part of the empire remarkable for its attachment to the government, and now threatened with famine by the rigid enforcement of laws rendered, by change of circumstances, no longer expedient. Unfortunately the administration of Mr. Pitt terminated in the course of a few months after the definitive treaty; and his successor, influenced by the representations from the colonies of North America, which still retained their allegiance, caused the acts of his predecessor to be repealed, under the impression that we were favouring the trade of America at the expense of our own, and destroying the nursery for our seamen by admitting the United States to participate in the benefits of the carrying trade.

No arguments, however sound and convincing, could gain attention in favour of the planters; and the most unjustifiable means were resorted to in order to deceive both the government and the people. It was pretended that Canada and Nova Scotia could supply provisions and lumber sufficient for all our islands in the West Indies! It were scarcely more absurd to say, that Scotland and Ireland should receive their nourishment from Iceland; yet the iniquitous or senseless proposition obtained belief; and fifteen thousand negroes fell a sacrifice by famine to the misguided councils of the mother country. Mr. Pitt, on his return into office in 1784, lamented the state of the colonies; but, unable to obtain for them the boons they so urgently demanded, he referred their claims to a council of trade, and they were rejected. I am guided on this subject by Mr. Bryan Edwards's

history of the West Indies, a work I never read without improvement, nor without regretting that I was not acquainted with the Author.

The governors of the plantations had, however, the discretionary power, under particular circumstances, of relaxing the severity of the law, and admitting temporary importation; this afforded little relief: the trade of the islands declined because they were forced to cultivate food for their own support, instead of employing their capital in more profitable speculations: at the same time their produce was not only heavily taxed, but placed under restrictions which in some instances tended to its annihilation. From 1780 to 1805, droughts and hurricanes multiplied their distress, and, with the causes already mentioned, almost drove the unfortunate planters to despair.

In the mean time the squadron of his Majesty's ships, stationed for their protection, increased their calamity, nor was it in the power of the captains, without a dereliction of duty, to afford them the smallest relief.

Rear-admiral Sir Richard Hughes commanded on the Leeward-Island station, and our hero Nelson was at the same time captain of the Boreas of twenty-eight guns.

The commander-in-chief, either ignorant of the navigation act, or not comprehending its meaning, allowed it to remain a dead letter; but Nelson, whose whole soul was for his country and his profession, fancied he saw the United States rising into power by the supineness or false indulgence of our government; he therefore seized many American traders, and prosecuted them in the vice-admiralty courts. The planters opposed him, because their existence was at stake; the Admiral, for the same reason, espoused their cause; and Nelson, though in the performance of his duty, was exposed to insult, and not safe from personal violence. The judges of the vice-admiralty courts, however they might view the error of the government at home, could indulge no private feeling; and a violation of the law was necessarily followed by condemnation of the property: appeals to the courts at home were ruinous to the claimants, while they deprived the captors of any benefit from their ex-

ertions, the property being locked up to await the final decision. Nelson went to England, to encounter prosecutions which hung over him, and it was long before he was assured of protection and exoneration from the government. The colonies in the mean time were suffering under every privation; and endured, in time of profound peace, most of the evils of a rigorous blockade, inflicted by British laws, and relentlessly executed by British cruisers.

At length, after the colonial governors had long held the discretionary power of admitting or rejecting importations from America as they might deem expedient, a bill was, in 1806, brought into parliament, empowering his Majesty in council to authorize, under certain restrictions, such importations as might seem needful. Neutrals were, by this bill, restrained from importing any commodities, lumber or staves excepted, which were not the growth and produce of their own country, and not permitted to export from the colonies any sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, or indigo. The bill, thus limited and guarded, was carried, after the most strenuous opposition, and the commerce of the West Indies felt its beneficial effects, until the tyranny of Napoleon devised means to prohibit in a great measure the introduction of their produce into the Ports of the Continent, by the Berlin and Milan Decrees of 1806 and 7.

To indemnify the planters for their losses by the stagnation of trade, occasioned by these decrees, distillation from sugars was permitted at home, which had at once the effect of lowering the price of grain, and consuming the West-India produce, with which the warehouses were loaded and the markets over-stocked: an additional bounty was also given on the exportation of sugars, and an increased duty laid on foreign spirits. In the following year a very material decrease of duty on coffee enabled the West-India planters, by successful competition, to share the profits of the neutral carrier in the sale of that article. During the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and our orders in council, colonial produce rose to an enormous price in France, and was consequently smuggled into that country in such quan-

tities, and in such a manner, as to baffle the vigilance of the whole corps of Douaniers in the pay and under the influence of the French government on the sea-coast of Europe, from the Vistula to the Danube; and thus, under the most forbidding appearances, the distress of the West-India colonies was in some measure relieved, and the British navy and nation partook of the fruits of their industry and success.

The number of English vessels which, in the year 1787, cleared from the British West-India islands was 689, containing 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,936 seamen.

The most considerable settlement of France in the West Indies was in St. Domingo. This immense island had been for many years the joint property of the French and Spaniards, the former having the west-end, and the latter the east; the line of boundary taking a serpentine course from the river Massacre on the north, to the Ance à Petre on the south, and giving to Spain nearly two-thirds of the island. The chief city of France in St. Domingo was Port au Prince; that of Spain is called St. Domingo, and the island they name Hispaniola; but it is now called Hayti. It is a most singular political phenomenon that, while the French side of the island has been a prey to rebellion, that of Spain has remained perfectly tranquil, although peopled by the importation of blacks, and the offspring of African women and white men. This we account for by the Spaniards not cultivating the sugar-cane to the same extent as the French, and consequently not requiring so great a majority of black population.

The loss of St. Domingo to France is an event of vast importance to her marine and commerce; and, in an inverse ratio, of almost equal advantage to Great Britain and America, who now enjoy the carrying trade of that island. French writers, with their usual want of candour or information, have imputed the insurrection of St. Domingo and its consequences, to the arts and machinations of the English. This charge we might naturally expect; but I have too much regard for the honour of my country to allow it to pass unrefuted;

nor will the subject be deemed irrelative to naval history, particularly when it is considered how greatly the navy of England was instrumental in saving the unfortunate victims of the rebellion in Hayti.

From the moment the States General were summoned (1788), says Mr. Bryan Edwards, and the court of France had decided on the new and extended mode of representation, the French part of the island of St. Domingo resolved to have its representatives in the great assembly of the nation; accordingly, eighteen deputies were elected, and appeared at Versailles just one month after the States General had declared themselves the National Assembly: six of them only, and that after much debate, were admitted to take their seats; these were supported by the society formed some time before in Paris, called Les Amis des Noirs—La Fayette, Abbé Gregoire, Brissot, Robespierre, and others. From the moment of the departure of the deputies from Cape François, all subordination was at an end among the mulattoes, and the contagion soon spread to the blacks, whose number, in the year 1789, amounted to 480,000. The National Assembly, in March, 1790, after a solemn debate, if the term can be applied to such a set of fanatics, came to the resolution that the colonies were not to be included in the constitution which they had framed for the mother country, nor was it intended to subject them to laws which were incompatible with their local establishment; they therefore authorized them, in few words, to frame a code for themselves, and to signify their wishes to the National Assembly. Thus did the unfortunate inhabitants of St. Domingo, step by step, become a prey to discord and rebellion by the effect of laws made in the mother country; and their final ruin was completed by the folly and wickedness of the colonists themselves.

The general assembly which met at St. Marc 16th April, 1790, by its intemperance, still added fuel to the flame. The arrival of the Chevalier Mauduit, an agent of the Count d' Artois, and, by the strangest inconsistency, at once the friend to counter-revolution and the declared advocate of mulatto emancipation, produced another extraordinary sensation in the island. The

whole system fell rapidly in pieces, and civil war approached with more than usual horror, inasmuch as the blacks were to be let loose with unbridled fury upon the lives and property of their masters. About this time Le Leopard, a French ship of the line, lay at anchor in the harbour of Port au Prince; Mons. Galisonière, the captain, with more zeal than prudence, chose to interfere in the disputes, and to support Mons. Peynier, the governor, against the assembly. The officers having set the example of becoming a deliberative body, it was very naturally followed by the crew, who espoused the popular side: the Captain, instead of resorting to every means for regaining his authority, resigned the command; and the ship's company immediately appointed one of the lieutenants to succeed him! For this effort of patriotism they were thanked by the assembly, who required them to detain the ship in port till farther orders! If the folly of these proceedings was not manifest from the beginning, its effect was soon too fatally felt by the colony.

The Governor in the mean time dissolved the assembly, and proclaimed them all traitors; and Mauduit was directed to arrest their persons: the enterprise failed, and he returned with no other trophy than the national colours which he had seized from the guard, an act which he had soon reason to repent. The disputes became daily more violent, when suddenly the whole was turned for a while into the most ridiculous farce by the unanimous determination of the assembly to go to Europe, and justify their conduct to the King. Accordingly eighty-five of them, of whom sixty-four were fathers of families, embarked on the 8th of August on board the Leopard, and sailed for Brest, an act of folly in a legislative body only to be equalled by the National Assembly in France.

One of the first victims of the new order of things in St. Domingo was a mulatto of the name of Ogé. This unhappy man was sent out by the Amis des Noirs furnished with letters of credit to New England, where he procured arms and ammunition, with which he secretly landed on the island in October, 1790, and, by an insolent letter to the Governor, announced at once his arrival and

the object of his voyage. He openly demanded the rights of his fellow-citizens, the people of colour; and having collected a few followers, among whom were his two brothers, and a man of the name of Chavanne, they began that work of destruction which ended in the utter ruin of themselves and of every white and mulatto in the colony. The career of Ogé was short: attacked by a regular force sent against him, many of his partisans were killed, others taken, while himself and brothers with Chavanne fled to the Spanish government for protection.

Colonel Mauduit had so much influence with the mulattoes, that in every place where they had risen in arms, he found means to quiet them; and it was supposed that he only prevailed upon them to delay the meditated blow, under the assurance that the King was favourable to their projects.

Mons. Peynier resigned the government of St. Domingo in November, 1790, and was succeeded by Mons. Blanchelande, a field-marshal in the French army.

The Governor-general of the colony of St. Domingo was absolute, commanding both the army and navy, and holding in his hands the entire control over the civil administration of justice. On one occasion the Prince de Rohan, who held the supreme command, sent the whole council prisoners to France. The history of St. Domingo from 1789 to 1804 is nothing but a tissue of crimes, follies, ignorance, and tyranny.

Mons. Blanchelande began his career with rigour and cruelty: he demanded of the Spanish goverment the persons of Ogé and his associates, who were immediately given over to him and brought to trial: one of the brothers of Ogé, with nineteen conspirators, was condemned to be hanged, while Ogé, and his lieutenant, Chavanne, were sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel, and left to perish in that situation. Chavanne met his fate with firmness; but the fortitude of the miserable and deluded Ogé forsook him: he implored mercy, and offered to make important disclosures, in hopes of averting the sentence; he was accordingly respited for twenty-four hours, and his depositions were taken before two commissioners appointed by the Governor. His dis-

closures were not divulged till long after the terrible explosion which he foretold; and it has been conjectured that Mons. Blanchelande had reasons for this concealment which could not be justified, and which the event proved to have been fatally erroneous. After his confession, drawn up by a notary, and signed with his own hand, Ogé was hurried away to execution.

In the mean while the Leopard with her cargo of senators arrived at Brest, where they were received with acclamations, and their wants amply provided for by subscription. On reaching Paris, however, they experienced a very different reception. Peynier and Mauduit had contrived, by their agents, to gain the ear of Barnave, the president of the colonial committee: they were peremptorily ordered to attend at the bar of the National Assembly; thence, after a single audience, they were indignantly dismissed, their conduct as a body censured, all their decrees reversed, and each member declared ineligible as a future representative. This was what might have been expected from the convention, more regardless of the rights of men, which it pretended to support, than any legislative body that ever assembled.

The ships of the line Le Fougueux and Le Borée arrived from France on the 3d of March, 1791: they had on board two battalions of the regiments of Artois and Normandy. The seamen and soldiers on board of these ships having had communication with the crew of the Leopard, expressed the utmost abhorrence at the conduct of Colonel Mauduit and his regiment, who, in attempting to seize the refractory members of the colonial assembly, had taken away and insulted the national colours. Mauduit offered an humble apology, which it was agreed to accept, and his soldiers had promised to protect him from violence; but one of them, before a crowd of spectators assembled on the occasion, cried aloud, that he must ask pardon on his knees: this he refused, at the same time exposing his bosom to the sabres of his regiment. He fell dead with a hundred wounds, inflicted by those who had sworn to defend him with their lives. The cruel act was followed by tearing his body to pieces; and a scene followed so shocking to humanity, that the amiable author

of the History of the West Indies has thought it right "to veil it in a learned language." (Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. 3, p. 60.) The regiment which perpetrated this horrid act, far from regaining by it, as they expected, the favour of their brethren in arms, were still treated with scorn and contempt, and were soon after embarked for Europe, where their swords were required for similar services.

Such was the folly and inconsistency of the national convention, that, while it disclaimed the right of interference in the local concerns of the colony, it passed a law declaring the mulattoes or people of colour born of free parents to be entitled to all the rights of French citizens, and to be eligible to seats in the colonial assemblies; thus in one moment, at the instigation of the Abbé Gregoire, destroying the whole legislative code, and violating every feeling and established usage in the island, to the certain destruction of that, and the imminent danger of every neighbouring, colony.

So far indeed was the British government from giving any countenance to these factions, that it trembled for the fate of Jamaica while the flames in St. Domingo were visible from Point Morant; and such was the indignation of the French planters when they received the decree just mentioned, that in their fury they proposed a separation from the mother country; an embargo was laid on French shipping in the ports, and a motion was made in the provincial assembly to pull down the national colours, and hoist the British standard in their place.

The Governor plainly foresaw the effects of this fatal decree, which he had not the power to conceal, and wrote home to the King's ministers, stating that it would prove the death-warrant of thousands: the whites and mulattoes were set an variance by it; and the blacks, instigated against both, committed the most horrible excesses, being supplied with arms and ammunition by American merchants, who received in return sugar and rum from the burning plantations. I cannot enter into the particulars of this unheard-of collection of cruelties and human suffering; only let me observe, that the negroes,

when reproached by the English for their barbarity to the French, answered, "It was the French who taught us." Facts have come to my knowledge, while serving on that station, which I wish to disbelieve, and had rather not relate.

The ferment excited by the decree of the 15th of May had just begun to subside, and it had obtained the sanction of the colonial assembly, when it was repealed by the national convention, which once more, by this impolitic interference, threw the whole colony into inextricable confusion; each party accused the other of treachery; and, the blacks setting fire to the town of Port au Prince, one third of that city was reduced to ashes. From that time till the final extermination of the French, the island was one continued scene of pillage, murder, and conflagration.

The slave trade, to which St. Domingo owes its prosperity, and its destruction, has been abolished by act of Parliament, but Slavery itself has been for ever put an end to in every British Colony in the West Indies: and, contrary to my anticipation, order has been preserved while emancipation has been carried out in every corner of our transatlantic possessions, and even to the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France. This is more than could have been expected: the vote of the House of Commons, by which 20 millions sterling was granted to indemnify the slave-owners, was a grand and noble trait of generosity, and was met by a corresponding feeling of gratitude on the part of the negroes. Providence seems to have favoured an act which stands unrivalled in the history of the world: let us hope that under the same blessing, peace and happiness will be permanently restored to those beautiful colonies.

Notwithstanding the heat of the climate, there is something in this station with which seamen are generally pleased; and few places exhibit more cheerfulness among all ranks of society than our West-India islands, particularly Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua.

While the ships remain in port, and wherever the duty will admit, the love of amusement pervades every class, from the captain of a ship of war to the humblest slave.

In war time the constant arrival of prizes, or vessels from England bringing news of their friends or beloved country, enlivens the scene, and diffuses a cheerfulness, which not even the frequency of death occasioned by the yellow fever can dissipate.

For this dreadful malady I know of no other preventive (independently of medical aid) than keeping at sea as much as possible; and when the wants of the ship demand a return into port, the utmost care should be taken never to anchor (if it can be avoided) near, or to leeward, of a swamp or marshy ground; these are to be particularly guarded against at Martinique, in the neighbourhood of Trois Islets; at St. Lucia; at Dominica, in Prince Rupert's bay; at Curaçoa, off the town of Amsterdam; at Jamaica, near Rock-Fort; and at Vera Cruz. Temperance in this climate is particularly conducive to health; also bathing morning and evening, but never remaining long in the water: when at sea, a sail, if the weather will admit of it, should be got over for the men to swim in; at sunset they should be clothed in flannel shirts, with woollen jackets and trowsers, and prevented as much as possible from lying about the decks, or sleeping exposed to the night air or the moon beams: they should invariably be kept at three watches, and, from eleven o'clock in the forenoon until two, should not be allowed to work: a constant attention to the state of the bowels is above all things requisite. These precautions may do much, but even these may fail; and in spite of every care, I have seen the bloom of youth and the maturity of manhood sink alike under this dreadful disorder.

The islands, as we sail among them, exhibit nature in her most vivid colouring, and most alluring attire. At dawn of day the rays of light infinitely surpass in brilliancy those of more northern climates; and no painting or description can do justice to a tropical sunrise.

Both officers and men delight in this station, from the chance of promotion and prize-money, and the facility with which a ship is kept in order. There are few sights more gratifying to seamen than a well-regulated ship of war with her people at quarters in the West

Indies. The straw hats made by themselves from the beautiful leaf of the palmetto, the white dresses of the seamen and marines, the admirable cleanliness and good order in every department (the bags and bedding being shaken and aired every morning in fine weather), the regularity and order of the store-room, the thorough ventilation of the ship, from the pump-well upwards, the neatness of the sails and rigging, and the perfect readiness with which every manœuvre is performed—render her a picture which a British officer will gaze on with delight, and a foreigner with awe and admiration.

## CHAPTER IX.

West Indies—Capture of Tobago—Arrival of Rear-admiral Gardner with a squadron—Attacks Martinique—Is defeated—Conduct of Emigrants—Rear-admiral returns to England—Depressed state of French marine—Capture of L'Inconstant —Gallant action of Antelope packet—St. Domingo—Conduct of England and of France—Slave-trade—Conduct of Polveral, Santhonax, and Ailhaud—Conflagration and massacre at Cape Frangois—Invasion of St. Domingo by the English—Impolicy—Capture of Jeremie and Cape Nicholas mole—Parallel between Toulon and St. Domingo—Reinforcements—Capture of Port au Prince with valuable property—Reverses—Sickness—General Horneck arrives—Observations of Mr. Edwards on the errors of our plans—Sailing and squadron of Sir John Jervis—Arrival at Barbadoes—Yellow fever—Attack on Martinique—Combined naval and military operations—Capture of St. Pierre—Description of the town—Method of treating seamen—Arrival of his Royal Highness Prince Edward—Rash act of Captain Faulknor—Gallant conduct of Lieutenant Richard Bowen—Affair of the Asia —Captains Nugent and Faulknor scale the walls of Fort Louis —The Governor capitulates—Attack and capture of St. Lucia, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, and of the Saints—Completes the reduction of French islands—Reflections—Vice-admiral Caldwell and General Sir John Vaughan arrive at Guadaloupe, and relieve Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey, who return to England in the Boyne.

Mr. Bryan Edwards has somewhere said that in all wars between the European princes, the West Indies were the Arena to which the belligerents repaired to decide their quarrels. The maritime superiority of England gave us the power of striking the first blow in this war. Vice-admiral Sir John Laforey, the commander-in-chief on the Leward Island station, attacked, in conjunction with Major General Cuyler, the Island of Tobago, which surrendered with little opposition. A squadron in the mean time, under the command of Rear-admiral Gardner, sailed from England, arrived at Barbadoes early in the year, and immediately attacked the Island of Martinique. Sir John Laforey returned home.

The squadron under the command of the Rear admiral was as follows, viz.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|---|
| Queen | 98 | Rear-admiral Gardner<br>Captain Hutt |
| Duke | 98 | Honourable G. Murray |
| Orion | 74 | I. T. Duckworth |
| Hector | 74 | G. Montagu |
| Hannibal. | 74 | I. Colpoys |
| Culloden | 74 | Sir Thos. Rich, Bart. |
| Monarch | 74 | Sir Jas. Wallace, Knt. |
| Heroine | 32 | Allan Gardner |
| Iphigenia | 32 | Patrick Sinclair |
| Rattlesnake | 14 | A. Mouatt. |

The land and sea forces immediately prepared to commence offensive operations.

Martinique, the finest and most fruitful of the French windward islands, was the first object of attack ; and the internal discord of its inhabitants offered a fair prospect of success. An additional land-force was put on board, making up the number of three thousand men : these were under the command of Major-general Bruce. The run from Barbadoes to Martinique, being directly to leeward, occupies but a few hours. The landing was effected with little resistance ; but the French, like other people in cases of invasion, forgot their political differences to oppose the common enemy. The force employed, totally inadequate to the undertaking, was compelled to retreat with loss, leaving many of the unhappy emigrants to the merciless rage of their countrymen, by whom they were murdered or put to death in cruel torments.

This is one among many other facts tending to prove the ignorance of the colonial department of that day, as to the real state of the foreign settlements of the enemy, and their placing too much reliance on the integrity of the emigrants, who were not unfrequently in the pay of their own government, while they pretended to furnish correct information to ours ; thus making a profitable employment from our credulity, and trading in the blood of their fellow-creatures. The most honourable exceptions must however be made among this unfortunate class of people, and particularly of two officers in the French navy—the Viscomte de la Rivière, captain of La Fame, a French ship of seventy-four guns, and Mons. Malveau, captain of the Calypso frigate—who

placed themselves under the orders of the British Admiral, and used their utmost exertions to save as many of their countrymen as they could bring away; after which they proceeded to Trinidad and joined the Spaniards, at that time our friends and allies.

The Rear-admiral, on the failure of this attempt, unable to effect any other object in the Caribbean seas, detached the Hannibal and Hector to reinforce Commodore Ford at Jamaica, and returned with the remainder of his squadron to England.

Nothing more clearly evinces the truth of my assertion in the early part of this work, of the decline of the French marine, than the very small force which the government of France was enabled to send out at the commencement of the war, for the protection of its most valuable colonies.

In the ports of St. Domingo, they had only three sail of the line and four frigates, and on the windward island station the naval force was far less considerable. At the conclusion of the American war, the combined fleets of France and Spain were stated in the House of Commons to amount to seventy sail of the line, ready to act in the West Indies, where we had no more than forty sail of the line to oppose them: while in the East Indies, we find Suffrein with a fleet superior to Sir Edward Hughes, taking from us the port of Trincomalee; and D'Orvilliers, in the Channel, bidding defiance to Keppel. In 1794, the French, defeated in the Bay of Biscay, were glad to regain their port; in the Mediterranean they were on the brink of ruin; had not one ship of the line in the East Indies, only three in the West, and had lost all their foreign possessions in both hemispheres.

In the month of November, Captains Rowley of the Penelope, and Sinclair of the Iphigenia, of thirty-two guns each, fell in with the French frigate L'Inconstante of thirty-six guns and three hundred men, which they captured after a short action, and carried her into Port Royal: in the same month the Antelope packet, on her way to England from Jamaica, fell in off Cumberland harbour with a French privateer, which ran on board of the packet, but was so warmly received that he

would have retreated, when Mr. Pasco, the boatswain of the Antelope, on whom the command had devolved, went aloft and lashed the squaresail-yard of the privateer to the fore-shrouds of the Antelope, while the crew and the passengers plied them so effectually with grape and musketry, that they called for quarter and surrendered: her name was the Atalante; she mounted eight guns, three-pounders, and had sixty-five men, of whom eight were killed and nineteen wounded. The Antelope had six guns, three-pounders, and twenty-one men; her captain, Mr. Curtis, and three men, were killed, and four wounded.

The troubles of St. Domingo had in a great measure endangered the safety of Jamaica. Whatever might have been the horrors and the crimes committed in St. Domingo, England was entirely guiltless of them; it was her interest as well as her duty to bring those desolating scenes to a speedy termination; and I shall prove that by such motives her farther proceedings were guided.

The commissioners from the national convention, Polverel, Santhonax, and Ailhaud, reached Cape François in September, 1792: but, far from healing the wounds of civil discord, these infamous men invited the blacks to their assistance by the promise of plunder; and in the following year completed the ruin of the colony, and the destruction of the whites and mulattoes, by the massacre of the inhabitants, and the conflagration of the city of Cape François. When the last of these unhappy people had rendered up their breath, or escaped to the ships in the harbour, Santhonax was seen embracing the chiefs of the blacks, and heard to thank them for their exertions. Called before the National Convention to account for his conduct, he was by that assembly pronounced "guiltless!"

We have now come to the origin of our invasion of St. Domingo. Mr. Edwards states that so early as 1791, overtures had been made by the white inhabitants to the British government to take the French part of the island under its protection. This offer was of course rejected; but when the government of France, in 1793, declared war against us, other measures were resorted to. The rebellion in St. Domingo threatening the safety of our

colonies, it became a duty to oppose some check to the power of the blacks, and for the sake of humanity to save the lives of the whites who implored our protection. The overtures were therefore listened to, and the Count de Charmilly, one of the planters, was furnished with despatches from the Secretary of state to General Williamson, the lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief at Jamaica, signifying his Majesty's pleasure that terms of capitulation should be accepted from the inhabitants of St. Domingo, and permitting his Excellency to send such troops to their assistance as in his judgment might be spared from the island.

At this time the force of the French in St. Domingo amounted to twenty-two thousand men, six thousand of whom were blacks, inured to the climate, about the same number Europeans, and the remainder mulattoes and creoles.

Unless the British government acted on the most groundless information, it is impossible to conceive what hopes of success it could have entertained from the perilous expedient of draining Jamacia of its white troops, and attempting the reduction of St. Domingo with eight hundred and seventy men; while the blacks would have mustered, and perhaps had little short of, one hundred thousand in arms to oppose them: such however are the facts; and we much fear that posterity will hesitate to believe that the ministers of George III. could have been so much deceived.

With this small force, however, the reduction of St. Domingo was undertaken. It sailed from Port Royal on the 9th of September, 1793, escorted by Commodore Ford in the Europa of fifty guns, with five frigates. On their arrival at Jeremie they were received by the unhappy planters with tears of joy and gratitude, as deliverers sent by "the bravest and most generous of nations." They entered the town amidst the shouts and acclamations of the whites: the British colours were hoisted, and those of France torn down by her own people, while royal salutes from the forts announced that the French side of St. Domingo was about to become a British colony. From this place the Commodore pro-

ceeded to Cape Nicholas mole, which he entered in the same manner; and the troops, though limited in number, were now in quiet possession of two important points of the island, namely, Cape Dona Maria and Cape Tiburon, embracing the bight of Leogane and the gulf of Gonaves, commanding the windward passage, and consequently the greater part of the trade of the island, and its capital, Port au Prince. Exclusively, however, of the situation, these places had few other advantages. Cape Nicholas mole, like Toulon, though a fine harbour, was surrounded by heights which, unless occupied by our troops, would be the means of driving us out. Unhappily this was not the only resemblance between those two devoted places: the inhabitants, like the Toulonese, no sooner saw the British forces within their walls, than they manifested the strongest hostility towards them; and the attacks on Toulon and St. Domingo had, from almost similar causes, the same issue. The yellow-fever raged in our little army, and on board our ships of war; and the mortality became so great, as to render a speedy retreat a matter of necessity, unless reinforced: General Williamson therefore sent another detachment, amounting altogether to between seven and eight hundred men, leaving the island of Jamaica to the care of less than four hundred regular troops.

Eight months had elapsed since our first landing, before any reinforcement arrived from England: in the mean time sickness had reduced the whole number of British troops on the island to nine hundred effective men.

On the 19th of May, the Irresistible of 74 guns, the Belliqueux of 64, and the Fly sloop, with a convoy of transports, arrived in the harbour of Cape Nicholas mole: these vessels had on board the flank companies of the 22d, 23d, and 41st regiments, under the command of Brigadier-general Whyte, who, in conjunction with Commodore Ford, immediately proceeded to the attack of Port au Prince. The squadron was composed of three ships of the line, viz. Irresistible 74, Sceptre 64, Belliqueux 64, the Europa 50, and some frigates and sloops, with 1465 soldiers. The place was speedily carried by the gallantry of the troops, and the active co-operation

of the ships of war, which kept up a heavy fire on the enemy's works. Fort Bizottin, standing on a commanding eminence, was stormed and carried by Captain Daniel of the forty-first, at the head of 60 men, who, in the midst of a violent thunder-storm, entered the embrasures with fixed bayonets, and rendered themselves completely masters of the place, which over-looked the town of Port au Prince. The gallant Major Spencer, who commanded the whole of the detachment sent to this attack, followed up the blow and entered the town in triumph, just in time to save that and the shipping from an intended conflagration. The value of the shipping and merchandise captured in the town and harbour, was estimated at £400,000.

The enemy attempted to retake the post of Tiburon, but were defeated by a small force headed by Captain Bradshaw, and assisted by the fire of the Success frigate, under the command of Captain Roberts.

With the capture of Port au Prince we conclude the history of our success in St. Domingo. The scene from this time until our final evacuation of the island, is clouded with disasters. The blacks, inured to the climate, and possessing an accurate knowledge of the country, were more than a match for the enervated Europeans: valour and science were overpowered by numbers, local knowledge, and perseverance; and though reinforcements were sent from to windward in as great numbers as could be spared, they came not to partake in the glory of preserving the conquest, but to end their days in the hospitals of Port au Prince: so rapid, says Mr. Edwards, was the mortality, that the frigate which conveyed the flank companies became a house of pestilence. More than one hundred were buried in the deep in the short passage between Guadaloupe and Jamaica; and one hundred and fifty were left in a dying state at Port Royal: upwards of forty officers and six hundred rank and file met their fate by sickness within two months after the surrender of Port au Prince. The negroes and the mulattoes joined against them, and even success diminished their numbers. Colonel Brisbane held the enemy in check for a time, and compelled them to sue

for peace on the plains of Artibonite; but the force of the enemy was too great for him to resist. General Horneck arrived while affairs were in this situation, and found the British forces pent up in the forts of Bizottin and Dauphin in the northern provinces, while, in other parts of the island, our weakness was so apparent, as to invite the attack of the blacks; and we must agree with the author of the History of the West Indies, that if a greater force could not have been spared for the occasion, the conquest of St. Domingo should never have been undertaken. One observation of the same author carries conviction along with it: nor is it easy to conceive what objection could have been offered to a proposition so reasonable.

"Perhaps," says Mr. Edwards, "the most fatal oversight in the conduct of the whole expedition, was the strange and unaccountable neglect of not securing the little port of Jacmel on the south side of the island, previous to the attack of Port au Prince. With that post on one side of the peninsula, and the post of Acul in our possession on the other, all communication between the southern and the two other provinces would have been cut off; the navigation from the windward islands to Jamaica would have been made secure, while the possession of the two capes which form the entrance into the bight of Leogane (St. Nicholas and Tiburon) would have protected the homeward trade in its course through the windward passage. All this might have been accomplished; and we think it is all that, in sound policy, ought to have been attempted. As to Port au Prince, it would have been fortunate if the works had been destroyed, and the town evacuated, immediately after its surrender."

The enemy, by retaining possession of the ports of Jacmel and Les Cayes, effectually commanded the windward passage from Jamaica, through which our trade generally returned to England, and by the swarms of privateers did us incredible mischief.

By the treaty of Basle, the Spanish government resigned its portion of St. Domingo to France in perpetual sovereignty. The deed was not worth the parchment on

which it was recorded. France neither derives nor ever will derive any advantage from such forced and unnatural concession: the government of that country was as remarkable for its cruelty and unrelenting policy towards the colonists of St.Domingo, as these latter were for mildness and humanity to their slaves. The blacks of St. Domingo have within the last three years finally emancipated themselves from France by agreeing to pay a fine of 6 millions of francs as an indemnification to the Planters.

It was not till the 26th of November, 1793, that the squadron under the command of Vice-admiral Sir John Jervis sailed for Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. He left Spithead with the following ships, viz.

| SHIPS. | GUNS. | COMMANDERS. |
|---|---|---|
| Boyne (flag) | 98 | Capt. G. Grey |
| Vengeance | 74 | — C. Thompson |
| Veteran | 64 | — C. Edmund Nugent, now Admiral of the Fleet |
| Ulysses | 44 | — R. Morice |
| Woolwich | 44 | — J. Parker |
| Beaulieu | 40 | — John Salisbury |
| Blanche | 32 | — C. Parker |
| Terpsichore | 32 | — Sampson Edwards |
| Solebay | 32 | — W. H. Kelly |
| Quebec | 32 | — John Rogers |
| Rose | 28 | — Edward Riou |
| Rattlesnake | 18 | — M. A. Scott |
| Seaflower | 16 | — William Pierrepoint |
| Zebra | 16 | — Robert Faulknor |
| Nautilus | | — J. Carpenter |
| Vesuvius, bomb. | | |
| Assurance | 44 | — V. C. Berkeley |
| Roebuck | 44 | — Andrew Christie |
| Ceres | 32 | — Richard Incledon |
| Winchelsea | 32 | — Right Hon. Lord Garlies. |

The last four joined at Martinique.

The land-forces were under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Grey; and measures were immediately taken to carry into execution the great objects of the expedition.

No sooner had our chiefs arrived at Barbadoes, than they heard of the dreadful ravages committed by the yellow-fever; no less than 58 officers of infantry, and an equal proportion of soldiers, having been carried off by it within a short period.

The land forces employed consisted of a detachment of white, and another of black dragoons, the 3d battalion of grenadiers, the 3d light infantry, the 6th, 9th, 15th, 39th, 43d, 56th, 58th, 64th, 65th, and 70th, regiments, with detachments from the 2d, 21st, and 60th: they were all divided into three brigades,—the first under Lieutenant-general Prescott; the second under Major-general Thomas Dundas; the third to be under Major-general his Royal Highness Prince Edward, who was hourly expected to arrive from Canada. The whole of the forces employed amounted to 6085, besides 977 left sick at Barbadoes, very few of whom ever rejoined their corps.

On the 3d of February the expedition made St. Lucia, and on the 4th and 5th approached the island of Martinique: at four P. M. on the latter day, landings were effected on various parts of the island, with more or less success; but on the 9th our troops, having gained possession of Mount Maturin, which overlooks the strong fortress of Pigeon island, a battery was opened within four hundred yards of it, and in two hours that island, which commands the whole anchorage in the bay, surrendered at discretion.

On the following day the fleet moved up into Fort-Royal Bay, its three chief defences being in our hands, viz. Point Solomon, Pigeon island, and Casnavire, from which place Sir Charles Gordon and Colonel Myers came along shore, and in the way towards Fort Royal took five batteries, occupying the posts of Gentilly, La Coste, and L'Archet, within one league of Bourbon.

Commodore Thompson with his division, having on board Major General Dundas and a body of troops, had anchored on the 5th in Gallion-bay on the north-east point of the island. Captain Faulknor in the Zebra placed his ship close to the battery on Point à Chaux, and drove out the enemy; the Beaulieu and Woolwich followed, and the troops landed without opposition in the bay of Gallions. Early the next morning the Major-general began his march, in the course of which he was a little annoyed by musketry from the cane fields, but these our troops quickly dislodged with the bayonet. Fort Bruno, situated north of Fort Bourbon, was taken,

and Fort Matilda soon shared the same fate. An attempt was made to assassinate Major-general Dundas, but the man was secured and sent a prisoner to the fleet.

A division of the army advanced upon the town of St. Pierre, while a squadron consisting of the Asia and Veteran of sixty-four guns, Santa Margaretta and Blonde frigates, with the Rattlesnake, Zebra, and Nautilus sloops, and Vesuvius, bomb, entered the bay. The town capitulated immediately; the enemy ran, leaving their guns loaded and their colours flying. So exact was the discipline of our army that not a man was suffered to quit his rank; and the women and children sat at their doors to see our troops enter the place. A drummer was taken in the act of plundering, and was instantly hung up at the door of the Jesuits' college. A schooner escaped out of the bay before day-light the next morning, and, it was said, had some money, and people of distinction, on board: she passed close to one of our frigates, and was not either hailed or boarded. We seldom want valour in presence of an enemy, but are frequently deficient in vigilance.

St. Pierre is the most considerable town of Martinique: it lies on the south-west side of the island, and has a good anchorage in its bay, on each side of which, forts defend it from any attack by sea. Fort Royal is usually the seat of government, being situated at the head of the bay of that name, and adjoining to the carénage, where the shipping always resort, particularly during the hurricane season; but this town, being in the neighbourhood of the low and marshy country about Trois Islets, is generally unhealthy, and fatal to strangers, producing dysentery and fever.

St. Pierre, form the neatness and cleanliness of the town, combined with the beauty of situation and romantic scenery, is unequalled among the windward islands. Lofty mountains overhang the bay, whose sides and summits are covered with woods of variegated foliage: plantations of sugar, coffee, and cotton, in the highest state of cultivation, occupy the meadow-land, and encroach, according to the nature of the plants, almost to the summits of the hills. Gardens containing every fruit

and flower known to the tropical climate, and many exotics, contribute to the enjoyment of these happy regions, "whose only enemy is man." The devastation of the hurricane or the fever is soon forgotten, but ambition, cruelty, and avarice, follow the foot-steps of the human race, and spread desolation, like the tainted breeze from the pestilential swamp.

The streets of the town of St. Pierre are all watered by a clear stream running through their centre. This water descends from the mountains in copious abundance, and at once cools, refreshes, and cleanses, the town: ships may be supplied in a very short time with any quantity: they should lie close in shore, and begin their work before day-break, by which means they might allow the men to sleep or take their meals between eleven and two in the afternoon, an interval of time, being the hottest part of the day, in which they ought not to be employed. Before they are sent to work in the morning, it is indispensably necessary that they take half a pint of warm coffee or cocoa, and a small piece of biscuit; and if these could not be got, a wine-glass of spirits would be preferable to allowing them to encounter the morning air with an empty stomach; but this latter with great caution.

The Admiral lay with his fleet in the bay of Fort Royal. The town was defended by the fort of Bourbon which stood on the hill above it, and by Fort Louis, which occupied a tongue of land extending into the bay, and forming the carénage or harbour.

Sir John Jervis, while the troops drew nearer to the fort of Bourbon, sent his gun-boats and small craft in shore, and kept up a constant fire during the night upon Fort Louis: in the morning the boats returned on board of their ships. A detachment of frigates and sloops got up to Cul de Sac Cohée, and opened a communication with the army. General Bellegarde moved his whole force upon our position at Cohée, but Sir Charles Grey, perceiving his design, attacked and compelled him to retreat Colonel Buckridge with the grenadiers and light infantry stormed the heights of Serrurier, upon which Bellegarde retired, but was met by our grenadiers,

who turned his own guns upon him, and forced him again to retreat under the walls of Bourbon.

Rochambeau, the governor, now perceiving that he had little chance of saving the island, sent out a flag of truce with proposals to capitulate, but the terms were rejected.

The fort of Bourbon now became completely invested. Captain Eliab Harvey, of the Santa Margaretta, landed at Cohée with three hundred seamen: he had also under his orders Captain Kelly, with Lieutenants Woolley, Harrison, Carthew, and Schomberg; they carried with them three twenty-four-pounders, which on the third day they mounted on the heights of Serrurier. A few days after, this party was reinforced by another body of seamen from the Veteran, under the command of Captain Lord Garlies, with Lieutenants Watson and Dixon, and Lieutenant Treminere of the marines, with a party of men from that corps.

General Bellegarde, who, in retreating from Sir Charles Grey, had taken refuge under the walls of Bourbon, being refused admittance into the fortress by Rochambeau, capitulated, and was allowed to go to America.

In March, his Royal Highness Prince Edward arrived, and took the command of the third division, which had been held for him by Major-general Gordon.

At the same time the Commander-in-chief sent Lord Sinclair with a party of the Prince of Wales's dragoons in pursuit of about one hundred and fifty marauders: they fell upon them in the very act of burning a village, killed thirty-six, took four of them prisoners, whom they immediately hung up, and returned to the camp.

On the 7th, Rochambeau having been again ineffectually summoned to surrender, the bombardment of Bourbon was renewed, and continued all the following day.

The enemy made a sortie on the 9th, and were driven back, but Captain Faulknor of the Zebra, with his seamen, pursued them too far, and sustained some loss. This gallant young officer, in the heat of passion, and by an unlucky misdirection of the point of his sword, killed an English seaman on the batteries. The poor man's conduct, it is true, was highly blameable; and the Court Martial which tried Captain Faulknor for the offence,

was so satisfied that he had no intention of inflicting a death wound, that he was fully acquitted: his feelings were, however, too honourable to forgive himself; and to the hour of his death he was rendered miserable by this unfortunate accident.

Our batteries were now advanced to within five hundred yards of the fort of Bourbon, and to within two hundred yards of the redoubt Bouillé; two batteries were also erected on the south-east side of the carenage, within two hundred yards of Fort Louis: one of them was commanded by the intrepid Riou, whom I have before mentioned in the account of the Guardian.

The commanders-in-chief thought, with such men, they might hope for success in storming Fort Louis, the walls of which are not high; they therefore ordered a vigorous bombardment on the lower part of it, which lies most exposed to the bay: scaling ladders were provided, and the Asia, Captain Brown, and the Zebra, Captain Faulknor, were ordered in to batter the fort previously to the meditated assault. As soon as the Asia was within reach of grape, she put her helm up and came out. The Vice-admiral, supposing that Captain Brown was killed, or that some very serious accident had happened, sent Captain Grey to ascertain the cause of this extraordinary proceeding. Captain Grey returned, and informed the Admiral that not a man was hurt on board the Asia, and she again stood in, and again came out. This unusual act of a British ship of war was attributed to the pilot, and being admitted, was no palliation, since the ship had actually got within reach of grape, whence her lower-deck guns must quickly have driven the enemy from the fort. It was the duty of the Captain to have anchored, and to have remained there till the service was completed, or until recalled by his superior officer, who was present. I once heard a lady ask Lord St. Vincent why he did not bring Captain Brown to a court-martial. I think his Lordship replied, "I thought it best to let him go home quietly." Captain Brown should have demanded a Court Martial on himself. The report which I have given was copied from accredited documents, and generally supposed to be true. I am however happy to say,

that the gallant and highly respected Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Charles Edmund Nugent, informs me that he was not so much to blame as has been supposed; he says the Asia's fire could not have been of any use where she was, and that want of water prevented her getting nearer. The storming party was commanded by Captain (now Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Charles) Nugent, and Faulknor by his side. The Republican flag was instantly replaced by the British union, amidst the cheers and acclamations of the fleet and army, and the astonishment of the enemy, whose retreat from Fort Louis to Bourbon was interrupted by a body of infantry, and some field-pieces under Captain de Rouvignée, keeping up a well directed fire over the bridge which they wished to pass.

The gallant Rochambeau now plainly saw that no effort of his could save the island; he therefore sent out terms of capitulation, which were accepted; and on the 25th of March, after seven weeks' siege, the garrison marched out with the honours of war. Thus fell this important settlement the second time into our hands, by the united exertions of the army and navy: it had been taken in 1763. Fort Bourbon received the name of Fort George, and Fort Louis that of Fort Edward.*

As soon as the terms of the capitulation were agreed on, and the necessary arrangements could be completed, General Prescott was left governor, and Commodore Thompson, with a squadron, ordered to co-operate with him in the defence of the island. The two Commanders-in-chief, taking with them all the forces that could be spared, set sail for St. Lucia.

The land-forces consisted of the brigade of grenadiers under his Royal Highness Prince Edward, another of infantry under Major-general Thomas Dundas, and the 6th, 9th and 43rd regiments under Sir Charles Gordon, the

* After the capture of the Islands, Captain Nugent, whose conduct had given the highest satisfaction to the Vice-admiral, was selected for the honour of conveying the despatches to England. Captain Lewis Robertson was appointed to the Veteran, in which command he was killed as above related.

In 1833 His Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow on Admiral Nugent the distinguished rank of Admiral of the Fleet.

engineers under Colonel Durnford, and a detachment of light ordnance under Colonel Paterson. The island surrendered without much opposition; and the chiefs, having provided for its protection as well as their means would admit, proceeded next to Guadaloupe, where they made good their landing on the 11th of April in Gozier-bay. In this operation the troops were covered by the fire of the Winchelsea frigate, commanded by Captain Lord Viscount Garlies, who placed this ship, says Sir John Jervis, "in the good old way, within pistol-shot;" and so well were her guns directed, that the enemy fled, and our men took possession of their battery. Lord Garlies was slightly wounded.

The island of Guadaloupe is divided into two districts, called Grande Terre and Petite Terre. They are separated by a small stream called the Rivière Salée.

The republicans having rallied and assembled in great force at Fort Fleur d'Epée, they were attacked the following morning before day-break, and the place carried by storm. The name of Fleur d'Epée was changed to that of Fort Prince of Wales. All was done here by the bayonet, a favourite method of Sir Charles Grey's; but we shall see it in the course of the war, in less skilful hands, lead to irreparable misfortune and disgrace. Some few of the garrison of Fleur d'Epée were put to the sword, and Grande Terre was taken with very little loss.

The small islands called the Saintes, lying about eight miles south-east of the southernmost point of Guadaloupe, and having a very good and secure anchorage, were taken by Captain Rogers in the Quebec of thirty-two guns.

Grande Terre being entirely subdued, the enemy re-crossed the brook, and took up their position on Petite Terre. The persevering chiefs pursued them: two divisions of the army, under the command of his Royal Highness Prince Edward, and Lieutenant-colonel Symes, were embarked in transports, and ordered to anchor under Isle Haut de Frégate, which is situated in the deep bay formed by Grande Terre and Basse Terre; and during the night and the following morning the troops were landed at Petit Bourg. On the same day the Irresis-

tible, seventy-four, commanded by Captain Henry, with the Veteran, Assurance, Santa Margaretta, and some transports and gun-boats, were detached: they had on board a body of troops under the orders of Major-general Thomas Dundas, and proceeded to the road of Baliff, near the town of Basse Terre. The next day they were followed by the Vice-admiral in the Boyne, accompanied by some sloops of war and victuallers. Sir John Jervis now directed Lord Garlies, in the Winchelsea, to take all the sloops of war, transports, and gun-boats, under his orders, and proceed with them to Trois Rivières, while the Admiral himself went in the Boyne, and joined the Irresistible in the road of Baliff. Here he received very satisfactory reports from Captain Henry of the landing of General Dundas's division. Perceiving at the same time some movements on the part of the enemy, indicative of an intention to escape in the merchant vessels during the night, he sent Captain Grey with a strong detachment of marines to disable the guns on the batteries, and the boats of the squadron to intercept any vessel attempting to depart. Some incendiaries who had plundered the town set it on fire, and made their escape in a schooner. Most of the other vessels were secured, and among them a republican corvette called the Guadaloupe. With this event the entire subjection of the island was completed, and the little islands of Mariegalante and Desirade were included in the capitulation; so that the French, in the short space of three months, were deprived of every settlement they had in the Caribee islands by a squadron of five sail of the line, with a few frigates, and about six thousand five hundred troops. The conquest of these colonies was a positive loss to France, without being clearly a proportionate gain to England. Their produce was placed under severe duties; their civil and military establishments were burdensome to Great Britain: a vast army was requisite for their defence, and strong squadrons were required to be kept in a constant state of efficiency, with very little prospect of remuneration from any captures after the British flag was displayed on their fortresses; consequently the naval service in that part of the world became extremely

irksome, and the seamen much disheartened for want of that stimulus to activity generally accompanying a state of warfare. The yellow-fever continued its ravages, and thousands of our gallant countrymen who had escaped in battle, fell victims to the fatal climate.

No sooner was the island of Guadaloupe in our power, and completely subdued, than it was lost with a rapidity almost as sudden as its conquest.

On the 5th of June, Sir John Jervis, lying at St. Christopher's, received information that a French squadon had appeared off Point à Petre on the 3d with a body of troops, that they had landed, and were proceeding to attack Fort Fleur d'Epée, the principal post on Grande Terre. The ships which the Admiral had with him were the Boyne, Vengeance, Winchelsea, and Nautilus; with these he made all sail for Basse Terre, where he arrived at two P. M. on the same day. General Grey with his staff was immediately landed. Captain Baynton of the Nautilus was sent up to Martinique, and to the other island, for reinforcements. The squadron under Commodore Thompson joined the Admiral in Basse Terre roads, with the Vanguard and Vengeance. The Veteran was stationed between Mariegalante and Desirade, to intercept the enemy's cruisers on his approach to Point à Petre. The Admiral had the mortification to perceive a French squadron within the carenage: it consisted of two large frigates, armed en flute, two other ships, and a corvette. They were in possession of Grande Terre, and Fort Fleur d'Epée. The Veteran was instantly detached to bring the flank companies from St. Lucia and St. Vincent: the Winchelsea arrived on the same day with the flank companies of the twenty-first regiment from Antigua; and by the 11th, troops poured in from all the other islands. The legislatures of Antigua and St. Christopher's, under the direction of Mr. President Byam and Governor Stanley, immediately raised corps of volunteers, and at their own expense sent them to Guadaloupe. At this critical state of affairs Major-general Dundas died of the yellow-fever.

It now appeared that the French had landed fifteen

hundred men at Gozier-bay, and had attacked and carried Fleur d'Epée with the greatest courage, although defended and bravely disputed by the small force under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Drummond. That officer gave the most deplorable account of the French loyalists, who forsook their colours and behaved in a disgraceful manner. Sir Charles Grey in the mean time made the most vigorous efforts to recover the island.

Having collected all the forces which could be got together, he made a successful attack on Grande Terre: a strong force was landed at Gozier-bay, under cover of the guns of the Winchelsea and Solebay frigates. Some important passes were retaken by the gallantry of Lieutenant-colonel Fisher, with six companies of grenadiers and light infantry. The enemy still held very strong ground, a chain of high and woody hills, between our posts and Morne Mascot. They were again attacked by a body of troops under the command of Brigadier-general Symes, and a detachment of seamen under Captain Lewis Robertson of the Veteran. The most determined conflicts now took place between the French and English, the former headed by the ferocious and brutal republican Victor Hugues, who, in the small sphere to which he was confined, displayed resources, cunning, cruelty, and insolence, never surpassed in any civilized or barbarous warfare. The French having brought to their assistance mulattoes and slaves, whom they had trained and clothed, met our troops at the point of the bayonet. The British were on these occasions often victorious; but victory itself was fatal, and it was found impossible to retake Fleur d'Epée. The rainy season commenced, and sickness, its constant attendant, thinned the ranks of the British army, so as to threaten its annihilation. One more effort was made to regain Point à Petre: this, owing to the cowardice or the ignorance of the guides, failed, with an immense loss on our side; Captain Robertson of the Veteran was killed, Brigadier-general Symes and Lieutenant-colonel Gomm were wounded: the Brigadier-general died of his wounds. The shattered forces now retreated across the river Salée to Basse Terre, and took up a strong position opposite

to Port à Petre; but too near the banks of the river Salée, the cause of much of their sickness. Had the general encamped on higher ground, he would have been equally well if not better prepared to receive his enemy, and would have escaped the contagion of the marshes. In the mean while the British squadron occupied the anchorage of the Cul de Sac between the contending armies; the French having entire possession of Grande Terre with Fleur d'Epée and Fort Louis, the English on Basse Terre with a very enfeebled and still decreasing force. With all these disadvantages, the British troops under the command of General Prescott held out till the 9th of December, when they were compelled by fatigue, famine, and disease, to capitulate, and France again possessed the island of Guadaloupe.

In the month of November, 1794, Vice-admiral Caldwell and General Sir John Vaughan, having arrived with a considerable reinforcement to relieve Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey, these officers returned to England in the Boyne, and arrived in Plymouth-sound on the 5th of January, 1795.*

* I am to apologise to the present gallant and venerable admiral of the Fleet for naming him only in a note, but the facts did not occur to me in time for insertion in their proper place. Captain Nugent, as soon as he entered Fort Republicain, which he had stormed with a part of his ship's company, and supported by young Faulknor, without any of his men, who had not had time or opportunity to follow, had a very delicate task to perform. The Governor of the Fort wished to present his sword to Captain Nugent, as the Commanding officer of the storming party, while Faulknor endeavoured to wrest it forcibly out of the Frenchman's hand. Captain Nugent rebuked him for his want of courtesy, but politely requested the Governor to give the sword to Faulknor, and desired him to convey it to the Vice-admiral; an act of generosity highly to the honour of Captain Nugent, as he said it would at once secure the promotion of young Faulknor, and in some measure wipe out the stain of the unfortunate death of the poor sailor.

## CHAPTER. X

Expedition to Quiberon 1795—Ingratitude of the Emigrants—Capture of Fort Pentheivre—Death of Count Sombreul—Sir John Warren summons Belleisle, and attacks Noirmourtier—Retreats—Lands at Isle D'Yeu—Joined by the Princes of Bourbon—British fleet withdraws—Death of Charette and Stofflet—Capture of Sir Sydney Smith—Jason, Dutch frigate, taken into Greenock.

NOTWITHSTANDING the misfortunes which had befallen the Royalists, the British Cabinet and the Princes of Bourbon began to entertain hopes in the Spring of 1795 that an impression might be made on the Republic in the western part of France, by an armament composed of Emigrants and assisted by British ships of war. It had been represented, probably with too little regard to truth, that the Chouans of the Morbihan and the country in the vicinity of Quiberon-bay, required but small excitement to induce them to rise in arms against the new government, and that a simultaneous movement would take place in La Vendée, where Charette and his ill-fated partizans had once more displayed the Royal Standard. Glad of an opportunity to employ a corps of emigrants recently taken into our service, the ministers listened to the proposition with eagerness and attention. An expedition was immediately planned; the naval part was placed under the command of Sir John B. Warren; that of the land forces was confided to the Count du Puissaye, an emigrant nobleman, who, whatever might have been his other good qualities, certainly was no soldier. He had, to assist him, the Counts D'Hervilly and De Sombreuil. No expense was spared; artillery, small-arms, ammunition, and provisions, were furnished in abundance; transports to convey them, and a squadron of ships of war ordered to attend their landing.

They reached Quiberon-bay on the 25th of June, and were joined by a few hundreds from the broken and dispersed army of Condé, and the royalists collected at Coblentz, who had found their way to the Elbe, and embarked on board the British frigates, Venus,* Captain Halsted; Leda, Captain Woodley; and Lark, sloop, Captain Ogilvy. These ships, proceeding to Spithead, were joined by some transports, and the whole reached Quiberon-bay on the 16th of July, after the landing of the great body was effected, and unfortunately only in time to partake of the general calamity that awaited them. The forces collected to fight for the Bourbons amounted to between eight and ten thousand men; and it was calculated that an equal number would receive them on their arrival, and only require arms and clothing to take the field. Fatal illusion! which never had the semblance of reality from the moment an anchor was let go in Quiberon-bay. If there had ever been any real spirit of loyalty or affection to their kings in Bretagny, this was the time when it would have manifested itself; when every obstacle, as far as depended on the English government, was removed by an abundant supply of all the articles they had required, and by the presence of a strong body of their countrymen in arms: but unfortunately for them, and for Europe, it proved in the sequel, that all which the English had effected for their relief had only contributed to increase and establish the very power it was intended to destroy. The men to whom the wisdom of the council had refused passports from Jersey in 1793, were perhaps the greatest enemies to the cause: and their detention, which excited the indignation of Mons. de Tinteniac, was founded in solicitude for the safety of himself and his friends. That ministers yielded to the persevering solicitations of the leaders of the royalists in 1795, is not surprising; the King of England had the same desire to restore Louis the Eighteenth to his throne, as the ancestor of this monarch had shewn in the cause of James the Second: the means employed were alike ineffectual, because public opinion was against both those unfortunate princes; and the utmost that could be done in 1795, pro-

* The Author was third lieutenant of the Venus on this occasion.

cured, for the humane and magnanimous George the Third, the odium of wishing to sacrifice the royalists in Bretagny, whom the laws would not permit him to murder in England. Such were the remarks made by those men in my hearing, when every thing had been done by our government and its forces; and after all had been lost by their own cowardice and disaffection. "C'est la dernière resource de Monsieur Pitt pour se défaire de nous:" and Mons. Bail says, speaking of the massacre on the beach, "Cétoient, toujours des Francais; qu' importoit aux Anglais?"

The bay of Quiberon is one of the finest on the coast of France, or perhaps in the world, for landing an army. It is a capacious and secure anchorage of five or six miles in extent, where ships of war may ride in perfect safety out of the reach of shot or shell. It is protected from the western and south-west gales by the peninsula of Quiberon, the islands of Houat and Hedic, and the Cardinal rocks, the whole of which extend in a south-east direction towards the mouth of the Loire, and the little river Vilaine: a hard sandy beach, seldom disturbed by a surf, borders the whole bay; and the islands of Hedic and Houat, which are always at the mercy of invaders, afford an abundant supply of fresh water, cattle, and vegetables.

D'Hervilly landed at Carnac, and with five thousand men attempted to surprise the republican works at St. Barbe, but was defeated; he then retreated along the edge of the bay to the fort of Pentheivre, of which he gained possession: and thus the Chouans had the entire command of the peninsula of Quiberon, on the northern extremity of which this fort is situated, occupying one end of the isthmus or narrow neck of sand about a quarter of a mile in width, and connecting it with the main land. The fort stands on a hill, which, in the opinion of the best informed officers, might have been made to endure a siege of considerable length, but its fortifications were neglected by the royalist general, and, except by the English, no steps were taken for its defence. It was capable of containing from fifteen hundred to two thousand men. Our seamen and marines, with the assistance of some of the Chouans, repaired the works as well as circumstances

would admit; and seven thirty-two-pounders from the lower-deck of the Robust were landed, and placed in battery, to cover the isthmus and check the approach of the enemy.

The Chouans, without control or restraint of discipline, were lying under hedges and in ditches loaded with the bounty of the English government: every man had a musket marked "Tower," with a bayonet, on which were spitted two or three pieces of salt beef and pork. Casks of rum from the transports had been landed on the beach, and left to the mercy of those who chose to take it. Sixteen pieces of brass ordnance were deposited, with intrenching tools, ammunition, clothing, arms, and accoutrements; the whole of which was seized by the republicans, who had very accurate intelligence of all our movements. English guineas were found in great plenty among these people; and £ 1,500,000, would not have defrayed the cost of this unfortunate expedition.

The republican army under General Hoche, consisting of ten thousand good troops, occupied the ground north of the isthmus, and within shell-range of the fort. The royalists were ill-disciplined, and badly officered; and the soldiers, being most of them republicans in their hearts, could scarcely be trusted. The officers, as in La Vendée, were always planted sentinels on any important post; when they began to throw up entrenchments in front of Pentheivre, the workmen deserted, taking their intrenching tools along with them to the republican camp. With desertion came despondency, the certain presage of the ruin of the royal cause in Bretagny.

The late Captain John Woodley, who then commanded the Leda, and whose acute judgment led him to make observations which, had they been attended to, might have at least retarded if not prevented the fatal catastrophe, foretold the probable consequence of the base treachery of the soldiers, and the supine indifference of the leader. The first dark and rainy night, he said, the fort would be attacked and carried; the event within twenty-four hours exactly followed the prediction. The night of the 20th of July, 1795, and the morning of the 21st, were precisely such as was contemplated; in the midst

of heavy rain, thunder, and lightning, the fort was taken. The republicans at first met with some resistance; a firing commenced, and the shipping in the bay were on the alert, while Du Puissaye slept in the cabin of the Pomone.

The dawning light displayed the forlorn and wretched state of the royalists; the tri-coloured flag had displaced the white on the ramparts of Pentheivre. The republicans had advanced towards the south-east point of the peninsula, and with some field-pieces were driving before them the scattered royalists, who threw away their arms, stripped off their clothes, and plunged from the rocks into the sea, swimming to the boats which were sent to receive them. Captain Ogilvy* in the Lark ran as close in as the depth of water would admit, and endeavoured by his guns to divert the pursuit of the republicans, who from the rising ground poured in upon them volleys of grape and musketry. The fire of the Lark was unavailing, and Captain Ogilvy desisted, lest he should destroy friends as well as foes; hundreds of the royalists fell, and their dead bodies covered the beach; but the greater part surrendered, upon a promise of pardon; many officers were taken prisoners, and shot on the following day at Quimper: among others the unfortunate and lamented Count de Sombreul, who also foretold that the cause was lost from treachery and want of exertion, but persisted in exposing himself, and was taken fighting at the head of his regiment. For many days after this event the beach remained covered with dead bodies, arms, clothing, and accoutrements. Meanwhile the boats of the British squadron brought off as many of the Chouans as could be rescued from the slaughter; and such of them as were placed on board the transports, plotted on the same night to cut the ships adrift, and run them on shore on the Morbihan; and though prevented, the fact shews the little confidence we could repose in them. Under these discouraging circumstances the British government did not abandon all hopes of success in La Vendée, with which this affair had very little connexion. Every exertion was made by the British officers to save the unhappy

* Afterwards Sir William Ogilvy, Bart.

emigrants, who were received on board the ships with most unbounded kindness and hospitality.

Count de Sombreul, after his capture, wrote a letter (given at length in Schomberg,) to Sir John Warren, in which he bitterly inveighed against his Commander-in-chief, Monsieur du Puissaye, for having first ordered him to occupy a position, and then sought his own safety on board a ship of war.

Schomberg states that we lost six sail of transports and forty thousand stand of arms on this expedition; but I am inclined to think he was misinformed: no transports that I know of were lost at that time in Quiberon-bay, nor do I believe that half the number of arms were landed.

Sir John Warren, having left a sufficient number of troops to protect the islands of Hedic and Houat, and a squadron of frigates to keep the command of the anchorage, and to cover the retreat of the garrison in case of necessity, sent Captain Ellison in the Standard of sixty-four guns to summon the island of Belleisle, which lies about four leagues to the westward, and which had more than once been an object of contention between France and England. The Governor returned a laconic refusal to the summons, and it was not deemed advisable to undertake the conquest, particularly as it offered no safe anchorage for ships of war.

The commodore next proceeded to the attack of the island of Noirmoutier, at the mouth of the Loire; but the republicans, who had dispossessed Charette of this hold, and knew its value, were too well prepared for its defence. Sir John, after destroying a few small craft, returned to Isle d'Yeu, where he landed his men, and remained ready to give assistance to the royalists on either side of the Loire, as circumstances might require. At this place he was joined by the Jason frigate, commanded by Captain Stirling, who brought down the Count d'Artois, the Duc de Bourbon, and some other French noblemen; they were accompanied by a number of transports containing four thousand British troops and a large quantity of warlike stores, under the command of Major-general Doyle. Had this force been sent to Pentheivre, the event which I

have just related would probably have had a very different termination. No opportunity was now afforded to them of landing on the continent. The dispersion of the Vendeans, and desperate state of the royal cause, induced the British government towards the month of October to withdraw all the forces, and evacuate the island. The army had been attended by the Channel fleet during the summer, but, as the winter approached, the Admiral took a better offing.

In this rebellion it was computed by General Hoche that France lost nearly six hundred thousand people.

The fate of Charette, and of the cause of the Vendeans, after the murder of Marigny and the death of Henri de la Roche Jaquelein, could not be long delayed. The General, who seems, with all his zeal for the cause of the Bourbons, to have possessed more selfishness and less prudence than any of his colleagues, was hunted down like a wild beast; and in December, 1795, fell into the hands of his pursuers, as did Stofflet in the course of the month of February following; and both were guillotined at Nantes within a few weeks after their capture. The death of these chiefs for a time broke up the combination, and La Vendée once more reposed in peace and desolation.

Captain Nicholas Tomlinson, in the Suffisante, a brig sloop of war, greatly distinguished himself in the Channel, where he captured many privateers of nearly equal force, and recaptured their prizes: on one occasion he took the Morgan, a brig of sixteen guns, and recaptured six sail of English vessels, which she had taken between Scilly and the Land's End, all valuably laden.

In March, 1796, Vice-admiral Vandeput took the command on the Lisbon station.

In May, Rear-admiral Pringle sailed to take the command at the Cape of Good Hope, and Rear-admiral Henry Harvey to take the command on the Leeward-Island station.

In August, Vice-admiral Sir Hyde Parker sailed to take the chief command at Jamaica, and Rear-admiral R. R. Bligh as second.

Before the Breakwater was constructed, Plymouth-

sound was a very dangerous anchorage, and serious accidents frequently occurred from ships encountering a gale of wind at south-west, which throws a heavy sea into the bay.

The Dutton East-Indiaman, fitted as a transport, one of the unfortunate fleet of Rear-admiral Christian, had been forced back after sailing with that officer in December, and in January put into Plymouth-sound for safety: here she was driven on shore by the violence of the gale, upon the rocks, under the citadel; and a heavy sea, breaking over her, threatened destruction to five hundred soldiers and seamen who were embarked on board: their lives however were preserved by the intrepidity of Sir Edward Pellew, who, possessing an uncommon share of personal strength and activity, contrived to reach the wreck, where his presence soon restored order. He quickly established a communication with the shore by means of a halser; and having assured the people that he would be the last man to quit the ship, he sent them all safe on shore, except three or four who were killed by the falling of the masts; after which he landed himself, amidst the cheers and congratulations of his friends, and thousands of anxious and admiring spectators. For this generous act he was presented with the freedom of the town of Plymouth, and soon after created a baronet.

In the month of April, Captain Sir Sydney Smith, while cruising off Havre in the Diamond, went in his own boats to cut out some small vessels in the mouth of the Seine. He succeeded in boarding one of them; but whether this gallant officer, led by that spirit of enterprise for which he was so remarkable, landed and was taken prisoner, or whether his boats drifted so far up the river as to be unable to escape, has never been distinctly stated to the public: I believe the former account is correct; and am confirmed in my suspicion from the very close and rigid confinement of that officer, and which would not, under any other circumstance, have been justifiable or necessary.

In the month of June, 1795, the Jason, a Dutch frigate of thirty-two guns, and two hundred men, was taken possession of by the crew, who had confined their captain

and officers, and carried the ship into Greenock. She was received as a friend, and taken into the king's service: the crew were discharged. It became a question whether, under these circumstances, the British government ought not to have returned the ship to the Dutch nation; but this appears to have arisen from too limited a view of the fact. In Holland two parties divided the state; one had in a great measure dispossessed the other: the royalists, or orange party, who were the weakest, were driven out, and the crew of the frigate, if not the officers, were of this description; consequently they had a right to espouse the cause of their exiled prince, as being the most likely to conduce to their own safety or happiness. In the case of the Hermione, which happened in the following year, there was not the slightest analogy; the crew of that ship, while sailing under the colours of a free and unanimous nation, having murdered all the officers, and deserted with the ship to an enemy, committed an act of piracy, which it was the duty of every civilized nation to punish: the Spaniards, most basely affording protection to them, participated in a crime which it is hoped will never be repeated; or, should it unfortunately happen, it is devoutly to be hoped that every belligerent will feel itself bound by international law to give up the perpetrators to the justice of their country.

In 1795, captains in his Majesty's navy were appointed governors of the naval hospitals of Plymouth and Portsmouth; lieutenants to those of minor importance. This regulation was highly beneficial to the service, and was in some instances extended to our foreign settlements.

Lieutenants till this period had been nominated to ships as 1st, 2nd and 3rd, &c., but by a new regulation they now took rank in their respective ships according to seniority of Commissions. In flag ships, their rank depended on the Admiral with whom they served.

There were about the same time many indulgences granted to the navy, and received with the more gratitude as they came perfectly unsolicited, and with the entire approbation of the country at large.

The seamen and marines were permitted to allot part of their pay to their wives and families; boatswains,

gunners, and carpenters, were included in this regulation: seamen and marines were allowed to send and receive their letters free of postage, to and from any part of Great Britain and Ireland, with the payment of one penny only.

All officers on an appointment from half-pay were pemitted to draw for three months' pay in advance; also to draw for their pay by bill on the treasurer of the navy, as it became due, quarterly or half-yearly.

Half-pay was remitted to officers, to widows, and other claimants of the naval service, at the places of their respective residence.

An increase of full and half pay was granted in consequence of a petition from the lieutenants of the navy; and the addition was so liberal as to give universal satisfaction to that meritorious class of officers, who may justly be considered the flower of the service. For most, if not all, of these concessions, we are indebted to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, then treasurer of the navy, afterwards created Viscount Melville.

Lieutenants were to have five shillings a day; and in flag-ships, or ships bearing commodores' pendants, with captains under them, six-pence a day additional, with six-pence a mile for travelling charges, from the place of their residence, on their first appointment.

Fifty senior lieutenants on half-pay were allowed six shillings a day, and to retire with the rank of commanders: their widows at £45 a year.

The next hundred, five shillings a day, the next three shillings and sixpence, and all others three shillings: the half-pay of the surgeons received a proportionable augmentation. The title of Post Captain, by an order in 1826, was abolished, Captains, and Commanders, are distinctly classed and so addressed in all official documents; at the same time a Commander by courtesy is always, in conversation or un-official communication, styled "Captain."

## CHAPTER. XI.

State of the East-India command in 1784—Shameful corruption—Piracy—Sailing of Commodore Cornwallis—His force—Arrival at Rio Janeiro—Remarks—Departure—arrival in India—Object of his voyage—Trincomalee—Andaman islands—Contention with the savages—War with Tippoo—Affair of Phœnix and Resolue—Observations—Return of Commodore Cornwallis—Hostilities in Indian seas—Captain Newcome and Sechelle islands—Cape of Good Hope attacked by Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig—Arrival of General Alured Clark—Surrender of the settlement—Terms too mild—Farther reduction—Capture of Dutch squadron in Saldanha-bay—List of Dutch and British ships—Correspondence between the two Admirals—Claim of the lords of the admiralty for capture of Cape—Resisted—Also that of army to share with fleet in Saldanha-bay—Arrival of Admiral Rainier in India—Capture of all the Dutch settlements—Action of the Pigot Indiaman with French Privateers—Gallant and successful conduct of Captain Mitchell against a French squadron;—of Captain Charles Lenox against De Sercey.

No sooner had the news of the definitive treaty of peace reached Madras in the year 1784, than Commodore King, agreeably to his orders, returned to England with the ships of war on that station, leaving the Bombay marine to contend against the pirates, and protect the extensive coast and trade of India.

There is frequently a singular contrast between the extravagance of Great Britain in war and her penurious economy in peace; of this the present is one of the most glaring instances on record: half a million had been recently squandered away in an abortive attempt to blow up some rocks in Bombay harbour,—while, under the eyes of the executive authorities abroad, immense fortunes had been amassed by individuals, and the most shameful corruption of the public servants countenanced and supported, with greater effrontery than in America, in the same proportion as the distance was exceeded from the seat of government at home.

Our naval hospitals, if such they could be called, were disgraceful to the name, and served only to enrich the

contractors, and to disgust the seamen with a service in which no encouragement or kindness was shewn them, nor compassion for their sufferings, to compensate the numerous privations and hardships under which they laboured in defence of their country.

The surveys on the public stores of the navy were held by three masters of ships of the line, well known to have been in the interests and confidence of the Secretary to the Commander-in-chief: they condemned every article* which was brought before them; and while the government was charged with the purchase of a fresh supply, the old stores were left to answer the purposes for which they had been declared unfit. By these and other means equally fradulent, one person returned home with £300,000, nor did I ever hear that any inquiry on the part of the Attorney-general disturbed him in the enjoyment of his ill-gotten wealth.

Left to its own resources, the trade of India became in some measure a prey to the pirates which infested the coast of Malabar; their principal rendezvous was the fort of Mulwhan, to the southward of Bombay; nor could the company's marine contend against them with a certainty of success: their attacks, either in ships of war, or merchant vessels, were always conducted with spirit and skill, and the regular succession of calms during the fine weather monsoon, afforded them every facility to manage their gun-boats to the best advantage. These were proas or undecked vessels of about sixty feet in length, carrying one twenty-four pound gun in the bow, upon a non-recoil principle. On one occasion they ventured to attack the Asia of sixty four guns, and did her very considerable injury. Merchant vessels were frequently taken by them, and the crews put to death; and we had instances of very bloody actions between them and the company's cruisers. Six or eight of our best frigates would have found ample employment on the coast, to resist and control ther avages of these barbarians: but, until the arrival of Commodore Cornwallis

* Instances could be given (if required) which would scarcely be believed by the greatest enemy to corruption.

in the year 1789, we had no ship of war between the gulf of Persia and the straits of Malacca, or, more comprehensively speaking, not a pendant flying to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

In the month of October 1788 it was determined to send out a Squadron of ships of war to protect these long neglected possessions. This squadron sailed from England in February, 1789: the ships were, the Crown,* of 64 guns, Commodore the Honourable William Cornwallis, James Cornwallis, captain; the Phœnix, 36 guns, George Anson Byron, father of the present Lord Byron, who is also a Captain in his Majesty's Navy; the Perseverance, 36 guns, Isaac Smith; the Ariel, 16 guns, Robert Moorsom; and the Atlanta, 16 guns, Maurice Delgarno. Little occurred deserving of historical notice on the passage out. At Teneriffe the Governor sent off to desire the Commodore would not fire the morning and evening gun. The Commodore replied that it was the custom of the British navy, and he should continue it. At Rio Janerio, we were received by our allies, the Portuguese, with every outward mark of respect, and watched during our continuance in port with the most careful and jealous circumspection: perhaps the Viceroy felt himself incapable of resisting any attack on our part, as the force which we brought might have been more than sufficient to have laid the town of St. Sebastian in ruins; but the act of perfidy, though suspected by the Portuguese, was never contemplated by the British government. The wants of the squadron were relieved, and a timely check given to that dreadful disorder, the sea scurvy, which had already begun to make its ravages among the men, owing to the quality of the provisions put on board in England: these consisted chiefly of the beef and pork which remained from the American war, and which, after lying five or six years in store, were, from a false principle of economy, supplied to ships bound on a long voyage, and requiring every attention to preserve the health of the crews. Thus we see a continuation of those practices, which had been so fatal to Lord Anson's expedition, and which have gradually disappeared under the enlightened and improved notions of modern naval discipline.

* In this ship the Author went out a midshipman.

Our ships reached the harbour of Rio Janeiro in May, 1789, and for three weeks enjoyed all the luxuries of that abundant and delightful country, than which it is impossible for the human mind to conceive any thing more enchanting. The scene which presents itself at sunrise on a clear morning surpasses all the powers of description, and bids defiance to the imitative pencil. Mountains of stupendous height occupy the whole circle of the horizon, tinted with a bluish mist, and assuming the richest verdure, as they decline towards the sides of the river, whose banks are overgrown with plantations of orange-trees, and other tropical fruits; and so plentiful was the produce, that in our walks we were gratuitously permitted to gather whatever we required for our own immediate use.

The harbour is one of the largest in the world, and therefore not so secure an anchorage; the holding-ground is however good. The town of St. Sebastian is on the south side, and well adapted for commerce; the north side is covered by the hand of nature and the industry of man, with every object that can fascinate the eye, particularly of those who had endured the confinement of a three months' voyage. The centre of the river is thickly studded with little romantic islands, highly cultivated, and having monasteries upon them for the reception of the religious of both sexes.

All communication with the interior of the country was strictly prohibited; and happy, we believe, was the executive government when it beheld the departure of the squadron.

The squadron having been refreshed, and having made good their defects at this beautiful place, put to sea again, and proceeded round the Cape of Good Hope to India, passing through the Mosambique Channel: we touched for a few days at the pretty Island of Johanna, where the ship was run aground on a clear sunny day, when the rocks were visible under water, and the officer on the forecastle reported the fact to the quarter deck. The answer was, "We see it, Sir," and soon after, bump she went. I well remember being so delighted with the view of the hills covered with orange trees and other tropical fruits,

that I could not help exclaiming, with a voice natural to a boy, but very unusual, as I found to my sorrow, on the quarter deck or poop of a ship of war; for this offence I was severely rebuked, and ordered up into the mizen top. I obeyed with great reluctance, wishing, as I leisurely ascended the ratlines, that the ship might go on shore, if only to plague the Captain; little thinking how soon my malediction was to be gratified, for I was scarcely seated on my lofty perch, when the shaking of the mast and the uproar and confusion on deck, convinced me that all was not right; so I conveyed myself down much quicker than I mounted, and greatly enjoyed the fright of the man who had frightened me. We got off without any damage, but I took care to keep the Captain at a very respectful distance from that time. To do him justice, he was a plain, honest, upright man, without the least polish; one of the old school, who thought it right to govern by terror rather than love, he treated me as others had treated him. Although of the same name, he was no relation to the Commodore, by whom he was patronised. The latter was also a singular character; a braver, a more upright and honest man, or one more jealous of his country's honour, never trod the quarter-deck; but, to use the expression of a lively Frenchman, "Il avoit un grand talent pour le silence;" his taciturnity was so persevering, that, during the whole time I was under his command, I never heard the sound of his voice more than six or seven times. He never laughed, and seldom smiled, and kept his officers at an awful distance; but I have heard that after I left India he was induced by some medical, or other advisers, to live more freely and cheerfully, and that he became much more sociable.

On our arrival in India, in September, 1789, the Commodore shifted his broad pendant into the Perseverance, and sailed from Madras roads to Calcutta, leaving the Crown to go to Trincomalee, and thence round to Bombay. We had tremendous weather in beating round Cape Comorin against the south-west monsoon, but at length about November we reached Bombay, where the ship was repaired and every thing set to rights: she was painted inside and out, and the quarter deck, which had been black,

was converted to a lively green. For five months we enjoyed the pleasures and the idleness of a Bombay harbour; and I look back to this period as one of the happiest of my life. At length the Commodore arrived from Calcutta, and the whole scene was immediately changed; he found great fault with our favourite Captain Byron, the senior officer, for the extravagance of our repairs, in which also those of the Phœnix were included. Our Captain, James Cornwallis, was told that if he chose to "invalid," his place could be easily supplied; he took the hint and went home, and the quarter-deck was again painted black. There had been a glaring instance of immorality practised on our passage out, by the Chaplain, a most worthless fellow, smuggling a woman on board under the pretence of her being necessary to the comfort of his daughter, who had gone out in an Indiaman. The Commodore believed this, but the Captain detected the infamous trick, and treated the Chaplain as he deserved. This the Commodore resented, and thence the quarrel which soon after exploded under another pretence; it was observed when the Commodore left the ship, at Madras, the Chaplain was the only person he took notice of; and, at his rejoining at Bombay, the storm burst. Dr. * * * the subject of this little digression, also left the ship at Madras, and received a very handsome appointment at Trinchinopoly, where he soon after died; the injury done to the morals of the ship's company by this wretch are not to be described. Earl Cornwallis, the brother of the Commodore, was at that time Governor General, and it was supposed that to him the worthy Doctor was indebted for his appointment. His patrons, I have no doubt, did not know what I saw; if they had, they would have sent him home before the mast.

On his arrival in India the Commodore most rigorously followed up his instructions for the reform of abuses, and which had been one of the chief objects of his voyage. Having communicated personally with his brother, the Governor General, he had agreed to improve the establishment and Naval Dock-yard at the Andaman Islands.

In the treaty of peace of 1783, it appears that our

negociators were fully sensible of the vast importance of having a harbour on the Eastern side of the peninsula of India, but found it impossible to regain the possession of Trincomalee, in the Island of Ceylon. This place had been taken by the forces under Sir Edward Hughes in 1782 (Beatson, vol. v. p. 564), and retaken the same year by the fleet under Mons. de Suffren, (Ibid. p. 597.) The French ministers were firm on that subject, and there was no other alternative, but continuing the war, at an enormous expense, with the uncertainty of success.

In the year 1788, our Indian government became more sensible of the distress to which our navy and commerce would be reduced for want of a port of equipment, on the coast of Coromandel, and attempted to make a settlement in the Andaman Islands above alluded to. In pursuance of this plan, they sent over a small force to take possession of a place which they named Port Cornwallis, a good harbour with a sufficient depth of water and a safe anchorage. Here a block-house was built, and the place fortified: the Crown was the first British ship of the line that anchored in it; and the Commodore, after making some observations, proceeded to another place farther north on the Great Andaman, called North-East harbour: this appeared to be better adapted for the purpose than the first, and effective means were taken for establishing a dock-yard, and forming an extensive settlement. The islands abounded in the finest timber and fresh water; and, by cultivation, a variety of produce might have been raised. The only obstacles were, the distance from the coast, the difficulty of crossing the bay of Bengal in the south-west monsoon, and the rains which prevail for nearly eight months in the year.

The inhabitants of the Andaman islands were few in number, but their hostility was at first troublesome. They were very expert with the bow and arrow, transfixing, as they wandered along the shore, the small fish with great certainty; and the wild hog seldom escaped from the dexterity of his pursuers. Their bows and arrows were about six feet long, and made in a style of neatness which, considering their savage state, was truly surprising: the use of iron was little known among them, being

never applied to any other purpose but that of heading their arrows: these were made of reeds pointed with fish-bone or iron, and never without a barb. At North-East harbour, our boats rowed along the thick jungle, which, projecting some feet from the land, grew over and touched the water, forming an impenetrable thicket, whence the savage shot his arrow in security with almost unerring aim: the boats returned with four men wounded, and disappointed in the object of their search, to find fresh water. The Commodore, with a strong party of officers and marines, landed on a small island, to which three canoes had been seen to go early on the same morning: on this spot the trees were, as on the main land, so thick, that our men could not penetrate; and, as they walked round the sandy beach in search of an entrance, eleven of them received severe wounds from the arrows of the savages concealed in the woods. Some hours elapsed before they were discovered; at length, when seen in the tops of the trees, the enraged marines quickly despatched seven of them, and three were taken with their canoes. Never was man found in a more perfect state of nature: they were all males, without a vestige of clothing; their woolly heads smeared with a red ochre, or earth; their bodies tattooed; their stature under the middling size, or about four feet seven inches: they exhibited the utmost degree of terror when brought on board, with their hands tied behind their backs, and attempted to bite all who came near them, but were pacified by kindness, and soon became so familiar as to dance, in their style, to our drum and fife. We had strong suspicions of their being cannibals, some of the Governor's people at Port Cornwallis having been found murdered, and slices cut out of them, as if intended for food. They appeared apprehensive they were to meet a similar fate, and at night one of them jumped overboard and escaped: the other two on the following day were landed, and we saw them no more. On the recapture of Trincomalee in 1795, the possession of the Andaman islands was no longer of that advantage which it had promised to be of in 1788, and the proposed naval establishment at North-East harbour was laid aside. The small settlement of

Port Cornwallis was retained, in order to preserve the British right to the islands, and in the course of the war our ships frequently resorted to them. Admiral Rainier brought away some of the natives, whom he caused to be instructed, but they afforded very little information as to the state of the islands or of their countrymen, and expressed no desire to return to them. The Andaman islands appear to have been inhabited through the casualty of a slave-ship from Mosambique having been cast on shore: we never discovered that the people upon them possessed any sense of a Deity, or that there was any worship among them; a fact which, if established, will, we should hope, form a singular exception in the history of the world. A short but very correct account of these Islands is given in Col. Symes' Embassy to Ava. Marco Polo also speaks of them in his celebrated Voyages, but I forbear to make extracts from them, as it would swell my book without any proportional gain. Marco Polo travelled in the 13th century, and found them inhabited at that time by the same sort of people whom I found there in 1790; their origin from a slave ship, I learnt from a MS. in possession of the late Admiral Cornwallis, and which was the subject of conversation when I was with him.

The East-India Company was in the year 1790 engaged in a war with Tippoo Saib, which ended only with his life, and the storming of Seringapatam, his capital. In this war the navy had little to do, the operations of the campaign being chiefly confined to the interior of the peninsula; but, as the French and Dutch were known to be favourable to our enemies, and suspected of supplying them with warlike stores, it became the duty of our naval commanders to watch the port of Mangolore, on the coast of Malabar, a small harbour with little depth of water, in possession of Tippoo. A few leagues to the southward is the British fort and anchorage of Tellicherry, and about seven miles farther south the French factory of Mahée.

In October, 1791, Commodore Cornwallis lay at anchor in the road of Tellicherry: having his broad pendant flying in the Minerva of thirty-eight guns. The British

Government both at home and abroad appear to have been pretty well aware of the proceedings of the neutral flags in India, during our war with Tippoo Saib. The Port of Ostend, there was great reason to believe, as well as the Ports of France, furnished supplies of warlike stores to our Enemies; these were conveyed into the Harbour of Mangalore. During the early part of the year, there had been a correspondence between Sir Richard Strachan, whilst senior Officer on the Malabar coast, and the French Captain of La Résolue (a frigate of 32 guns, 12 pounders) on the subject of our searching Vessels under the French flag. Sir Richard resolved never to concede this right, and, on the arrival of Commodore Cornwallis, on the coast, the correspondence was referred to him: he supported his Captain, and declared his determination to search all vessels, however protected by convoys; to try whether he would do so, the French Vessels sailed from Mahée roads under Convoy of La Résolue, and passed close by the British Squadron in Tellicherry roads. The Phœnix and Perseverance were ordered to chase and examine the convoy; Sir Richard Strachan, who commanded the Phœnix, ran alongside of the French ship, and again informed her captain of the nature of his orders, and of his determination to execute them; which he immediately proceeded to do by sending an officer in a boat to search the merchant vessels, which the Perseverance was employed in the main in bringing-to. The Frenchman resented this affront to his flag by firing first at the boat, and then pouring a broadside into the Phœnix. Sir Richard, perfectly prepared, instantly commenced a close action, and in the course of twenty minutes silenced his opponent, who had seventy-two men killed or wounded. It was not the intention of Sir Richard Strachan to take possession of the frigate; but the French Captain declined having any farther charge: he had resisted, he said, the insult offered to his flag to the utmost of his power, and surrendered to superior force. The English frigates then proceeded to search the convoy, but found no article contraband of war, and allowed them to depart; after which, by order of the Commodore, who was in sight, lying in Tellicherry

roads, they conducted the Résolue into the road of Mahée, where they moored her, struck her yards and topmasts, and left her, having first provided for the cure and comfort of the wounded men. The object of the French marine in India, though ostensibly to protect the trade against piracy, was clearly hostile to Great Britain, and a tacit renewal of the armed neutrality. France had no right to cover with her flag the trade of a Power at war with England, while she was at peace with us; such a proceeding is contrary to every known law of nations; and its admission would involve the best rights and security of the empire: Commodore Cornwallis was therefore perfectly justifiable in the attack on this frigate, and his conduct was approved of by the government at home. At any other time this might have been the cause of war; but, on the arrival of the despatches in Europe, the government of France was in great confusion, the King had no power, and the National Convention did not deem it safe to make an enemy of Great Britain, and so add to the number of those who were arming against her; they therefore dissembled their feeling, but did not forget the supposed injury.

Commodore Cornwallis remained in India until the capture of Pondicherry, when he returned home, leaving the command of the Station under Captain King of the Bien Aimée a 20 gun ship, he arrived at Spithead in the Minerva in August, 1793.

In justice to this valuable and sterling British Officer, it must be said that he completely executed the great object of his mission, successfully stemming that disgraceful torrent of corruption which pervaded the naval department of the government—thus fulfilling the chief purpose of his mission.

The naval history of the East Indies presents little worthy of our notice until the arrival of Admiral Rainier, who sailed from England in May, 1794, and reached Madras about the month of November following.

Previously to his arrival, Captain Newcome, in the Orpheus of thirty-two guns, fell in with and captured Le Duguay Trouin, of thirty-four guns and four hundred men (partly troops), after a very severe action: the prize

being in a disabled state, and the ships sickly and in want of water, Captain Newcome put into the Sechelle islands, on one of which, called also Mahée, the French had recently formed a settlement, but unwisely refused, even to the necessities of their own countrymen, those refreshments which they had not the power to withhold. This want of humanity met with it smerited punishment: the place was taken, all the artillery and military stores were destroyed or brought away, the sick and the prisoners landed, and such supplies as the place afforded easily obtained. Justice was satisfied with this wholesome correction, and the generous victor spared and restored to the infant colony the cargo of a French brig, consisting of implements of agriculture and carpenters' tools for the construction of houses. I feel a particular pleasure in recording this act of benevolence, far more grateful to the philanthropist than the tales of blood which unfortunately stain my pages. Contrast the conduct of Captain Newcome, on this occasion, with that of Richery the French Admiral at Newfoundland in 1796, when he laid waste with fire and sword the defenceless settlement of the Bay of Bulls, and left the wretched inhabitants without a home at the approach of a North-American winter.

The moment the Dutch had admitted the French armies into their capital, and the abdication of the Stadtholder was known in England, the British government began to prepare for the reduction of the Batavian colonies: with what vigour it acted will be seen by the events which immediately followed the arrival of our forces.

In April a squadron was sent out under the command of Sir George Keith Elphinstone, and a body of troops under General Craig: a landing was effected at Simonstown, and the forces proceeded to attack the intrenched camp of the Dutch on the heights of Muysenburg. The army, as it marched along the shore, was attended by a gun-boat, and the launches of the fleet were armed with carronades; two batallions of seamen, about one thousand in number, under the command of Captain Hardy of the Echo, and Spranger of the Rattlesnake, with a

strong party of marines, were landed, and rendered important service.

A light breeze springing up about twelve o'clock, Major-general Craig, by a preconcerted singal, put his army in motion, and at the same moment Commodore Blanket in the America, with the Stately of 64 guns, and the Echo and Rattlesnake sloops of war, got under weigh, while the gun-boat and armed launches preceded about five hundred yards the march of the troops along the shore: at one o'clock an advanced post of two guns belonging to the enemy was abandoned on our firing a few shots, and a second with a gun and a mortar was silenced; at length the camp itself was left in the same manner. The Echo, commanded by Lieutenant Todd of the Monarch, led and anchored in two fathoms and a half, followed by the America, which anchored in four fathoms and a half; the Stately and Rattlesnake, according to their draught of water, approached the works, which began to fire on them, and was returned with great spirit, when the enemy fled, taking with them all their field-pieces. At four o'clock the Major-general entered the fort. The surf began now to run so high that no farther communication could be had with the shipping. The America had two men killed and four wounded. Four large Dutch East-Indiamen laden, and one which had landed her cargo, rewarded the captors. Notwithstanding these successes, General Craig and Sir George Elphinstone found themselves in too limited circumstances to attempt any very important measure; they therefore kept merely on the defensive, while the Dutch Governor secretly prepared to burn the town at Simons-bay, a design which the vigilance of the British General compelled him to abandon.

A reinforcement from St. Helena of 350 men, with, a small quantity of ammunition and some field-artillery, arrived on the 9th of April, and the seamen of the Indiamen volunteered to draw the guns under the command of Captain Ockland of the Honourable Company's ship Brunswick.

Although our forces had gained a footing, and were tolerably secure of holding it, the Dutch were far from

resigning themselves to the power of their invaders; they collected a formidable body of troops, consisting of the burghers and trained Hottentots, with some irregular cavalry; these harassed our men in their march through a heavy and sandy country, in a sultry climate, loaded not only with their arms, but also with subsistence for many days: this was the only mode they had of transporting provisions, oxen or other beasts of draught having been carefully driven far beyond their reach.

On the morning of the 1st of September, the enemy, having lined the mountains above the British camp with Hottentots and burgher militia, commenced an ineffectual fire of musketry upon our men: this was at first little attended to, until they poured in with such considerable numbers as to force our people to retire with loss, when Captain Brown, with the 78th grenadiers, advanced to the support of his countrymen, recovered the ground, and drove them down the hill again.

On the 2d, the enemy drew out their whole force from Cape-town, and advanced to attack the British troops with eight field-pieces; but, finding our forces too strongly posted, and being fired upon by the guns which they had left in our power, they deemed it prudent to retire.

Captain Hardy of the Echo, Lieutenant Coffin of the Rattlesnake, and Major Hill of the marines, were highly conspicuous at the head of a battalion of seamen and marines, crossing the water under a heavy fire, which they received without returning a shot, and manœuvred with a steadiness that would not have discredited veteran troops.

The situation of our forces now became very critical; all the strength which could be mustered was scarcely sufficient to keep the enemy in check; the Dutch seemed disposed for an obstinate resistance, and our commissariat was not so well supplied as to warrant a protracted warfare; it was therefore agreed to wait six days for reinforcements, then hourly expected; and if they did not arrive at the end of that period, the army should advance, and try the fortune of war under any disadvantage.

On the 3d, the enemy meditated a general attack upon our camp, and advanced in the night with all the force

they could muster, and eighteen pieces of cannon: their intention was, however, anticipated; at day-light large bodies of troops began to make their appearance, when at that moment the signal was given for a fleet, and fourteen sail of ships, which anchored in Simons-bay, induced them to relinquish their enterprise, and retire to their posts.

The fleet was from England, but last from St. Salvador, in South America, and had brought General Alured Clarke, and a reinforcement of troops, which soon changed the face of affairs.

The General found the forces under the command of Major-general Craig, amounting to nineteen hundred men, encamped on the heights of Muysenburg, and the Rear-admiral at anchor with his squadron in Simons-bay six miles from the camp. The troops and artillery were instantly disembarked, and every disposition made for laying siege to the capital in Table-bay called Cape-town; provisions, artillery, and all the heavy stores, were moved forward by manual labour. The army advanced to Wynberg, where the enemy was in force with nine pieces of cannon; in the mean time Commodore Blanket, with three ships, had gone round to Table-bay, and by his appearance there had contributed greatly to embarrass the operations of the colonists.

Our troops advanced through swampy ground, loaded with their own provisions, and labouring under every disadvantage, while the enemy retired before them: night coming on, the General halted till day-light, when an officer arrived with a flag of truce, and a letter from the Governor demanding a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours, to arrange a capitulation and surrender of the town. The General granted twenty-four, in which time every thing was settled. The Dutch troops became prisoners of war, and the King's forces were put into full possession of this valuable colony. A great quantity of naval and warlike stores fell into their hands, together with a ship of war, and a brig.

The terms of the capitulation were the same as those usually granted by our commanders to conquered settlements, the lenity of which is, with few exceptions, highly

blameable. The colonial laws of the Dutch were guaranteed to them, and a more oppressive and ignorant code was never framed by a despotic government. As a just return for such unmerited concessions, our own people are groaning under the pretended administration of justice, in the Dutch language, the encouragement of slavery, and the practice of every vice that can serve to disunite society. Experience has at length convinced us of the impolicy of such indulgence; and it has been found necessary, for the advantage of the Dutch as well as the English settlers, to depart, in some degree, from the terms of the capitulation, in consequence of which the colony is now more freely partaking the benefits of the British constitution.

The disasters which had attended the British arms in Holland, at the commencement of the war, were, in the prosecution of it, severely retaliated upon that country. By the reduction of the Cape she was prevented in a great measure from sending succour to her other colonies: the fortune and tide of war were changed, and the capture of a Dutch fleet immediately succeeded that of the Cape; while their settlements in India, in the island of Ceylon, and the Spice islands in the eastern seas, were compelled to submit to the dominion, and implore the protection, of George the Third.

Early in September the British Admiral at the Cape gained intelligence of an enemy's fleet being on the coast, and immediately went in pursuit. His object was impeded by bad weather, so that he did not get sight of them until the 16th, when he entered Saldanah-bay, and found the Dutch Admiral lying there with his fleet, completing their water and repairing their damages. Night came on as the British Admiral advanced into the bay, and took a birth within gun-shot of the enemy, who was surprised in an anchorage from which there was no retreat; and Sir George Elphinstone, having a very superior force, sent a summons demanding the surrender of the fleet: when he was informed that a positive answer would be given at day-break. Sir George, fearing the enemy might attempt to destroy their ships, immediately despatched an officer to the Dutch Admiral to desire that

he would consider himself under a truce, and abstain from doing or suffering any damage to his ships, otherwise it would be out of his power to treat the prisoners with that humanity which had ever been his study. On the 17th, at nine in the morning, an officer came on board the Monarch, under a flag of truce, with proposals from his chief to capitulate, and at five in the afternoon the arrangement was completed, by which the Dutch, squadron, consisting of three ships of the line, two large frigates, two of twenty-eight guns, a sloop of eighteen guns, and a store-ship deeply laden, were surrendered to his Majesty's arms. The Dutch government had sent out this force with two thousand troops to retake the Cape of Good Hope, to which it was inadequate; but they reckoned, no doubt, upon an active co-operation on the part of the settlers, wherein they were deceived; for, independently of eight thousand British troops, the colonists, from motives of self-interest, had become more reconciled to our government, under which they had tasted the sweets of security and protection, and were unwilling to subject themselves to another invasion, which they well knew would be the consequence of a re-capture by the Dutch. It appears also that the Dutch seamen were extremely disaffected to the new government of their country, and shewed no inclination either to defend their ships or to set them on fire, as intended by their Admiral, in order to prevent their falling into our hands.

The surrender of this squadron with the troops and supplies confirmed our possession of the Cape; no attempt was afterwards made to regain it, though it was nominally restored, but retained almost by miracle at the peace of Amiens.

The names of the enemy's ships taken, and their force, are as follow, viz.

| SHIPS. | COMMANDERS. | GUNS. |
|---|---|---|
| Dordrecht | Rear-admiral Lucas | 66 |
| Revolution | Captain Rhuebende | 66 |
| Admiral Tromp. | ———Valkenburg | 54 |
| Casthor | Captain Claris | 44 |
| Braave | ———Zoulmans | 40 |

| SHIPS. | COMMANDERS. | GUNS. |
|---|---|---|
| Bellona | ———Valk | 28 |
| Sirenne | ———De Cerf | 26 |
| Havik | ———De Bezener | 18 |
| Marine store ship | | |

The British ships were as follows, viz.,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Monarch | Vice-admiral Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, Captain John Elphinstone | 74 |
| Tremendous | Rear-admiral T. Pringle, Captain J. Aylmer | 74 |
| America | Commodore Blanket | 64 |
| Stately | Captain Billy Douglas | 64 |
| Ruby | ———J. Waller | 64 |
| Trident | ———E. O. Osborne | 64 |
| Jupiter | ———G. Losack | 50 |
| Crescent | ———E. Buller | 36 |
| Sphynx | ———A. Todd | 24 |
| Moselle | ———C. Brisbane | 18 |
| Rattlesnake | ———Edward Ramage | 16 |
| Echo | ———John Turner | 16 |
| Hope | ———Thomas Alexander | |

The admiralty put in a claim for the Dutch ships taken at the Cape in June, 1795, prior to the declaration of was reaching that colony; they were demanded as droits; but the allegation was refused by Sir William Scott, upon the principle that the order in council of Charles the Second did not extend beyond the dominions of the Crown. The Admiralty also claimed to share for the capture of the Cape of Good Hope in virtue of several non-commisioned East-India ships which assisted at the enterprise. The claim in behalf of those ships was rejected by Sir William Scott, who decided that, however meritorious their conduct, they had no military character; they were entitled to the gratitude of their country, but not to share for this valuable capture. It was also decided by Sir William Scott, in 1799, that the army, which had a small detachment in sight of our fleet, had no claim whatever to share with the navy for the capture of the ships taken in Saldanha-bay.

In March, 1796, Rear-admiral Rainier, with the squa-

dron under his command in the East Indies, took on board a body of the Company's troops, and proceeded to the attack of the Spice islands belonging to the Dutch in the eastern seas. Amboyna and Banda, with their dependencies, surrendered on the first summons At Amboyna a large sum of money in dollars, and a quantity of spices, were taken.

As soon as the declaration of war reached India, the French settlements of Chandernagòre, Mahée, and Pondicherry, surrendered to the British forces with very little resistance.

In the mean while, the most ample preparations were making for the reduction of the Dutch settlements in India—the smaller places on the peninsula were soon taken. In December, 1796, Cochin Quilon Porca and Quilon in the Travancore country, were summoned, and surrendered to our land-forces; while Captain Alan Gardner and Lieutenant-colonel James Stewart, attacked and made themselves masters of Colombo, in the island of Ceylon.

These settlements in the eastern seas we shall hereafter notice; the whole of them, in the course of a few years, added to our wealth and our national glory. Not more in the conquest than in the restoration to their former masters, when Europe, by British valour, had once more, under Providence, attained the blessings of peace.

Modern French writers say that the disasters which have attended their navy were attributable to the misconduct of their rulers, to superior force on our side, or, in short, to any cause but the right one. The navy of France must, however, be differently manned and constituted, before a better result can be expected. Let M. Dupin, the Count de Dumas, or Mons. Parissot, produce instances like what I are about to relate, and I shall be induced to change my opinion.

On the 17th of January, 1794, when there was not a British ship of war in India, the Company's ship Pigot, commanded by Captain George Ballantyne, was lying in Rat Island basin near Bencoolen, about eight or nine miles from the island of Sumatra; she mounted thirty-

two guns, and had on board one hundred and two men, with her decks in confusion from her state of equipment. Here she was attacked by two French privateers; the larger was called Le Vengeur, mounted thirty-two guns, and had three hundred and fifty men; the second was La Resolue, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and sixty men. The entrance to the basin was too narrow to admit of both ships coming to action at the same time, so that they relieved each other. The larger ship began the attack at a quarter past eight in the morning; at times within one hundred and fifty yards, and seldom at a greater distance than three hundred and fifty. After fighting one hour and three-quarters, the enemy cut his hawsers, and made sail: the smaller ship immediately took up the same position, and renewed the action, but in twenty minutes was forced to follow her consort, and both came to an anchor about two miles distant from the Pigot, to repair their damages. The Pigot lost but one man, who died of his wounds; her masts, sails, and rigging, were very much cut.

The two French ships were captured shortly after by four sail of Indiamen, under the command of Captain Charles Mitchell, who, on his return to England, was knighted for his conduct, and presented by the East India Company with £8000, as a compensation for the loss he had sustained by being diverted from his voyage.

The particulars of this action are much too honourable to pass unnoticed. The ships were the William Pitt, Captain Charles Mitchell; Houghton, Captain Hudson; Pigot, Captain Ballantyne; Nonsuch, Captain Canning; Britannia, Captain Cheap. These ships were in the China seas in December, 1793. On the 21st of January, the Pigot parted company. On the 22d, while at anchor off North Island, the Britannia, Houghton, and Nonsuch, saw two strange sail; they immediately weighed and chased; the strangers stood towards them, but soon discovering that the Indiamen had no wish to avoid an action, they tacked and ran. The English ships pursued, and brought them to action at a quarter before eleven, and in forty minutes they both surrendered. They proved

to be the Vengeur, of thirty-six guns, Captain Corosin, and the Resolue, of twenty-eight guns Captain Jallineaux. The Britannia had one man killed and two wounded; the Vengeur had fifteen killed and twenty-six wounded: among the latter was the Captain, who died after the amputation of his leg.

On the 24th of January, the same ships were attacked by a French squadron, consisting of—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| La Prudente . . . . . | 40 | Commodore Renard |
| Sybille . . . . . | 44 | Captain Trehowars |
| Le Duguay Trouin . . . | | ——— Trehowars |
| Isle de France . . . . | 10 | ——— Renard. |

The French frigates sustained a gallant fight for some time, when, finding themselves overpowered, they made sail and escaped; and soon after took the Pigot, when lying in Rat Island basin, repairing her damages. With concern we add that the gallant Captain Cheap, of the Britannia, died in the month of June following.

Another instance, equally honourable, confirms the observation of the Count de Dumas, that our Indiamen are frequently mistaken for ships of the line; and he might have said, not only in appearance, but in action.

The Company's ships—

| | |
|---|---|
| Woodford . . . . . | Captain Charles Lennox |
| Ocean . . . . . | ——— Andrew Patten |
| Taunton Castle . . . | ——— Edward Studd |
| Canton . . . . . | ——— Thomas Lushington |
| Boddam . . . . . | ——— ——Palmer |

were surprised off the east end of Java, at day-break, on the 28th of January, 1797, by a French squadron of 6 frigates, the English ships were valuably laden with specie and merchandize. Captain Lennox, who said that to run would betray the nature of his force, hoisted the flag of Rear-admiral Rainier, and, directing his ships to show the colours of ships of war, he sent two of them in chase of the Enemy; this produced the desired effect, the French Squadron made sail and left our ships to pursue their voyage. It appeared that this squadron was commanded by Rear-admiral de Sercey, an officer of great merit in the French navy: on his arrival at the Isle of France, he

reported that he had been chaced by Admiral Rainier with five sail of the line; but, to his utter mortification and dismay, the Governor assured him that the British Rear-admiral had not been near the spot, and that Sercey had run away from five East Indiamen.

# CHAPTER XI.

Exertions of the enemy at sea—Their success—Activity of eight squadrons and cruisers—Recapture of the Castor and convoy—Capture of the Revolutionaire—of the Alexander—Accident befals the Channel fleet, by meeting in the night with the Indiamen—Impetueux burnt—French fleet sails—Sir Sydney Smith reconnoitres Brest—Activity and success of Sir John Warren—Lord Howe sails—Joined by a Portuguese squadron—Dangerous situation of the British fleet in Torbay—Lord Howe retires, and is succeeded by Lord Bridport—Reflections on anchorage of Torbay—Molloy's trial—Burning of the Boyne—Cornwallis's retreat—Miscellaneous—Bridport's action of 23d of June—Debates in parliament on naval affairs—Success of our cruisers—Patriotic fund—present a sword to Sir John Warren—Remarks on this association—Important discussion on the subject of soldiers subjected to naval dicipline—Duncan commands in the North Seas—His limits—Russian Auxiliaries found useless—Return home—Their officers in our service—Swedes in the French service—Duncan cruises off the Texel—Gallant action of Trollope in the Glatton—State of the Dutch navy and commerce—Northern confederacy—Hostility of Denmark under the neutral flag—Ambition and covetousness of France—She is supplied with naval stores by neutrals—Upright and honourable conduct of our courts of admiralty—Preparations of Great Britain for a rupture with the northern powers—Command and disposition of the North Sea fleet—Russian ships of war as auxiliaries—Phœnix captures a Dutch frigate—State of Holland—of the Trade of Denmark, as a neutral power—jealously of Great Britain against the Danes and Swedes—renewal of the northern confederacy attempted by them—the Ports of Norway offer shelter to our Enemies—The Phœnix takes out some Enemies, vessels from Egeroe—They are sent back—France supplied with naval stores by neutrals—temporising policy of Britain—Reasons for it—Capture of L' Unité La Tribune, La Tanuise, French frigates, and La Leger, Corvette: of La Proserpine by the Dryad.

The defeat which the marine of France had sustained, in the summer of 1794, had not subdued their spirit; their losses by sea were so carefully concealed from the nation, that few among them knew of their extent, and the generality of the people believed they had gained a great navy victory; and indeed, to confess the truth, they felt all

the effects of a victory, by the arrival of their convoy, though their fleet had been defeated—this to them was of no consequence. Their fleet remained in port during the remainder of the year; but squadrons of ships of the line, large frigates, corvettes, and privateers, covered the ocean, and met with too much success: nor can we, without a violation of truth, compliment the naval profession for activity or exertions proportioned to the necessities of the state. Our ships of the line, after an action or a six weeks' cruise, were allowed to remain too long in port to re-fit: captains were indulged with leave of absence; and the duty went on with that relaxation ever attendant on the absence of the chief. Spithead, Portsmouth-harbour, Plymouth-sound, and Hamoaze, were crowded, while the enemy's cruisers were committing havoc and depredation with comparative impunity: this censure was not merited throughout the service; the western squadrons of frigates and those on foreign stations were more alert, and not only recaptured many of our valuable merchantmen on their way into the ports of the enemy, but also took their frigates and corvettes as they passed along their own coast, with the trade of France, under their protection.

Captain Laforey, in the Carysfort of twenty-eight guns, recaptured the Castor of thirty-two guns, which, I have before observed, was taken when conducting the trade to Newfoundland. The merchant vessels were recaptured a few days after by the squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Montagu, together with a French corvette called Le Maire Guitton. This ill-fated convoy and corvette were again taken by the French fleet, previously to the action of the 1st of June, and again retaken, with the exception of the corvette, by Lord Howe, who ordered them to be burnt, not choosing to man them on the eve of a general action. Would he had done the same with all his subsequent captures!

The navy board claimed the Castor as a recapture; but it was proved that, although she had not been in an enemy's port, she had been fitted, and fought, as a French ship of war, and she was wholly adjudged a prize to the captors.

In October, Sir Edward Pellew, in the Arethusa, with

the Artois, Diamond, and Galatea, fell in off Brest with La Revolutionaire of forty-four guns and three hundred and fifty men: the squadron chased, but Captain Edmund Nagle in the Artois, from superior sailing, brought her to action, and she surrendered, having eight men killed and wounded; for this action Captain Nagle received the honour of knighthood.

The fleet, this winter, met with a serious accident in beating down Channel, with the wind at W.S.W. when on the Larboard tack, to the westward of the Start Point, about one o'clock in the morning, a Convoy of East Indiamen, under the charge of the Sampson of 64 guns, was in an instant seen in the midst of the fleet running up Channel at the rate of 9 miles an hour. I cannot now remember how many ships of the fleet were disabled: the Queen, Robust, Niger, and Melampus, I remember, were much damaged, as were two of the Indiamen, the Triton and Osterly: not a man was hurt, though the Triton's masts all fell aft upon her decks. The fleet returned to Torbay:—the leading ships of our fleet should have had more and better lights.

Captain Bligh, in the Alexander, and Captain C. P. Hamilton, in the Canada, both ships of 74 guns, were fallen in with off Cape Clear by a French squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates: the captain of the Canada was directed by Captain Bligh to provide for the safety of his ship; himself, in the Alexander, being determined to make the best defence he could, and thereby ensure the escape of his consort. The action soon began, and was kept up by the Alexander with great spirit, until the two ships which had gone in pursuit of the Canada were recalled to assist in the attack. Captain Bligh perceiving that the Canada was safe, and his own ship so much disabled in her rigging that she became unmanageable, decided on surrendering: to have continued the fight would only have caused a sacrifice of brave men, without the probability of gaining any advantage; accordingly the colours were struck and the ship, having forty men killed and wounded, was taken and carried into Brest. Here the populace insulted the prisoners as they marched to the place of their confinement: officers and men shared the same lot; they were denied the commonest rations of provisions, and reduced to starva-

tion. A wretched dog that had crept into the cells was killed, and his head alone sold for a dollar, to satisfy the cravings of nature. A prisoner, in a state of delirium, threw himself into the well within the prison walls, and his dead body, after lying some time, was taken out, but no other water allowed to the people to drink. An English lady and her daughters, confined along with the men, had no separate apartment, and all their privacy was supplied by the generous commiseration of the British sailors, who, standing side by side close together, with their backs towards the fair captives, formed a temporary screen while they changed their garments. These facts were supplied to the author by the officers who were present.

Captain Bligh, on his release, was tried by a court-martial for the loss of his ship, and honourably acquitted. He was at the time of her capture a rear-admiral, but had no official account of his promotion, consequently the French did not, as they boasted, take a British flag. Very late in life this gallant veteran received the Order of the Bath, and died Sir Richard Rodney Bligh.

In August, 1794, the Impétueux, one of the prizes taken on the 1st of June, took fire in the harbour, and was burnt to the water's edge: she was, by great exertion, towed clear of the ships in ordinary, and got on shore in the west mud.

In January, 1795, the French fleet, of 32 sail of the line, and some frigates, put to sea; and on the 14th of February Earl Howe put to sea from Spithead with the Channel fleet; on the following day he was joined off Plymouth by Rear-admiral Parker, and a squadron of Portuguese ships of war, consisting of five sail of the line and three frigates. These ships cruised with the fleet until one of them, the Princess de Beira, a 74, in a squall, lost her foremast, bowsprit, and main-topmast, and the others appeared so very ill-managed, that Lord Howe gave them permission to return to Lisbon, which they soon after did. In the course of the three following years they greatly improved in nautical skill. The gales were heavy this winter, and the French fleet which had sailed in January sustained much damage; one of their first-rates foundered, and all hands perished. They met with other disasters, and were glad to get back to Brest. Let it be observed, that the French had equipped this immense fleet within seven months after the action of the 1st of June. They were, it must be confessed,

sent to sea in a state in which no British ship would have gone unless in a case of emergency.

In the month of February Lord Howe, who was much too partial to that miserable anchorage Torbay, was surprised there with his fleet, of 36 sail of the line, in a heavy gale at south-east. The fate of England now depended on our anchors and cables: to a seaman and a friend of his country the scene was awful. Nine sail of the line parted their cables, but providentially brought up before they got foul of any other ships, or in shoal water; and the fleet rode out the gale without farther damage. The aged and gallant admiral, incapable of sustaining the anxiety of his charge, soon after resigned the command, and was succeeded by Lord Bridport.

Officers in his Majesty's service are now generally agreed, that it is a safer and better plan, meeting with a westerly gale, to run to Portland-roads, or even to Spithead, rather than bear up with a convoy for Torbay, where in the winter season an easterly wind suddenly comes on and often confines them. The merchant vessels being incapable of working out to weather the Start Point, and the fair wind, which from Spithead or the Downs would have conveyed them into the trades, is sometimes the cause of their being wrecked in Torbay.

In March, 1795, Captain Burlton, in the Lively of 32 guns, captured the Tourterelle of 32 guns, and 250 men; and on the 7th of the same month, Sir Edward Pellew, in the Indefatigable, with the squadron of frigates under his command, chased a convoy of 25 sail near the Penmarks, and captured and destroyed 15 of them, some of which were richly laden. On the 29th of March, the Cerberus and Santa Margaretta captured the Jean Bart French corvette, of 20 guns; the Astrea, Lord Henry Powlett, captured La Gloire, a French frigate of 36 guns, twelve-pounders, and 275 men, after a smart action of 58 minutes; and the Hannibal took La Gentile, another French frigate of 36 guns.

Captain Coates, of his Majesty's ship the Thames, by a letter dated May the 9th, from Gisors, in France, acquainted the Admiralty of the capture of that ship by three French frigates: he had previously, however, sustained a most severe action with another frigate, which had escaped from him, and left him in so shattered a condition, that he had no alternative but to surrender, on the firing of the first broadside from one of the fresh ships. On his release from prison, he was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted: he had 10 men killed and 23 wounded.

Sir Richard Strachan, in the Melampus, fell in, near Cherbourg, with a convoy of 11 sail, escorted by one gun brig and

one lugger; they all ran on shore, but Sir Richard made the signal for the boats manned and armed from the ships of the squadron, viz., Diamond, Hebe, Niger, and Syren; they assembled on board the Melampus, which ship worked in to cover the attack, and to silence the batteries; the enemy fled in every direction; the two escorts and 10 merchantmen, loaded with naval stores, were brought away: we had about 20 wounded, but none killed.

Captain Anthony James Pye Molloy, of the Cæsar, whose conduct on the 29th of May and 1st of June, 1794, had been severely censured by Lord Howe, was, at his own particular request, tried by a court-martial, on charges of not having brought his ship into action, nor exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in the engagements with the enemy on those days. The court was composed of the following officers:

Admiral Joseph Peyton, President.
Vice-admiral Sir Richard King, Bart.
Vice-admiral Charles Buckner.
Rear-admiral John Colpoys.

CAPTAINS.

Francis Parry.
Charles Powel Hamilton.
Alexander Grœme.
Charles M. Pole.
Christopher Parker.
Lord Charles Fitzgerald.
Andrew Mitchell.
Sir Erasmus Gower, Knt.
James Richard Dacres.

The prosecution was conducted by Rear-admiral Sir Roger Curtis, first captain of the fleet. The trial lasted three weeks, and excited an unusual interest in the naval circles, when the court came to the following resolutions, *viz.*: "That the charges have *been made good;* but having found that, on the 29th of May, as well as the 1st of June, and former occasions, the courage of the said Captain Molloy had been unimpeachable, the court is of opinion that he should be dismissed from the command of his ship."

I am perfectly aware of the delicacy of discussing the sentence of a court-martial, while any of the members who composed it are living; my remarks will therefore be concise on a subject over which my private feelings would have induced me to pass in silence. Sir Roger Curtis displayed ability as prosecutor, and Counsellor Fielding, who defended the prisoner, appears to have rescued him from the imputation of cowardice;

misconduct was, however, *proved*, and the sentence was given accordingly.

A personal knowledge of many of the officers who sat on the trial has left me no reason to suppose that a more honourable and correct tribunal was ever formed; nor was there any appeal from its judgment. Captain Molloy was most blamable for not breaking the line on the 29th of May. The discretionary power given by the last part of the signal No. 39, on the 1st of June, places the conduct of those officers who did not go through the line, in a far more favourable point of view than it would otherwise have appeared; still I think the example of the Queen Charlotte should have been implicitly followed; and I cannot attempt to palliate the act of disobedience, which I hope will never be imitated.

In May, and while this court-martial was sitting, the Boyne, of 98 guns, the flag-ship of Sir John Jervis, took fire at Spithead, and burnt five hours and a quarter, when she drifted on shore on the east end of the Spit, and blew up: few lives were lost, but some injury was done to the houses in the town by the explosion; two men were killed on board the Queen Charlotte by a shot from one of the main-deck guns of the Boyne, which went off as they became heated. The cause of this accident was never perfectly ascertained, though it is generally supposed, and with great reason, that she caught fire in the admiral's cabin from the funnel of the wardroom-stove (which passed through the decks) being overheated. By this accident Sir John Jervis lost many valuable papers and much property.

Every ship lying to the eastward of the Boyne, at the time of the accident, weighed or slipped her cables, and run down to St. Helen's; nor did they return till she had drifted on shore. A white buoy now shows the situation of the wreck.

The blowing up of her fore magazine offered one of the most magnificent sights that can be conceived: the afternoon was perfectly calm, and the sky clear; the flames, which darted from her in a perpendicular column of great height, were terminated by an opaque white cloud like a round cap, while the air was filled with fragments of wreck in every direction.

While his Majesty's ships were detained at Portsmouth by the trial of Captain Molloy, the French had, with unparalleled industry, equipped and sent out a fleet of 13 sail of the line, and as many frigates; and if the republican admiral had shown as much energy at sea as he did in harbour, the effects might have been very serious to our naval glory.

In June, Vice-admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, commanding a squadron off Brest, fell in with a convoy of mer-

chantmen, under the protection of three ships of the line and eight frigates, which escaped from him by superior sailing, and got under the protection of Belleisle. The Phaeton fired several shots at them, which they returned from their sterns: he succeeded, however, in capturing eight of the convoy, loaded with wine and brandy, from Bordeaux.

On the 16th, the vice-admiral remaining on this station, stood in near the Penmarks. Captain Stopford, in the Phaeton, being sent a-head to look out, at 10 o'clock made the signal for seeing a fleet of superior force to ours, and soon after 30 sail were counted hull* down to leeward: the vice-admiral kept his wind on the starboard tack, with all sail set, and Captain Stopford informed him, by signal, that the enemy's fleet consisted of 13 sail of the line, 14 frigates, 2 brigs, and a cutter. In the afternoon the wind, which had failed very much, came round to the northward, when one-half of the enemy's ships that had tacked, and stood in shore, now laid up to fetch our ships; so, indeed, by this change of wind could the others. They were seen on either quarter of the squadron before day-light, and at nine A.M. their van ships began to fire upon the Mars. Their frigates ranged up abreast of our squadron to windward, except one, which kept to leeward, running up under the larboard quarter of the Mars, yawing and firing into her: this was the only frigate that attempted any thing. The line-of-battle ships came up in succession, and, at a great distance, kept up an ineffectual fire the whole of the day. Towards the evening they made a show of a more serious attack upon the Mars, which had fallen a little to leeward, and obliged the Admiral to bear up for her support; this was their last effort, if anything they did deserved the name. Several shots were fired for two hours afterward, but they gradually drew off, and before sunset their whole fleet had tacked, and were standing away from ours. The Mars and Triumph, being the two sternmost ships, were, of course, the most exposed; and the spirited conduct of their captains, Sir Charles Cotton and Sir Erasmus Gower, was very conspicuous. Lord Charles Fitzgerald, in the Brunswick, also kept up a very good fire from his aftermost guns; but that ship, from bad sailing, was forced to carry every sail. The Bellerophon, the admiral says, he kept as a treasure in store, to support him in case of need, knowing the great character that ship had acquired in the action of the 1st of June, the preceding year. Lord Cranstoun, her captain, showed all the zeal and ardour that could be desired. The vice-admiral concluded by stating,

* The hull or body of the ship being invisible from the British squadron.

that "could common prudence have allowed him" to let loose their valour, "he hardly knew what they might not have accomplished!" Many officers similarly situated might have thought they had done well by sacrificing the two sternmost ships, to have ensured the safety of the other three; but Cornwallis disdained any such compromise. He retreated with his ships in the form of a wedge, of which the Royal Sovereign was the apex; and whenever the enemy approached sufficiently near, they were soon taught to keep at a safer distance. This brush was commonly known by the name of "Cornwallis's retreat," and was justly considered as one of the finest displays of united courage and coolness to be found in our naval history. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the admiral and his brave followers. This action afforded to Sir Robert Seppings, the present surveyor of the navy, the strongest argument in favour of the round sterns.

The ships in general received but little damage, except that their sterns were very much shaken from the firing of the guns. The Mars had 12 men wounded, none killed, and was considerably cut up in her masts, yards, and rigging. The Triumph shifted a few of her sails, but the damage she received in the action was so trifling; at least in the estimation of the officers, that Sir Erasmus Gower did not think it necessary to make a report. "Indeed," says the admiral, "such was the cool and firm conduct of that ship, that it appeared the enemy dared not approach her."

How it happened that the British navy, with one of its most valiant leaders, was subjected to this insult from an enemy which the year before had received such signal chastisement, is a question which I cannot determine. It certainly did require some explanation; but Parliament was silent upon the subject, though many of its Members took occasion to annoy Ministers upon far less important questions. This, however, ought not to have happened; the safety of a valuable squadron, and the honour of the country, were compromised; and it is not to be concealed that, after the action of the 1st of June, a supineness pervaded our navy, as if we had no more enemies to conquer. The retreat of Admiral Cornwallis was the fruit of Lord Howe's unfinished battle of the 1st of June, 1794. It, however, gave the admiral an opportunity of showing that obstinate and determined valour with which he was so uncommonly gifted, and of which he had afforded such heroic proofs in the American war, when in the command of the Lion and the Canada, in the actions between Rodney and De Grasse. It is very remarkable that this was the only occasion on which he ever came in contact with the enemy during the remainder of

the revolutionary war: his perseverance was equal to his bravery, and perhaps neither was ever surpassed.

I remember a curious anecdote of this very remarkable and gallant officer. He was a man of very few words, but they were very weighty and forcible when they fell. When he commanded either the Canada or the Lion, in the West Indies—I forget which—the seamen were dissatisfied with him for some cause or other, and, when the ship was going before the wind, they threw a letter over the stern, which they contrived should be blown into the stern gallery: in this document they expressed a determination not to fight should they come into the presence of the enemy. Cornwallis read the letter, went on deck, turned the hands up, and thus addressed them: "So, my lads, I find you don't intend to fight if we meet the French; well, never mind, I'll take care you shall be well shot at, for I will lay you near enough." They gave him three hearty cheers, and in the subsequent battle no ship could have behaved better.

Lord Bridport, who had been most unaccountably detained at Spithead for the ostensible purpose of conveying the squadron and transports, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, to the southward of the Saintes, arrived on his station very soon after this transaction, and at midnight of the 20th received a despatch from Captain Keats, of the Galatea, that the expedition had been chased by the French fleet, after Lord Bridport had parted from it. His Lordship immediately bore up and rejoined the convoy, which having seen as far as was expedient, he stood in for the land; and on the 22d, at four o'clock in the morning, a strange fleet was seen bearing S.S.E. and standing to the northward with the wind at E.N.E., and consequently nearing our fleet, which at this time had all sail set on a wind on the starboard tack. These positions rendered the signal for a general chase unnecessary till half-past six o'clock; at that time Le Sans Pareil, Valiant, Russell, Orion, Colossus, and Irresistible, were sent in chase, and at seven the signal was made for a general chase. At noon the enemy bore east from our fleet, or directly in the wind's eye, and it was considered a matter of equal chance on which tack they were most likely to be brought to action. Lord Bridport, therefore, divided his fleet in two divisions on opposite tacks, resolved to risk an action with even half of his fleet rather than let them escape. At seven in the evening the signal was made to harass the rear of the enemy, on coming up with them. About one A.M. on the 23d of June the wind came to the southward, which gave the British division of ships in that quarter an opportunity of closing with the enemy: it continued light airs, and sometimes calm, till three.

Sir Andrew Douglas, the captain of the Queen Charlotte, had, with becoming zeal for the service, and that constant attention to his duty by which he had risen in his profession, used the utmost exertion during the night to keep his ship's head directed towards the enemy, well knowing that with the motion of the sails, occasioned by the swell of the sea, a ship *will forge a-head.* In consequence of this precaution, at day-light he was one of the nearest ships, when, a breeze springing up, he very soon had the distinguished honour of being again closely engaged on both sides. He that commands a well-appointed ship of the line in action with the enemies of his country, and is doing his duty, need not envy the fame of any conqueror of ancient or modern times; such was the situation of the brave Sir Andrew Douglas, and well did he avail himself of it. The fire of the Queen Charlotte surpassed even her deeds in the preceding year, as much as her crew had been improved by constant training: from the smoothness of the water, and the magnitude and near approach of the objects, no shot was fired in vain. The headmost ships, and consequently the first in action, were those already named, and which owed their good fortune, in a great measure, to being the first sent in chase, and having stood to the southward. The French ship, Le Formidable, was so ill-treated, that she took fire in her poop; her mizen mast fell over the side; she bore up, struck, and was secured by the ships of the British fleet coming up. She was a large 74, and was afterward well known in our navy by the name of the Belleisle. The Sans Pareil and the Colossus brought the Alexander to action, which very soon struck; this was the ship in which Rear-admiral Bligh had been taken the preceding year.

The Royal George had, by this time, got close up alongside of Le Tigre, which, of course, surrendered to such a powerful adversary. She had 300 men killed and wounded, having engaged other ships before the admiral came up with her; just at this moment the wind came off the land, and put an end to the pursuit. The Royal George was very near the shore, and the French pilots who had charge of her either pretended or really did not know whether the island was Groix or Belleisle!!! The remainder of the French fleet got into L'Orient. Our loss was very trifling compared to that of the enemy, or to the service rendered to the state. The officers who were most fortunate in getting into action, in addition to those already mentioned, were Sir James Saumarez, Lord Hugh Seymour, Captains T. Browel, J. Larcom, R. Grindall, and J. Monkton.

*Admiralty-office, June* 27, 1795.

*Extract from the Official Letter of Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B.*

*Royal George, at sea, June* 24, 1795.

It is with sincere satisfaction I acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's squadron, under my command, attacked the enemy's fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, attended with eleven frigates, and some smaller cruisers, on the 23d instant, close in with Port L'Orient. The ships which struck are the Alexander, Le Formidable, and Le Tigre, which were with difficulty retained. If the enemy had not been protected and sheltered by the land, I have every reason to believe that a much greater number, if not all the line-of-battle ships, would have been taken or destroyed.

In detailing the particulars of this service I have to state that on the dawn of day, on the 22d instant, the Nymph and Astrea, being the look-out frigates a-head, made the signal for the enemy's fleet. I soon perceived that there was no intention to meet me in battle; consequently I made the signal for four of the best sailing ships (the Sans Pareil, Orion, Russell, and Colossus), and soon afterward for the whole fleet, to chase, which continued all that day, and during the night, with very little wind.

Early in the morning, on the 23d instant, the headmost ships, the Irresistible, Orion, Queen Charlotte, Russell, Colossus, and Sans Pareil, were pretty well up with the enemy, and a little before six o'clock the action began, and continued till near nine. When the ships struck, the British squadron was near to some batteries, and in the face of a strong naval port, which will manifest to the public the zeal, intrepidity, and skill, of the admirals, captains, and all other officers, seamen, and soldiers, employed upon this service, and they are fully entitled to my warmest acknowledgments.

FRENCH FLEET.

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Le Peuple | 120 | Le Formidable (taken) | 74 |
| Le Nestor | 80 | Le Jean Bart | 74 |
| Le Redoubtable | 80 | Les Droits de l'Homme | 74 |
| Le Mutius | 80 | L'Alexandre (taken) | 74 |
| Le Tigre (taken) | 80 | Name unknown | 74 |
| Le Fougueux | 80 | Le Braave, rasé | 56 |
| Le Zélé | 74 | La Scævola, rasé | 56 |

FRIGATES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Virginie | 44 | La Proserpine | 36 |
| La Fidelle | 44 | La Cocade | 36 |
| L'Insurgente | 44 | La Fraternité | 44 |
| La Fortitude | 44 | La Dryade | 36 |
| La Régéneré | 44 | Le Renard | 36 |
| La Nante | 44 | | |

CORVETTES.

| Ships. | Guns. | Ships. | Guns. |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Constance. | 22 | La Sangsue | 22 |

*A List of the Fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Bridport, June 23, 1795, with the Number of killed and wounded.*

| Ships. | Guns. | Commanders. | Killed. | Wounded. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Royal George | 110 | Lord Bridport, admiral of the white. Capt. Domett | — | 7 |
| Queen Charlotte | 110 | —— Sir A. S. Douglas | 4 | 32 |
| London | 98 | —— E. Griffiths | — | 3 |
| Queen | 98 | Sir Allan Gardner, Bart., vice-admiral of the white. Capt. William Bedford. | — | — |
| Prince of Wales | 98 | —— J. Bazely | — | — |
| Prince George. | 98 | —— W. Edge | — | — |
| Barfleur | 98 | —— J. Richard Dacres | — | — |
| Prince | 98 | —— C. P. Hamilton | — | — |
| Sans Pareil | 80 | Lord Hugh Seymour, rear-admiral of the blue. Capt. H. Browel | 10 | 2 |
| Orion | 74 | —— Sir James Saumarez | 6 | 18 |
| Valiant | 74 | Jos. Larcom (acting) | — | — |
| Russell | 74 | Capt. Thos. Larcom | 3 | 10 |
| Irresistible | 74 | —— Richard Grindall | 3 | 11 |
| Colossus | 74 | —— J. Monkton | 5 | 30 |
| Révolutionnaire | 44 | —— F. Cole | — | — |
| Thalia | 36 | —— Lord H. Powlett. | — | — |
| La Nymphe | 36 | —— George Murray | — | — |
| Aquilon | 32 | —— Robert Barlow | — | — |
| Astrea | 32 | —— Richard Lane | — | — |
| Le Babet | 22 | —— Edward Codrington | — | — |
| Mægara (F. S.) | 14 | —— J. Ballard | — | — |
| Incendiary (F. S.) | 14 | —— T. Rogers | — | — |
| Charon (H. S.) | | —— Walter Lock | — | — |
| Argus (lugger) | | Lieut. R. Clarke | — | — |
| Dolly | | A. Watson, master | — | — |
| | | Total | 31 | 113 |

In July, Sir William Sydney Smith, in the Diamond, and Sir Richard Strachan, cruised off Cherbourg, Havre, and St. Marcou, where they greatly annoyed the enemy, taking and destroying many of their convoys.

At the meeting of Parliament, on the 7th of January, the vote for 85,000 seamen and 15,000 marines, proposed by Admiral Gardner, being carried, Mr. Robinson remarked the superiority of the French over British ships of war, in point of

construction and quick sailing. Captain Berkeley admitted they *were better* built, but denied their superior rate of sailing. Admiral Gardner set him and the House right by observing that the French ships had the advantage in point of sailing, which he ascribed to their superior construction, and to premiums given by their government for the best models, which were regularly submitted to the examination and decision of the Academy of Sciences; but, he added, "copying from the ships *lately* taken had been the means of considerable improvements;" improvements, I suspect, intended, rather than effected at that time. Mr. Fox observed, "that the knowledge and experience of the people of this country in naval affairs ought long ago to have enabled them to surpass their French rivals in a point of such importance to the honour and security of the nation; it was neither creditable to the ministry nor to the Admiralty to have so long suffered this degrading inferiority. The sooner it was remedied the better at this critical period, which required uncommon exertions of skill and valour in every department, but particularly in the naval, on which the safety and glory of the nation so visibly depended. He complained that, considering the decided superiority of the British navy, ITS ACHIEVEMENTS HAD NOT BEEN ADEQUATE TO THE EXPECTATIONS WHICH THE NATION HAD A RIGHT TO FORM. Our exertions at sea, he observed, had been greatly impeded by the extensive efforts made to strengthen the service on land. THE BOUNTIES GIVEN TO RECRUIT THE ARMY TOOK OFF NUMBERS OF ABLE MEN FROM THE NAVY; on which, however, every judicious man placed more reliance against an invasion of this country than upon its land forces. The navy was the bulwark of the realm, and it were criminal, at the present juncture, not to pay it a much higher attention than military operations on the Continent, which the experience of three campaigns had shown to be ineffectual for the main object of the contest—the reducing France to submit to our terms."

Mr. Dundas stated "that no efforts had ever been made superior, if equal, to those which had taken place since the beginning of the war. The number of seamen, at that period, amounted to no more than 16,000, but was, at this day, no less than 95,000; he was convinced, from good information, that our active naval force was double that of the enemy. Much, he observed, had been said of the superior skill of the enemy in naval architecture, but we were confessedly superior in action; and while we possessed this superiority, the collateral advantages of construction and expeditious sailing would be of little avail to the enemy." Mr. Sheridan also reprobated the

supineness of ministers with regard to the navy, in not attending to the better construction of vessels for sailing. Mr. Pitt confessed that extraordinary efforts had been made by the French to increase and strengthen their navy; but, like their exertions on land, they would not be of a durable nature,—they were too hurried and precipitate to last.

Government, listening to the voice of the people, expressed both in and out of Parliament at the close of the year 1795, made an effort to bring about a peace. Mr. Wickham, the British envoy at the Swiss cantons, ascertained the sentiments of the Directory through their agent Mr. Barthelemy, the French minister at Basle. In the month of October, 1796, Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris as minister plenipotentiary, and discussions immediately ensued between his Lordship and Mr. Delacroix, which lasted two months: the same unyielding arrogance was displayed by France throughout the negotiation. She required everything, and would concede nothing. England offered to resign all she had gained from France in India, provided the latter would give up her conquests on the Rhine, in Germany, and Belgium. Lord Malmesbury also demanded an equivalent for the acquisition made by France, in the treaty of Basle, of the Spanish part of St. Domingo; the whole of his Lordship's propositions were haughtily rejected, and late in December he received an order to quit Paris in 48 hours. England and Europe then became convinced that with such a government nothing was left but the most vigorous prosecution of "a just and necessary war."

The coast of France, from Dunkirk to Bayonne, was kept in a constant state of alarm by our cruisers; among the most distinguished of the officers employed on this service, and who soon after shone with splendour in the higher ranks of the navy, were Saumarez, Pellew, Strachan, Keats, Warren, Reynolds, Durham, Nagle, Sir Sydney Smith, and many others, who will claim a place in the course of this history. They seized every occasion of pursuing the enemy's trade into their harbours; and by practice had acquired so complete a knowledge of their ports and anchorages, that the protection of shoal water seldom secured more than the crews, and frequently these were drowned in attempting to save themselves from capture. In consequence of his numerous successes, Sir John Warren received a valuable sword from the merchants at Lloyd's, who had formed an association denominated the "Patriotic Fund," and very justly assumed a title to which their actions gave them the clearest right. They were men of honour, education, talent, and industry; and for love of their King and country were never exceeded. The pro-

priety of their conduct, though not the purity of their motives, was questioned in the House of Commons, as arrogating to themselves a power of rewarding merit, which it was contended belonged exclusively to the Crown; but in behalf of the naval profession we beg with humility to say, that where our actions undergo the rigid scrutiny of men of unbiassed judgment, a mark of their approbation is, next to that of the King, the Parliament, or the Admiralty, our highest gratification. The merchants at Lloyd's did not confine themselves to rewarding the merit of officers; the more needy and not less meritorious lower classes of all arms were noticed, and compensated for wounds or for exertions; while the widow, the orphan, or the destitute relative, found relief and comfort under their affliction from this generous association.

In the autumn of this year a discussion arose between the army and navy, which, but for the superior good sense and education of the officers in both professions, as compared with those of their predecessors of the seven years' war, might have produced serious injury to the service and to the empire. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief, had been advised to object to soldiers embarked on board his Majesty's ships, whether serving as marines or only passengers, being subject to naval discipline, but required that in case of being guilty of any offence, they should be put on board some other vessel, and sent into port to be tried by military court-martial. A proposition more subversive of naval discipline was never conceived in the height of mutiny.* The seamen and marines, when they subsequently obtained the command of the fleet, never demanded exemption from punishment, well knowing that if the captains were deprived of the power of coercion over the idle and disorderly, the loss of the ship must ensue, or the labour would fall only on the well-disposed. That a body of men serving in the fleet should claim exception from the articles of war, excited such a feeling among all classes, and particularly the admirals and captains at Spithead and St. Helen's, that a meeting was called by these officers, and a representation made to the Admiralty; nor could the fleets proceed to their various destinations until the important question was finally decided. Their memorial was laid before his Majesty in council, who was pleased to direct that no alteration should be made in the established rules of the navy, which subject every person *in* or *belonging* to the fleet to the laws provided for their government by act of parliament.

* *Note*—Let the reader observe that this was written 14 years ago, and long before the Duke of Wellington and other eminent men had uttered the same sentiments.

The power of the captains of his Majesty's ships to inflict punishment on soldiers had been questioned in the American war, and some military officers had gone so far as to assemble a court-martial on board to try offenders: in one instance the captain of the ship dismissed the court, and his conduct was approved of by his superiors; in another the trial was allowed to proceed, and the captain was censured for permitting it, and, being a commander, lost his promotion for many years.

The illustrious Duke, in issuing such an order, had doubtless no other view than the good of the service, and the protection of the soldiers from a punishment which had been falsely represented as too wantonly and too frequently inflicted: but his Royal Highness was deceived. The right of punishment rests, and must ever rest, with the officer who is responsible for the safety of the ship; the power is seldom, perhaps *never*, abused towards the army, since the captain is accountable for any undue exertion of it; and we think officers, both naval and military, will admit, that, in every instance where the necessity of punishment has appeared, it has been stated to the commander of the troops on board, and his acquiescence obtained on a full conviction of the propriety of the measure.

Much time was consumed in deliberating on this question, during which an opportunity for the fleets and convoys to get down Channel was lost; and it was not till the 16th of November that the squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Christian, with a convoy of 200 vessels, and having on board 16,000 troops, sailed for the Leeward Islands. A constant succession of gales of wind and bad weather retarded and dispersed the ships: never since the hurricane of 1782 was a fleet more unfortunate than this; some of the ships put into Torbay, others bore away for Portland, and some more properly ran up to Spithead: those which attempted to make Portland-roads got embayed to the westward of the Bill, and went on shore on Chiswell-beach, where hundreds of dead bodies were found and buried in the neighbouring churchyards. On the 12th of December the fleet with the rear-admiral sailed again, and succeeded in getting farther to the westward. It was a received maxim in the old school to keep the Channel open by preserving the parallel of 48°, lest they should get embayed to the southward of Ushant; this is now an acknowledged error: had the admiral kept on the starboard tack with the wind at west, or W. N. W., he would have found more moderate weather, and perhaps a more favourable wind as he approached Cape Finisterre. A part of the army that had been embarked in transports, by keeping to the southward, made their passage to the West Indies in six weeks, while

some of those who adhered to the admiral foundered, and all the people were lost. The Commerce de Marseilles, the largest ship in the world, was sent out armed *en flute*, loaded with naval stores, but was so much injured by the heavy sea she encountered, that she was forced to put back with the others, and was soon after broken up.

The failure of this expedition led to the most serious disasters in the West Indies, where the islands of Guadaloupe and St. Lucia were again given up to the enemy, whom the arrival of this force would not only have expelled, but have enabled us to secure the retreat and preserve some of the property of the unhappy colonists of St. Domingo.

At that eventful period every day seemed charged with some dire misfortune, as if heaven had determined to avenge the wrongs of the poor Africans on the white inhabitants of the islands: those who escaped from the sword, often fell by the fever or by famine, but the measure of their calamity was not filled up till the beginning of the year 1795.

It is melancholy to reflect that these valuable settlements were still farther compromised by the conduct of Admiral Cornwallis, who sailed from Spithead on the 29th of February in the Royal Sovereign of 100 guns, Captain J. Whitby, with the remainder of the West India convoy, consisting of merchantmen and transports, which had been driven back in December when under the protection of Rear-admiral Christian. The vice-admiral was directed to take the Leeward-Island station; but in going down Channel his ship in the night ran foul of the Belisarius, a transport under his convoy, having on board 300 troops, besides women and children. As it was blowing extremely hard, the accident was of the most serious and alarming nature: many of the poor people in the transport, supposing she was sinking, clung to ropes thrown to them from the Royal Sovereign; some were saved, to the number of 130, others fell between the ships, and perished miserably; the transport however got clear, and with the remainder of the people reached Corunna in safety. The Royal Sovereign received some damage, which induced the vice-admiral to return to Spithead, where he arrived on the 10th of March.

His conduct in not proceeding to his station on board a 74-gun ship under his orders, admitting the defects of the Royal Sovereign to have been so great as to have prevented his continuing the voyage, excited the highest displeasure at the Board of Admiralty: the admiral was, however, directed in a *private* letter from Earl Spencer to sail for his station in the Astrea, a frigate of 32 guns, which was ordered to receive him; this the vice-admiral declined, and a court-martial was ordered

to try him, first, for disobedience of orders in not proceeding to his station: secondly, for not shifting his flag after the accident into the Minotaur: and thirdly, for not proceeding in the Astrea agreeably *to orders.*

The court, of which Earl Howe was the president, assembled on the 17th April on board the Orion in Portsmouth harbour; and the following admirals and captains composed one of the most respectable juries I ever remember to have seen.

EARL HOWE, President.

ADMIRALS.

LORD BRIDPORT, admiral of the white.
SIR PETER PARKER, admiral of the white.
SIR A. GARDNER, vice of the white.
GEORGE VANDEPUT, vice of the white.
JOHN COLPOYS, vice of the blue.
SIR ROGER CURTIS, rear of the red.
R. R. BLIGH, rear of the red.
HENRY HARVEY, rear of the red.
C. M. POLE, rear of the blue.

CAPTAINS.

CHARLES EDMUND NUGENT.*
CHARLES POWEL HAMILTON.
EDMUND DODD.

SIR GEORGE JACKSON, Bart., judge-advocate.

The court being sworn, the trial commenced, *but no one appeared to support the charges.* The correspondence between the Board of Admiralty and the admiral having been read, the latter was informed that the prosecution had closed, and that he might enter upon his defence: this consisted in calling two or three officers to prove that the Royal Sovereign had received so much injury in her cutwater as to render her unfit for the voyage, and that he could not shift his flag into the Mars or the Minotaur *without great inconvenience to himself;* for the same reason he did not choose to go out in the Astrea, a small frigate, in which he could have no *accommodation suitable to his rank and situation.* The defence being concluded, the court delivered the following sentence: "That with respect to the two first charges of returning *without leave,* after having been ordered to proceed to Barbadoes, and of his disobeying the orders he had received, *misconduct was* imputable to him for not having shifted his flag on board the Mars or the Minotaur, and proceeding in either of them to the West

* The only one now living.—June, 1835.

Indies; but, in consideration of other circumstances, the court acquitted him of *any disobedience* on *that* occasion: with respect to the third charge, of his having after his return disobeyed the orders of the admiralty, in not going out to the West Indies in the Astrea, the court was of opinion that the charge was *not proved*, and therefore acquitted Admiral Cornwallis of that charge."

By this sentence it would appear that the admiral was considered *blameable*, but not *culpable*, *upon the first and second charges;* and upon the third that he never received any order to go to Barbadoes, but a private letter from Earl Spencer, *offering* the Astrea for that service, which the admiral declined; —we are therefore to conclude that there were no grounds whatever for a court-martial; or, if there were, that the admiralty were unwilling to press them. I should not like in these times to plead personal inconvenience as an excuse for not going on a service of vast importance to the empire, nor do I think any officer will be safe in pursuing such a line of defence in future. Cornwallis could do what no other man dare do, and the admiralty overlooked it. This was the second instance within two years of a commander-in-chief, after sailing for the Leeward Islands, returning to England without orders. As the first of them, however, never came before the public, I shall not mention the particulars farther than that the officer was superseded, and never afterward employed.

In April, 1796, Captain Cole, in La Révolutionnaire, one of Sir Edward Pellew's squadron, captured, after a long chase, and a very short action, L'Unité, French frigate, of 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 255 men. While the squadron was off the Lizard, seeing the prize into port, another frigate was observed standing in from sea; Sir Edward, in the Indefatigable, immediately went in chase of her, and at 12 o'clock at night ran alongside. The Frenchman fought his ship well, but on the coming up of the Concord, Sir Richard Strachan, she struck, and proved to be La Virginie, one of the finest frigates of the French navy, carrying 44 guns, including carronades, 18-pounders, on her main deck, and 350 men, commanded by Captain Bergeret, an officer as distinguished for his talent and bravery as he was for his humanity to his prisoners. He afterward made a great figure in India, where he did incalculable damage to our trade. The Indefatigable in this action had not a man killed or wounded; the enemy lost 15 killed, and 17 wounded, the ship much shattered in her hull, and four feet water in her hold.

In June, Sir John B. Warren, off the Penmarks, captured

eight or nine sail of the enemy's traders going along shore loaded with provisions for Brest.

Captain Williams, in the Unicorn, of 32 guns, 18-pounders, and Captain Thomas Byam Martin, in the Santa Margaretta, of 32 guns, 12-pounders, fell in with a French squadron, consisting of La Tribune, of 38 guns; La Tamise (formerly the Thames), of 32 guns, and 300 men; and La Légère, a corvette, of 20 guns. At first the enemy formed a line, as if to engage them, but very soon altered their plan, and crowded all sail away. The Unicorn pursued the Tribune, and the Santa Margaretta La Tamise: both the British ships took their opponents, and La Légère escaped. Captain Martin secured his prize in a very short time, but Captain Williams had a chase of 210 miles, and a severe running fight for 10 hours, when his enemy, though of superior force, was compelled to surrender, for which Captain Williams received the honour of knighthood.

Lord Amelius Beauclerk, in the Dryad, of 36 guns, captured the French frigate La Proserpine, of 38 guns, and 348 men. In all these actions our loss was greatly exceeded by that of the enemy.

La Légère was taken on the 22d by the Apollo, Captain Manly, which completed the capture of the whole squadron of Commodore Moulson.

July 14th, Captain Sir Charles Hamilton, of the Melpomene, captured, after a chase of five hours, the French corvette La Revanche, of 18 guns, and 167 men.

In August, Sir John Warren, in the Pomone, with his squadron of frigates chased and drove on shore L'Andromaque, a French frigate of the larger class, with nine sail of coasting traders.

On the 8th of September Sir Sydney Smith, in the Diamond, chased and drove on shore a French corvette, called the Assemblée Nationale, of 22 guns, and 200 men; she went to pieces, and 20 of her men were drowned.

In October Rear-admiral Harvey, in the Prince of Wales, with a squadron, was cruising off Ushant.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Attacks on the commanders-in-chief at home for their conduct in the West Indies—Cause and acquittal—State of affairs in the West Indies—Victor Hugues—Arrival of large reinforcements from France—Escape from the Bellona and Alarm—Cruelties of Victor Hugues—Massacre of loyalists—Murder of English prisoners—Action between Blanche and Pique—Maroon war in Jamaica—The island saved by a fortunate mistake—The Success arrives with troops at Montego Bay—Apprehensions of the planters—Spanish blood-hounds imported to hunt the Maroons, who are finally subdued and sent to Halifax—Victor Hugues takes St. Eustatia and St. Lucia—Sends a force to St. Vincent, and excites a Carib rebellion there—Success of the French and Caribs—Ardour and difficulties of the British troops—Loss of British officers—Death of Colonel Richie—Farther reverses—Arrival of Sir J. Laforey—Demerara and Berbice attacked by Captain Parr, and taken—Arrival of Sir H. Christian and General Abercrombie—Rear-admiral William Parker succeeds Rear-admiral Ford at Jamaica—Rear-admiral Christian and Sir R. Abercrombie retake St. Lucia and St. Vincent—Account of the Caribs of St. Vincent—Reduction of the rebels in Grenada—Arrival of Rear-admiral Harvey in the Prince of Wales—French attack Anguilla, and are defeated by Captain Barton—Successes of Captains Otway and Warre—List of ships employed at the attack of St. Lucia in 1796.

No sooner had Sir John Jervis landed in his native country, than complaints were sent to the Government against himself and the general, for injustice and extortion in the performance of their duty. These complaints were forcibly urged, and eagerly listened to in Parliament, where it was asserted that the loyal inhabitants of Martinique and Guadaloupe had been plundered of their private property by the general and the admiral, the legality of whose proceedings was sharply questioned. It was long before the mind of Sir John Jervis was at ease on this subject, and we find him addressing letters to his Majesty's ministers from the Mediterranean, complaining of persecutions which threatened him with ruin. The facts are simply as follow :—

On the reduction of the islands by force of arms, and after severe contests, all public property was justly claimed for the captors; from this much was attempted to be rescued as belonging to private individuals: in some instances their demands

were acceded to, but British generosity, in this as in all other similar instances, was shamefully imposed on. The French, assisted by many English merchants of the neighbouring settlements, endeavoured to cover colonial produce, as being really British property bought previously to the capture of the islands;* but this being strongly resisted, the claimants came to a compromise, and agreed to pay a certain sum to the captors as a compensation: unable to evade the payment, they urged these complaints to the British nation, and many believed them to be well founded; but having myself served in that country, I have great reason to believe them to have originated in fraud, and rejoice to say that the wisdom of Parliament decided that the admiral and the general, in the conduct they had pursued, had done their duty. From the moment of the departure of these distinguished officers the affairs of the Caribbee Islands went to ruin.

The war in the West Indies, after the expulsion of the British troops from the island of Guadaloupe, became more bloody and determined than ever. The command of the French land and sea forces had devolved on the notorious Victor Hugues, who exceeded the British chiefs now opposed to him as much in talent and resources, as in ferocity of behaviour, and disregard to every human feeling. If our admiral and general were deficient in local knowledge, they were still more so in land forces to oppose the enemy; but in ships they were infinitely superior. Vice-admiral Caldwell had brought out with him three sail of the line, the Majestic, Theseus, and Bellona, of 74 guns each; besides these he had under his orders a sufficient number of frigates and smaller vessels to keep a vigilant watch on the windward side of Guadaloupe, whence any reinforcement coming from France might be expected to appear. In St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, the flames of rebellion were fanned by the arts of Victor Hugues, and nourished by the forces of France, which, either in squadrons or single fast-sailing ships, were continually arriving in those devoted settlements.

At this moment an event happened which threw the whole into the utmost state of confusion and dismay, and caused a loss of lives and property to the British settlers which seems to have completed the measure of calamity already heaped on those unfortunate people.

On the 5th of January, the Bellona, of 74, and the Alarm, of 32 guns, were cruising 12 leagues to windward of Deseada, when about 8 o'clock in the morning they found themselves in

* See Cooper Williams's Campaigns in the West Indies, 1794.

company with a French squadron, consisting of two large frigates, three armed ships, and ten sail of transports, as it afterward appeared, full of troops and military stores. The captain of the Bellona made the Alarm's signal to chase the transports, which were to leeward of the frigates, while the Bellona went in pursuit of the larger vessels, formed in line to receive him: the first he came up with brought-to, on receiving a few shot, and the Frenchmen called out they were sinking: this induced the captain of the Bellona to send a boat to her; the Alarm, instead of following the orders he had received, brought-to also, and the captain went on board the Bellona. In the mean time, the boat which had gone to the relief of the pretended sinking ship was run away with by some of the Frenchmen, who reached the other vessels in safety. The French commodore, seeing the British ships both employed with the captured vessels, collected his convoy, and the whole made their escape, leaving the two British ships in possession of the Duras, an old French East-Indiaman, carrying about 400 men.

I give the official despatches, by which the public will judge for itself; and I trust to the purity of my motives for having dwelt so much on the painful subject.

*Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Caldwell to Mr. Stephens, dated off Martinique, January* 15, 1795.

You will please to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty that General John Vaughan and myself think it necessary to send a frigate to England immediately, to inform Government that on the 6th instant a convoy from France, under two or three frigates, got into Point à Petre, Guadaloupe.

Enclosed is a copy of Captain Wilson's minutes, which is the best information we have, and by which their lordships will see that one of the enemy's ships was taken, the Duras, said to be an old French Indiaman.

*Minutes of Proceedings on board of his Majesty's ship Bellona, George Wilson, Esq., Commander, January* 4, 1795.

On Monday, January 5, 1795, latitude 16′ 30° north, Deseada bearing west, distance 12 leagues, at eight, A. M., descried two sail standing towards us: the weather being very hazy I could only perceive one to be a frigate, which tacked and stood from us. We chased her with light winds and very hazy weather. About 12 o'clock I discovered 10 sail to leeward lying-to. Upon making them plain, from their size supposed them a French squadron. About 1 o'clock they bore up; we immediately chased, the weather being very squally and hazy. I supposed 5 of their ships frigates.

At 5 o'clock made the Alarm's signal to attack the convoy; the frigates dropped in their rear and formed; the sternmost I came up with, and began to fire, when she struck. I perceived four others hauled out, apparently with an intention to engage. At 8 o'clock I sent an officer and boat on board the frigate to take possession, and found her to be Le Duras, of 20 guns, 400 troops, and 70 seamen. They reported her in a sinking state, during which time I lay-to, *expecting the other frigates to fetch me on the same tack*, when Captain Carpenter hailed me to observe the same. At half past 8 I saw the frigate had bore up, upon which I desired Captain Carpenter would take charge of the prize, and follow with all expedition. I immediately made sail, but the night was so dark and squally that I could not keep sight of them. At 12 o'clock I found myself so near Deseada that I was obliged to haul off. It blowing very hard, in the morning I was to leeward of Deseada. As soon as I could put men on board the prize I made sail for Antigua, but could not reach St. John's that night. In the course of the night the prize had driven to leeward; I ordered Captain Carpenter to carry her to St. Kitt's, and take her under charge until farther orders. I made the best of my way to Martinique, being in want of provisions and water.

The following appears to have been the force of the enemy:—

L'Escalle, a 74, cut down, mounting 46 guns and 500 men; L'Astree, of 36 guns; Le Leveret, 20 guns; La Prompte, 20 guns; Le Duras, 20 guns; and 10 armed transports: sailed from Brest on the 17th of November, with troops and warlike stores. The Duras had on board field-pieces, mortars, shot, shells, great quantities of small arms, and trenching tools of all sorts.

I have given the official letters as I find them; the vice-admiral appears to have had great difficulty in composing such an account of the affair as would satisfy the board of admiralty. The letter of Captain Wilson is inexplicable on any principles of professional reasoning, since it was not to be expected that such a force as he describes would have willingly brought a British 74 and a frigate to action, particularly when the object of the enemy was obviously to avoid an encounter at sea, and at any hazard to land the troops on the islands. The Bellona and the Alarm, however, lay-to, expecting this attack, until the best part of the day was consumed: after which they went in chase, and saw no more of the French squadron, which safely landed their troops, and produced the most disastrous results.

The fatal consequence of this unfortunate arrival was soon visible: Victor Hugues, reinforced beyond his most sanguine expectations, had troops to spare for his designs upon the neighbouring islands; and the blood of Englishmen soon flowed in copious streams, while their habitations were set on

*Earl Howe*

*Painted before by Hoppner, Engraved by R. Cooper,*
*for Capt.ⁿ Brenton's Naval History.*

fire by the very hands which had so miraculously escaped from the British cruisers.

The republicans had made themselves masters of Guadaloupe before the arrival of this squadron, and one of their first acts was to put to death 300 loyalists, with a degree of barbarity which, had I not been well acquainted with their conduct on similar occasions, I should have been led to doubt. These unhappy men, settlers of the island, were drawn up, tied hand to hand, by the side of a deep ditch dug for the purpose, while a regiment in front fired on them; some fell dead, others wounded, others received no hurt, but all were thrown together into the ditch, and covered over with earth, the dead, the living, and the dying, being buried in one common grave. The rage of civil discord ever exceeds that experienced against a foreign enemy, but the breasts of these men seemed devoid of every sentiment common to our nature. Some sick and wounded Englishmen were prisoners among these savages, destitute of every necessary of life, far from their friends, and suffering the complicated miseries of wounds, sickness, and famine. They sent to their bloodthirsty captor, and demanded or implored relief. What was his answer? He sent a party of soldiers—no, we cannot disgrace the name—monsters in the shape of men, who put them all to death with the bayonet!

In a former chapter I stated the death of Major-general Dundas at Guadaloupe. The remains of this gallant and much-lamented officer were not allowed to rest in peace; they were dug up by order of this man, and scattered over the country. The memory of the General is, if possible, cherished the more by his countrymen after this act of wanton ferocity, and a monument in St. Paul's cathedral attests their grateful sense of his merits; while that of the republican, even in France, if remembered at all, will be a term of reproach to designate the worst and most abandoned of the human species.

The duties of the British forces in the West Indies now became extremely arduous. The islands Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, were all at the same time objects of attack; and so ill were they protected that the French and the blacks seem to have had an unlimited power over them, and to have used it with unbridled fury, and insatiable thirst of blood.

We can now turn to a more cheering subject. Captain Robert Faulknor, after his distinguished conduct at Fort Royal, Martinique, was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and appointed to command the Blanche, of 32 guns, in which ship he was ordered to cruise off Point à Petre, where on the 4th of January he discovered a frigate at anchor, which showed no disposition to meet him; but at half past eight in

the evening, on the 5th, the Blanche, having an American schooner in tow, was standing under easy sail towards Grand Terre, when the enemy was discovered as if in pursuit. Faulknor instantly and eagerly closed with him; they passed each other on opposite tacks within pistol-shot, and at half-past 12 at night exchanged broadsides. The enemy, having the weather-gage, and being on the larboard tack, wore to rake the Blanche, who, to avoid this, tacked, and ran up to leeward. The gallant Frenchman, foiled in this, put his helm up to rake her forward; but the Blanche wore, and both ships engaged, running before the wind side by side. At one o'clock the Blanche put her helm a-starboard, and crossed her adversary's bow, by which, as was mutually desired, the ships came on board each other nearly amidships. In this situation Faulknor secured the enemy by a halser,* with which he lashed her bowsprit to his own capstan. It was in this act that the noble Faulknor fell with a musket-ball through his heart, the Blanche in the mean time keeping up a constant fire from her quarter-deck, and all other guns, as well as musketry, that could be brought to bear on the Pique. The enemy returned this with small arms from her tops and from her quarter-deck guns, run in amidships, and pointed forward; at this time the Blanche's main and mizen masts fell overboard, and the daring Frenchmen attempted to board from their bowsprit, but were repulsed. At a quarter past two in the morning she dropped astern as far as the rope would permit. The enemy now lay with his bowsprit abreast of the Blanche's starboard quarter, the marines keeping up a constant fire of musketry; while the officers and seamen on the main deck, by blowing out the upper transoms, brought the after-guns to fire into her bows, and raked her fore and aft, while they held her in tow—a position from which the Frenchmen vainly endeavoured to extricate themselves by sending out men to cut the lashings; these were constantly picked off by the marines. About two o'clock the enemy's masts fell, but the action continued, both ships running before the wind, until five in the morning.

The command of the Blanche had devolved on Lieutenant Frederick Watkins. The ships, in number of guns and weight of metal, were nearly upon a par; both were what are called 12-pound frigates, though the French shot of that calibre exceed ours in weight by about one pound. With respect to the number of men, from the best accounts that I could obtain the enemy had nearly double, and, had they got on board the Blanche, it is very probable, from that advantage only, could

* Johnson. Pronounced "hawser."

have carried her; but in the various attempts they made they were always so gallantly repulsed that their superior number was no longer in their favour; the bowsprit of the Pique was constantly supplied with a succession of brave fellows, who either attempted to board, or to cut the halser which attached them to their opponent. In this exposed situation the marines of the Blanche made such excellent use of their fire-arms, that each Frenchman as he advanced fell dead or wounded into the sea. In the mean while the two aftermost guns were so well plied out of the stern directly into the bow of the Pique, that her main deck was swept fore and aft, and by the falling of her masts she lost the superiority of her small arms in the tops. That she should have held out three hours after this accident proves that the enemy was actuated by a boundless contempt of death; nor did they surrender till not the smallest possibility remained of turning the tide of victory. The foremast of the Blanche, with her bowsprit, was all that was left standing; her main and mizen masts fell before those of her enemy; and this apparent misfortune was the cause of her success, for by the falling of the after masts the British frigate paid off before the wind with the enemy in tow, thus placing her by accident in a position that might not have occurred to the most expert seamen, and which at once laid her under the power of the Blanche; this, however, would have been of little importance, had it not been followed up by the most undaunted acts of bravery. The loss of their captain, far from damping their ardour, seems to have stimulated them to surpass him, if possible, in valour, and to avenge his fall. Five hours the carnage had been going on, when the enemy hailed, and said he had struck. It was not yet day-light; not a boat would swim from the number of shot through them; nor could they have been readily hoisted out, the masts being gone. Under these difficulties nothing remained but to get on board the prize by means of the halser; this was successfully performed by Lieutenant Milne and ten seamen, whose weight bringing the bite of the rope into the water, obliged them to swim part of the distance, when they gained her deck, and carried the well-earned prize into the Saintes.

The loss on board the Blanche was, besides the captain, Mr. William Bolton, midshipman, five seamen, and one marine, killed, and 21 wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed was 70, and in wounded 110; the bodies of most of the former were found on board, and the latter were landed at the Saintes.

The French frigate had 28 French 12-pounders on her main deck, eight long nines on her quarter-deck, and four 36-pound carronades on her forecastle.

While the British West-India islands to windward were a prey at once to foreign invasion and internal discord, Jamaica was not exempt from its share of calamity. The Maroon negroes, in possession of some of the mountainous parts on the north side of the island, had often risen in rebellion, and, though subdued, caused much misery to the colony. These people were the descendants of about 1,500 African slaves, whom the Spaniards had left behind them in 1655. Their chief residence was a village pleasantly situated, called Trelawney Town, about 20 miles from Montego Bay; and here they might have dwelt unmolested, could they have conformed to the treaties which had been established for the mutual good of themselves and the white settlers.

Without recurring to the events which preceded the rebellion of 1795, and which are fully and ably detailed by Mr. Edwards, we shall come at once to the immediate cause of the insurrection. Two Maroons from Trelawney Town, having been detected and convicted of stealing pigs, were taken at Montego Bay, and punished by flogging, after which they were discharged; when, flying to their countrymen, they showed their stripes, and the indignity which, in their persons, they affirmed had been committed upon the community. The whole of them instantly rose in arms, and ordered the superintendent to quit their town on pain of death; they were, however, induced to consent to a conference, and, while they appeared to accept of the terms of conciliation, secretly prepared for more effectual hostility. They had 300 men under arms, and only waited the departure of a very large convoy for Europe, which they knew would much reduce the British force, to commence an attack. There were on the island very few troops, except the 83d regiment, which at that very moment was under orders for St. Domingo; this was known to the Maroons, and, while they amused the governor and council with the appearance of fidelity and affection, they used every means to induce the negro slaves to join with them in the meditated insurrection. It would seem unaccountable that under the circumstances the embarkation of the 83d should have been permitted. They sailed, however, from Port Royal on the 29th of July, under convoy of the Success frigate, of 32 guns. No sooner had they lost sight of the harbour than the conduct of the Maroons became less equivocal, and the Earl of Belcarras, the governor, saw fortunately in time the inconsiderate step which he had been induced to take. The course from Port Royal to the west end of St. Domingo is in the wind's eye, as the trade usually blows; this retarded the progress of the Success and her convoy so much as to admit of a fast

rowing-boat from the east end of the island overtaking them, which was providentially effected, and just at such a juncture as rendered the embarkation of the troops the most fortunate circumstance that could have occurred to the planters. The Success and her convoy, assisted by a strong current, had on the 2d of August weathered Point Morant, when the despatches reached Captain Pigot, who immediately bore up, and on the 4th anchored in Montego Bay, on the north side. This event saved the island. The Maroons and the blacks attributed that to superior knowledge which was purely the effect of accident, and this in a great measure entirely disconcerted their schemes, and spread distrust among them. The force of the 83d was nearly 1,000 strong, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fitch.

In the mean time the white inhabitants of Jamaica, threatened with all the horrors perpetrated at St. Domingo, had seen the only troops on which they could reasonably depend for protection taken from them at a moment of the greatest need, and sent to a neighbouring island on the hopeless task of reducing 100,000 blacks to submission. Nothing but the vigour of the governor, council, and planters, saved them, their families, and property, from destruction. Martial law was proclaimed; all the small detached bodies of light cavalry, infantry, or militia, were concentrated round Montego Bay; and the Earl of Belcarras, in person, took the command of the whole. Dreadful indeed were the apprehensions of the planters at this critical juncture; the recent events in St. Domingo, where the slaves had been completely triumphant, led them to dread a similar movement.

Some of the Maroons surrendered themselves to the governor, but the principal part of them resolved to persevere. Their first act took place on the night of the 12th of August, by setting fire to their own habitations at Trelawney Town, and then attacking the out-posts of the British army. Colonel Sandford, with a small party consisting of detachments of the 18th and 20th dragoons, and some horse militia, having advanced to a spot directed by the governor, was ordered to wait there for farther instructions, but instead of so doing he pushed on to the ruins of Trelawney Town. Met by the Maroons in a narrow defile, himself and many valuable officers and men were killed, and others wounded; the rest still advanced, and drove the enemy from their hiding-places. The check experienced by Colonel Sandford excited the most serious alarm in the island, and exposed the memory of that officer to reproach in general orders. Unfortunately Lieutenant-colonel Fitch, with a small party of his men, fell by the same want of caution

into another ambush, and himself and several of his people were killed. The Maroons had now gained possession of a very strong and nearly inaccessible country, whence no means could be devised of extirpating them without the assistance of blood-hounds from Cuba. Horrible and revolting as such an expedient must appear in an enlightened age, it was the only one that remained for putting an end to the nightly depredations and murders committed by these savages. The importation of the dogs was decided; but previously to their arrival, or before they were called into action, the wisdom of the governor, and the gallantry of General Walpole, had brought the war to a satisfactory and effectual termination. No property in the world is more exposed to the acts of an incendiary than a sugar plantation; and it was unfortunately proved in this instance how much mischief might be done by a single negro in the course of a night, almost without the possibility of detection.

Some of the Maroons, who had subsequently infringed the terms of the pacification, were by the assembly sent off the island. They were embarked to the number of 600 for Nova Scotia, with every reasonable supply to meet their wants. The cold, however, of that northern latitude proving too severe, and many of them having died, the rest were transferred to Sierra Leone.

Victor Hugues, early in 1795, obtained possession of the island of St. Eustatia, in which he found an ample supply of ordnance. A successful landing was also immediately effected on St. Lucia, and was followed by a simultaneous insurrection of the blacks and French in all parts of the island; the British forces had no other places of refuge than the Vigie and Morne Fortunée. General Stewart, at the head of the British troops, defeated the enemy, and compelled him to retire, but a serious and unlooked-for reverse of fortune deprived him of all hopes of retaining the island. On the 22d of April he advanced to attack the strong post at Souffriere, and was defeated after seven hours' hard fighting, and compelled to retreat to Vieux fort with a loss of 200 men. Pent up in Morne Fortunée, dispirited and without succours for two months, the British soldiers sunk under dejection, and its frequent attendant in this climate, the yellow fever. The active Victor Hugues unceasingly supplied fresh troops, and the French at length, increasing in strength and numbers as ours diminished, attacked and took the strong forts of Pigeon Island and the Vigie; the latter commanding the carènage, or harbour, prevented any relief by sea coming to the devoted Morne Fortunée, which the enemy prepared to storm. It was therefore resolved to eva-

cuate the island—a measure which appears to have been carried into execution with a degree of hurry and perturbation surprising in a military point of view: and it is to be supposed that such a capitulation might have been obtained as would have proved more advantageous and honourable than, by a confused and unmanly flight, to leave the women and children exposed to the cruelty or indebted to the kindness of a brutal enemy. Captain Barret, of the Experiment, of 44 guns, armed *en flute*, received on board his ship 1,200 men, between the hours of 12 at night and 5 in the morning.

Meanwhile the affairs of St. Vincent were in a state as desperate as those of the neighbouring island. The French holding St. Lucia allows a feeble tenure of St. Vincent to the English, distant only eight leagues, and lying directly to leeward. The native Caribs had long beheld the encroachments of either French or English settlers as an insufferable usurpation of their rights, and sought every opportunity of dispossessing them of their hold. Headed by one of their chiefs, named Chatoye, these people, at the instigation of Victor Hugues, burst into rebellion, carrying with them the usual horrors practised on such occasions in the neighbouring islands: setting fire to the windward plantations, they murdered men, women, and children, whether slaves or whites, and massacred in cold blood the English prisoners whom they had taken: this infernal act was performed on Dorsetshire hill, in sight of the town of Kingston. Fortunately for the planters and inhabitants, the Caribs were at enmity with the blacks or slaves, which prevented the latter from joining them; they were rivals in the market for the sale of their produce, and the murder of some slaves at the beginning was the final ruin of the Carib cause: assisted, however, by the French, they committed the greatest ravages, and deluged the island in blood. The first battle between them and the British forces was fought on Dorsetshire hill, where the Caribs were attacked by a party of militia and negroes, supported by a few regulars of the 46th regiment, under the command of Captain Campbell, together with a small body of seamen from the Zebra sloop of war, commanded by Captain Skinner. The Caribs were defeated, and the chief, Chatoye, was among the slain. St. Vincent, like Dominica, from the rugged state of the country, is of all others the most difficult in which to repress sudden insurrection; the rebels rallied again, and were again defeated with great slaughter at the post of Calliaqua, a strong place which the British occupied. Meanwhile the French sent more succours to the rebels from Guadaloupe and St. Lucia: whether the admiral had not a sufficient force to protect this vulnerable

point is uncertain; we only know at that period of the war that the force employed was numerous and effective, but the enemy ever had the advantage of vigilance; and the unfortunate facts of Admiral Christian's first and second sailing caused the greatest misfortunes to the islands.

Early in May the enemy had so far regained their superiority as to appear above the heights of Calliaqua, and summoned Captain Molesworth, who commanded that important post, to surrender. The Alarm frigate being sent round to support him, the enemy desisted; but in a desperate attack on the post of Dorsetshire hill they succeeded, and gained possession of the field-piece, which was left behind in the confusion. The enemy now commanded the town, and from such a situation they were to be dislodged: this was gallantly effected by Lieutenant-colonel Seaton, under a heavy fire from a superior force, and the enemy fled in every direction, still retaining the strong post of the Vigie, whence it was also determined to dislodge them. Sir John Vaughan, having come himself from Martinique to investigate the real state of the island, took effective measures for its relief, and on his return sent back all the reinforcements he could afford, with a supply of ordnance stores. The British forces, now under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Leighton, advanced to attack the Vigie, a post consisting of three hills of unequal height; these were strongly fortified: part of the 46th and 60th regiments, the militia, rangers, and seamen from the ships of war to drag the guns, were ordered on this service: they took with them four 6-pounders and two mortars. This was in the beginning of June.

The irresistible valour of the British troops carried all before them; the first and second redoubts were taken by one division, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Ritchie. The enemy, perceiving how small the force was opposed to them, sallied forth from the last and chief position; but, at the moment they attacked the first division, the second came up under Lieutenant-colonel Leighton, and the third under Lieutenant-colonel (the late lamented Lieutenant-general Sir George) Prevost, when they retreated in great confusion to their own works on the strongest and still unsubdued eminence. Here they were again attacked by the joint efforts of the army and navy; a deep trench was cut to obstruct the progress of the artillery, but the ardour of the sailors and artillerymen surmounted all obstacles. Guns and mortars were made to move with rapidity over mounds of earth of astonishing height; and the batteries opened with such unexpected fury that the place was taken. The Caribs having retired early in the action, none but French were

found in the fort; of these, 60, with their commander, were made prisoners, about 260 having been killed and wounded: our loss was about 70, with the gallant Captain Piguet, of the 60th regiment. Having made themselves masters of these strong places, and reduced the Caribs and their French auxiliaries, the British forces under Lieutenant-colonel Leighton proceeded to the Carib country, which they laid waste with fire and sword, burning the houses, and digging up the rising crops of their fields and gardens; the troops then entered the town, and possessed themselves of the Carib huts and provisions on Mount Young. The Thorn sloop of war, of 16 guns, accompanied the troops in an attack upon the bay of Owia, which it was deemed necessary to secure, in order to prevent the enemy landing there from Guadaloupe. This precaution did not avail them; the post was surprised by a strong detachment of French from St. Lucia; 80 of our men were killed, and the remainder fled, leaving their cannon behind them. The evacuation of St. Lucia proved a great misfortune to St. Vincent, and had nearly caused its loss. A large body of French troops, having landed at the former island, easily found means to get to St. Vincent; 500 of them landed in Owia Bay on the 18th of September. The Thorn sloop, and Experiment, of 44 guns, armed *en flute*, saw the expedition; but, having drifted to leeward, were unable to get within gun-shot. The British troops now met with sad reverses; Mount Young was evacuated by them, and the enemy pursued them to Fainburn-ridge, where the latter encamped, and cut off the communication between Kingston and the Vigie. Lieutenant-colonel Ritchie, with a detachment of 300 men, was defeated, and that gallant and excellent officer mortally wounded.

The affairs of this unfortunate little colony were in a most deplorable state, when Major-general Irving arrived in the Scipio, of 64 guns, bringing with him a reinforcement of between 2,000 and 3,000 men. The enemy in their turn were driven from every strong post which they had occupied in the neighbourhood of Kingston, and compelled to take refuge in the windward part of the island, where they were held in close blockade until the spring of 1796, when they attacked our camp at Colonarie, and succeeded in surprising that important post. Brigadier-general Stewart, who commanded, was three times wounded, and only retired when a shot had shattered his leg: he lost 400 men, with all his ammunition and provisions.

The yellow fever had so much reduced the effective strength both of the army and navy, that the French, aided by the Caribs in St. Vincent, and by their countrymen and the slaves in

Grenada and St. Lucia, had nearly subverted our power in all those islands.

In St. Vincent Major-general Hunter still kept the enemy in check, and his endeavours were nobly seconded by the council and chief men of the island.

As the straggling transports from the convoy of Admiral Christian reached Barbadoes, the troops were despatched to the islands to leeward, where their services were most urgently demanded.

While St. Lucia had fallen under the power of France, and St. Vincent had successfully struggled against it, the island of Grenada was not exempt from similar convulsions. The insurrections in these three islands were nearly simultaneous, and more fatal in Grenada, as the slaves all revolted and joined the French planters, who, since its cession to the English in the peace of 1783, had been unwilling subjects of the British empire.

Vice-admiral Caldwell, in June, 1795, had been succeeded in the command of the Leeward Islands by Vice-admiral Sir John Laforey, who, on the 15th of April, 1796, ordered Captain Parr, in the Malabar, of 54 guns, with a small squadron, having on board 1,200 troops, under the command of Major-general White, to proceed to the coast of South America, and to capture the Dutch settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, in Dutch Guayana. This is a country of a difficult nature for naval and military operations,—remarkably flat, and full of swamps,—regions, it would appear, in which the Dutch delight to dwell. The coast is shoal, and extremely difficult of approach; at four leagues distance we have no more than seven, and often less than five fathoms water; the soundings are, however, generally regular, though many dangerous shoals lie off Berbice, and allowance should be made for a strong current setting to the westward.

Our squadron reached the mouth of the river off Demerara on the 21st; the Pique and the Babet, with one of the transports, passed the bar, and the night was employed in preparations for the landing. On the following morning a flag of truce announced the surrender of Demerara and Essequibo to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, on such terms as the British officers had dictated. One or two old armed vessels, with some merchantmen richly laden, rewarded the captors. From this place, where they left a governor, the forces proceeded to Berbice, which on the 22d of May capitulated in the same manner.

On the arrival of Rear-admiral Sir Hugh Cloberry Christian

to succeed Sir John Laforey, in June 1796, the whole face of affairs was changed. He was accompanied by Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with a powerful army. That able officer sent a strong detachment to St. Vincent to reinforce Major-general Hunter: the enemy was defeated, and driven from hill to hill until they were compelled to surrender. At the Vigie, their last stand, 200 were killed, and General Marinier, with 700 more, laid down their arms; and in November the whole island was restored to tolerable tranquillity: but it was not till the following year that the Caribs were subdued.

In the mean time the naval and military forces, under their respective chiefs, proceeded to St. Lucia. The General immediately landed, having planned three simultaneous attacks on the island: these were well concerted, and two of them nobly executed.

The first division of troops, under Major-general Campbell, landed in Baye Longueville; the second in Choc-bay; the third, intended at Ance la Raye, was abandoned, owing to the current having driven the ships too far to leeward. The Brigadiers-general Moore and Hope advanced immediately by different routes to the attack of Morne Chabot; General Moore reached it first, and, without waiting for his colleague, dashed in and carried the place. The enemy left 50 dead. The British troops occupied Morne du Chasseaux, in the rear of Morne Fortunée, which was completely invested by land and sea, the ships of war lying close off the entrance to the carénage. The enemy made an unsuccessful sortie, which, however, cost us 50 men, killed and wounded: among the former Captain Kerr, of the Royal York Rangers, and among the latter Major Napier, of the 63d. In the attack on the Grand Cul de Sac, the Madras, Beaulieu, and Pelican, were ordered to assist, and a body of 800 seamen and 320 marines, under the command of Captain Richard Lane, of the Astrea, and George F. Ryves, of the Bulldog, were very serviceable. Thus vigorously assailed, the governor thought proper to capitulate, and the garrison of Morne Fortunée, consisting of 2,000 men, laid down their arms. An immense quantity of ordnance stores and ammunition was found in the place, and some prizes of no great value were taken in the carénage.

*Extract from the General Orders.*

*Head-quarters, St. Lucia, May* 27, 1796.

During the services which have been carried on in the island of St. Lucia, all the courage and every exertion of the army would have

proved ineffectual if Rear-admiral Sir H. C. Christian, and the royal navy, had not stepped forward with the alacrity which has been so conspicuous in forwarding the most arduous part of the public service: to their skill and unremitting labour is in a great measure owing the success which has attended his Majesty's arms.

(Signed) T. BUSBY,
*Assistant Adjutant-General.*

*A List of the Squadron employed at the Attack and Reduction of St. Lucia, under Rear-admiral Christian, in May* 1796.

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Thunderer | 74 | Sir H. C. Christian, K.B. Rear-admiral of the Blue / Capt. J. Bowen |
| Canada | 74 | —— George Bowen |
| Vengeance | 74 | —— T. M. Russell |
| Minotaur | 74 | —— Thomas Louis |
| Ganges | 74 | —— R. M'Dougall |
| Alfred | 74 | —— Thomas Drury |
| Hindostan | 54 | —— Thomas Bertie |
| Madras | 54 | —— J. Dilkes |
| Abergavenny | 54 | —— Edward T. Smith |
| Charon | 44 | —— J. Stevenson |
| Beaulieu | 40 | —— L. Skinner |
| Arethusa | 38 | —— Thomas Woolley |
| Hebe | 38 | —— M. H. Scott |
| Undaunted | 36 | —— M. Roberts |
| Astrea | 32 | —— R. Lane |
| Laurel | 28 | —— R. Rolles |
| Fury | 16 | —— H. Evans |
| Bulldog | 16 | —— G. F. Ryves |
| Pelican (brig) | 16 | —— J. C. Searle |
| Victorieuse (ditto) | 14 | —— J. Mainwaring |
| Woolwich (S. S.) | 44 | —— Daniel Dobrée |
| Tourterelle | 20 | —— E. Fellows |
| Beaver | 16 | —— S. G. Warren |
| Terror (bomb) | | —— Hon. D. Douglas. |

There were besides these many other ships of war on the West-India station, both to windward and to leeward.

In the month of April Captain R. W. Otway, in the Thorn sloop of war, captured a large schooner, carrying out French officers, and a cargo of national cockades, to Martinique, in hopes of inducing the inhabitants to rise in arms against us. This project entirely failed, owing to the vigilance and good fortune of Captain Otway, who, in the course of the next month, captured, after a very severe action, the Courier, a French corvette of 18 guns, and 119 men, 27 of whom were killed or wounded, without the loss of one man in the Thorn.

Captain Henry Warre, in the Mermaid, of 32 guns, in October of the same year, fell in with a ship and a brig off Grenada; the brig ran in, and got aground, and the Mermaid, in the eagerness of pursuit, ran on shore close alongside of her; but the whole crew of the enemy's vessel, 120 in number, landed and escaped: the vessel was got off; she was called the Brutus. Captain Warre then went in search of the ship, which, after a chase of one day, he had the good fortune to capture. She engaged the Mermaid for half an hour, and, having 20 of her men killed and wounded, struck. Her name was the Republican, mounting 18 guns, and having 250 men, many of whom were soldiers, who, with a general officer, were intended to support the rebellion in Grenada.

After the successful attack upon St. Lucia, Rear-admiral Christian detached Captain Woolley with a small squadron to assist General Abercrombie in subduing the rebels and Caribs of St. Vincent and Grenada. The internal tranquillity of these islands was soon restored. The frigates on the station were active and successful, and many captures were made of the enemy's cruisers.

The author of the Continuation of Edward's West Indies* says that the Caribs, men, women, and children, to the number of nearly 5,000, were removed from the island, and sent to the island of Rattan, in the bay of Honduras. The only part of this statement we are inclined to doubt is the number, which we cannot believe ever amounted to what is here stated.

The following facts respecting the Caribs, or Charaibs, the author obtained while serving in the West Indies in 1808, from a gentleman at St. Vincent.

They were not finally subdued till 1797, after having, for two years, kept the settlers in a state of constant alarm and warfare; but at length, their villages being all burnt, and their plantations laid waste, they capitulated, and rations were allowed them to subsist on by the British government, until it was found advisable to transport them, as before stated. The black Caribs were the only people who disputed the possession of the island with the English. The yellow Caribs, so called from the colour of their skin, are a distinct and peculiar people; being few and harmless, and having escaped the general proscription, they yet reside in the island, and still boast among them of two races of their kings.

In June Rear-admiral Henry Harvey arrived in the Prince of Wales, and relieved Sir Hugh Christian, who, soon after,

* Vol. iv. page 47.

with Rear-admiral Pole, returned to England in the Beaulieu frigate.

That monster of cruelty, the offspring of the French revolution, the infamous Victor Hugues, unable to conquer, was resolved to destroy; he therefore sent an expedition against the little defenceless colony of Anguilla. The force consisted of two vessels, the Decius, of 28 guns, and the brig Le Vaillant, of 4 guns, of heavy caliber; they were manned with about 170 seamen, and had on board 300 soldiers.

Captain Barton, of the Lapwing, of 28 guns, received the news of this invasion as he lay at St. Kitt's, and with courage and alacrity flew to the relief of his countrymen. Quitting other service upon which he was ordered, he took on himself the responsibility of disobedience, and soon appeared off Anguilla, where he found the enemy were on shore, and had begun to riot in the full enjoyment of plunder, conflagration, and massacre. On the appearance of the British ship they thought only of escape, but that was denied them. Captain Barton brought both vessels to close action; the large one, after severe chastisement, struck, and, out of 300 people on board, she appears to have had 120 killed and wounded.

The brig Le Vaillant ran on shore upon St. Martin's, where she was destroyed by the fire of the Lapwing, whose loss upon this well-executed service amounted to one man killed and seven wounded.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Hostility of America towards Great Britain—Deserters protected—Loss of a lieutenant and twelve midshipmen of the Assistance—Farther causes of disgust and alienation—Stopping ships, and impressment of American seamen—Boston and Ambuscade—Death of Captain Courteney—Causes of disagreement between France and America—Commercial treaty between England and America—Insolence of the Directory and their agents—Spirited conduct of the American government—Right of search and detention acknowledged by America—Correspondence between M. Adet and Mr. Pickering—Articles of the treaty—Angry feelings of the French and Americans towards each other—Effects—Decree of France to put to death all English seamen found in neutral vessels—Not executed—Directory wish to borrow money of America—Sensation felt at the proposal—America arms—Embarrassment of France—Affair of Cochrane and Beresford with five French ships—Conduct of Richery at Newfoundland—He threatens St. John's—Retreats—Destroys settlement at Bay of Bulls—Loss of the Tribune at Halifax—Reflections.

THE conduct of the United States of North America, after the acknowledgment of their independence, had manifested irritation and unfriendliness towards Great Britain. While the French met with the most cordial reception in their ports, we were scarcely admitted to the common rights of hospitality. In the whole of our intercourse with them, from the year 1783 to 1812, insult and injury constantly attended the arrival of every British ship in what were called "the waters of the United States." If a boat landed, the seamen were enticed to desert, and often openly paraded the streets in defiance of their officers; the magistrates of the republic refused to interfere, and exulted in the mortification of their hated and unwelcome visitors.

About the year 1787 a boat was run away with by some of the crew of the Assistance, of 50 guns, then bearing the flag of Sir Charles Douglas, and lying at Sandy Hook; the first lieutenant and 12 midshipmen pursued them in the barge, and the whole of these gallant and promising young officers were found dead the next morning: the boat had grounded in the

mud, in which they were all frozen as they attempted to reach firm ground, nor did we ever hear of the seamen being restored to their ship.

The war of the French revolution increased this hostile feeling. The trade of America, no doubt, suffered much interruption from French as well as British cruisers. The condemnation of her ships in the ports of France was in violation of every principle of justice. While in England they had at least a fair and impartial trial, yet France, with her arbitrary exercise of power, was the favourite, and found numerous advocates in America, where the legal acts of Britain met with unmerited censure. England, it must be acknowledged, committed an act for which France had no temptation—she detained her merchantmen, and took from them all British subjects, in doing which, it frequently happened that an American seaman was taken among the number. The seamen of both countries, speaking the same language, and being governed by the same manners and customs, no mark remained by which to distinguish the natives of the one from those of the other country. Desertion from the British navy had become a most alarming evil, and while England was contending for existence against the united powers of Europe, America was known to encourage her seamen in this disgraceful practice. It was, therefore, a duty incumbent on England to maintain her rights over her seamen, though in a manner the least incompatible with those of America. That American seamen were occasionally impressed I have admitted; I also know, that when claimed, and proved to be such, they were invariably released; and from my own experience I can assert, that when the impolicy of the American government in 1812 had induced it to declare war against us, all American seamen serving in our ships were gratuitously sent to their own country.

When, in the year 1794, the French West India trade put into the Chesapeake for convoy and fictitious papers, Great Britain was justly incensed. The transhipment of French cargoes into American bottoms, and the use of simulated papers to cover the property of our enemies, excited suspicions which increased the breach between the two nations. Had the great convoy, which it was the object of Lord Howe and Admiral Montagu to intercept and of Villaret to save, been captured, the open hostility of America might probably have followed the event. By the return of the British admirals into port, after the battle of the 1st of June, the Americans escaped the intended blow, and preserved a sort of armed neutrality for a few years longer, always exhibiting a partiality in favour of France. The Ambuscade, a French frigate of the large class,

or what was called an 18-pound ship, with 300 men, was lying at New York, and Captain George William Augustus Courteney, of the Boston, of 32 guns and 220 men, appeared off that port in hopes of meeting and trying the fortune of war. The Boston stood in under French colours; the Ambuscade, supposing her to be a consort, sent an officer, whom Courteney detained, and kept or sank the boat. This brought out the French frigate, and on board of her came, we believe, 100 American volunteers, armed with rifles, committing by this act a flagrant violation of the law of nations. The Boston was a ship of 700 tons, of a class which I have already described as defective, and consequently very unequal to the enterprise which her gallant commander had undertaken. The action soon began, and continued with great bravery on both sides, until the iron hammock-rail of the quarter-deck being struck by a shot, a part of it took Captain Courteney on the back of the neck, and he fell, but no blood followed. The first lieutenant caused the body to be immediately thrown overboard, lest, as he said, it should "dishearten the people;" and, after this prudent precaution, hauled away from the enemy, who had no inclination to follow him. The Boston, having 11 men killed and 37 wounded, returned to Newfoundland, where Captain James Nichol Morris, of the Pluto sloop of war, was appointed to command her. This statement has been confirmed by the late Captain Robert Kerr, who was second lieutenant of the Boston in the action.

The Ambuscade returned to New York, with what loss I never heard. Here she was received by the Americans with every demonstration of joy, for what they were pleased to call a victory, but which was in fact only a drawn battle between two ships unequally matched.

The fate of Captain Courteney was deeply lamented, and the king, as a mark of his royal approbation, was pleased to settle a pension of £200 a-year on his widow, and £50 a-year on each of his two daughters.*

The good understanding between France and America appears to have continued till the end of 1795; when we find that the colours of the French republic were presented to the President of the United States.

General Washington, who at that time filled the important situation, was as remarkable for the liberality of his sentiments

* I have the honour of being personally acquainted with these amiable ladies; the subject of the above action has been frequently discussed between us. Mrs. Courteney (now Mrs. Brune Prideaux) admits that she always had the same impression of the fate of her husband as stated by me.

in peace, as for his wisdom and valour in war. Having nobly fought for his country in the field, he devoted the remainder of his life to her service in the cabinet, without partaking of those national prejudices common to the unenlightened in every country. The independence of America secured, he saw no advantage to the Union by cherishing animosity between the parent state and its offspring, and resolved to do all in his power in order to render the industry and productions of each country mutually serviceable to both. For this benevolent and wise purpose he despatched Mr. Jay to London, who, after much discussion, concluded a commercial treaty with the court of St. James's. The democratic sentiment which prevailed in America rendered the people extremely jealous of the prerogative which the constitution had given to the President of concluding treaties with foreign powers, although by the advice and with the consent of the senate. At this treaty the enemies of Great Britain in France and America expressed much dissatisfaction, and their partisans in the House of Representatives demanded the official correspondence which led to its conclusion. This Washington refused, giving the clearest and most unanswerable reasons for his decision. The Directory of France, considering itself the head of all republics, and particularly of that of America, was deeply offended that that government should presume without their consent to make a treaty with a monarchy, and that monarchy, of all others, the most inimical to France. A very strong and insolent note was addressed to Mr. Pickering by the citizen Adet on the subject of the treaty. "He has the honour," he says, "of transmitting to the Secretary of State of the United States of America, a resolution taken by the executive government of the French republic in July 1796, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the republic of France are to hold towards neutral vessels. The flag of the republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer *it to be treated by the English*." This dictatorial tone assumed by the French government was not likely to conciliate the favour of a nation jealous of its liberty, and proud of its newly-won independence. Accordingly, the American government highly resented this language, and prepared to resist all encroachments on their rights. The great cause of complaint against America was, that she had permitted her vessels, laden with provisions and bound to France, to be detained by British cruisers, and condemned in British ports without a declaration of war. The minister of the French republic, not content with censuring the American government and councils for permitting these "*infractions of the rights of nations*," called upon the President

of the United States to resent the conduct of Great Britain for impressing or detaining British seamen when found on board American ships. The note of Monsieur Adet was ably answered by Mr. Pickering, who reminded him that the treaties subsisting between France and America since 1778 were founded on mutual and reciprocal benefit, and stipulated expressly that "*free bottoms made free goods,*" except articles contraband of war; and that consequently America, under this exception, had a perfect right to trade with any belligerent without the consent of France; but, as Mr. Pickering most keenly and justly observes, the note of M. Adet attempts to justify the conduct of France, who, no longer reaping any advantage from the treaty of 1778, was desirous of rescinding or putting her own construction upon it. The following part of the secretary's letter is perfectly conclusive as to the right assumed by Great Britain over American or neutral property during the war of the French revolution. "We are ignorant of any new restraint on our commerce; on the contrary, we possess recent official information *that no new orders have been issued.*

"The captures made by the British, of American vessels having French property on board, *are warranted by the law of nations.* The force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States when they formed their treaty of commerce; and their special stipulation on this point was meant as an exception to a universal rule. Neither our weakness nor our strength have any choice when the question concerns the observation of a *known rule of the law of nations.*" This was very fair and very honourable dealing.

Of the treaty with Great Britain, which had given so much offence, the following are the principal articles:—

1st, To ascertain the limits of the trade on the Mississippi, which was to be entirely free.

2dly, Mutual indemnification by each of the governments for illegal captures and detentions of merchant vessels.

3dly, Liberty of navigation and commerce between the two nations.

4thly, Importation by the citizens of the United States of America of the produce of that country into the West India islands, in vessels not exceeding 70 tons burden, with permission to export to the United States only the produce of these islands.

5thly, American vessels to be admitted into the British ports in the East Indies, but not to carry on the coasting trade of the country.

6thly, Reciprocal equalization of duties.

7thly, Vessels having enemy's property on board to be liberated after taking out such property.

8thly, Pirates not to be received into the harbours of either party.

9thly, Privateers of the nations at enmity with either of the two powers, not to arm their ships or sell their produce in the respective ports of either of the said powers.

10thly, The ships of war of either power to carry the vessels and goods taken from their enemies to any port they may think proper.

The manly reply of Mr. Pickering to the menacing notes of the Directory was as unexpected as it was just; and the pride of the Directory received a severe rebuke from the government of the sister republic.

The government of France was highly exasperated at this change of policy by the Americans, who had, by their recent treaty with Great Britain, cancelled that made with France in 1778, in which the guarantee of the French sugar islands was one of the principal clauses, and which the Americans had now conceded to the advantage of Great Britain, admitting that the supply of provisions to the French West India islands, when in a state of blockade, was an illegal trade. Irritated by the violence of the Directory, the American government recalled Mr. Munroe from Paris, and appointed General Pinckney to succeed him. This gentleman on his arrival was not received in his public capacity, nor was he treated with the respect due to his private character. He was ordered to quit the capital without delay; and in a manner indicative of a most hostile temper.

The intentions of the Directory as notified by M. Adet were acted upon; American vessels having British property on board were considered lawful prizes, and ships having touched at British ports were forbidden to enter those of the republic. The Directory, impelled by the most extravagant violence, passed a decree that the sailors of all neutral states found on board of English vessels should be put to death. The execution of this law, however, was impossible in a state of civilized society; nor would the nation itself, notwithstanding the general confusion of ideas upon right and wrong, which became but too prevalent under the hallucination of the revolution, have sanctioned the enforcing of an order so wantonly atrocious, and this, among other instances of the most oppressive tyranny, proves the use she intended to make of her power. The British government also intimated in plain but temperate language that severe retaliation would inevitably follow; and as the lesson given to the French armies in Flanders in 1794 was then recent in their memories, it was thought more prudent to abandon this intemperate gratification of revenge. Subsequently, it appeared that America was given to understand that she could only retain the friendship of the French govern-

ment by coming down with a very large sum of money. This our transatlantic descendants declined; and the two countries were much nearer coming to blows then than in the recent dispute upon the same subject, so happily terminated by the intervention of Great Britain in 1836.

The exposure of the conduct of the Directory was hardly required to open the eyes of Europe on the state of public morals in France, but the state of her funds furnished a solution of many political phenomena which till then had remained involved in mystery, particularly the treaties of peace with the surrounding powers; and in the progress of this work we shall have to show, from the most undoubted authority, that Spain was compelled by France to make application to Great Britain for permission to send a frigate to America to bring home treasure, which was applied to the use of Buonaparte, whose army was, moreover, clothed from Yorkshire, and, in some degree, armed from England.

In the mean time French ships still continued to find supplies and shelter in the ports of the United States; and in the year 1795, a squadron of five sail was met with on the coast by Captain the Hon. Alexander Cochrane in the Thetis, of 38 guns, accompanied by Captain Beresford in the Hussar, of 28 guns. These officers on the 17th of May were 20 leagues east of Cape Henry, when the enemy appeared, and at first seemed resolved to try the fortune of war, forming a line and waiting the attack. Captain Cochrane directed Beresford, by signal, to engage the van, reserving to himself the centre ship as the largest, and the two in the rear. The firing began at half-past ten, when within half musket-shot: before 11 o'clock Beresford had silenced the commodore and his second a-head, compelling them both to run, when the two British ships united their fire upon the centre and rear; at a quarter before twelve these three surrendered, but seeing the disabled state of our ships, one of them effected her escape. The vessels captured were La Prevoyante of 26, and La Raison of 18 guns: the whole were armed store-ships which had carried out troops early in the year to Guadaloupe, whence they had sailed with a view of taking on board a cargo of provisions in America, and returning to Europe. These were probably the ships which on the 5th of January had escaped from the Bellona and Alarm off Desirade.

The capture of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, at the beginning of the war in 1793, has already been noticed: the inhabitants, though interrupted for a very short time in their daily avocations, sustained no loss or violence from the invaders, and were left in the peaceful possession of their scanty store

and humble habitations. Let us see how the French behaved on a similar occasion. Our readers will recollect the attack of the active and enterprising French admiral, Richery, on the convoy from Gibraltar in September 1795, when he retreated into Cadiz: in the month of August 1796, he eluded the vigilance of our blockading fleet, and appeared with seven sail of the line and three frigates off the harbour of St. John's, Newfoundland, where there was but a small naval force to oppose to him,—the Romney, 50 guns, Captain Frank Sotheron; Venus, 32 guns, Captain Thomas Graves; Mercury, 28, Byng; Pluto, 16, Crafton, were in the harbour, and stripped. A cable and chain were placed across the entrance; each ship of war fitted a small vessel up as a fire ship, and moored her to the chain; all the captains repaired on board when the French squadron appeared, and had the latter dashed in when they made the land, they must have taken the place and all the shipping. Not a fort was effective, scarcely a cartridge of powder in the batteries, and nothing prepared. Rear-admiral Sir James Wallace at that period held the command. The entrance of St. John's harbour is only 160 yards across, defended by strong batteries, one of which, called the Chain Rock, is but a few feet above the level of the sea; and as ships running in with a strong gale from the eastward are generally taken aback or becalmed in the narrows between the high hills, they become at once exposed to Fort Amherst on their left, the Queen's battery over their heads on the right, and the forts above the town with the Chain Rock battery in front or a-head of them. Captain Thomas Graves of the Venus, with the greater part of his crew, was ordered on shore to man the batteries, while the ship, under the command of the second lieutenant, was moored across the narrows to support the boom and the forts. Richery stood close in with a fresh breeze, but on approaching the land supposed that if he once entered the harbour he must either conquer or submit; he, therefore, ran away to the southward, and contented himself with attacking the defenceless town at the Bay of Bulls, with some other places on the coast; and having at the commencement of winter burnt many of the habitations of the poor fishermen, and destroyed the boats with which they gained a subsistence for themselves and families, he left the island, having sullied his fame as an officer and a man by this despicable attack on a defenceless and unoffending people.

Nothing of importance occurred on the North American station until the following year, when the Tribune frigate of 38 guns and 300 men was lost as she was going into the harbour of Halifax. This ship was commanded by Captain Scorey Barker; and however tender I ever wish to be of the reputation

Drawn by Capt. Brenton

of a deceased brother officer, I am compelled by a sense of duty, and for the future advantage of the service, not to pass over, without some animadversion, conduct which led to such fatal consequences.

The Tribune reached the entrance of Halifax harbour in the month of November 1797, where it appears Captain Barker declined taking a pilot, from the assurances of the master that he had a perfect knowledge of the harbour, having frequently been in it before. The captain after this act, which so greatly increased his responsibility, went below to prepare for his landing; the master, with an ignorance only excusable in a boy, ran the ship on the Thrum Cap shoal, which lies on the starboard or right-hand side going in. Lieutenant Haliburton, the officer of the guard at Fort Sandwich, instantly saw her situation, and very soon got on board, when he advised the captain to provide for the safety of the crew, the ship being as he said irretrievably lost; Captain Barker, unwilling to give her up, made signals of distress, but refused to let the boats which had come to his relief quit the ship. Mr. Haliburton, however, finding him obstinate, contrived to get away, and thus saved himself and his boat's crew from the fate which awaited the people of the Tribune, and many others that went to her assistance. At this time the day was clear, and she had all sail set, with a light breeze from east-south-east, which leads directly up the harbour: in winter the wind from this quarter invariably increases to a gale before night, and it was from a knowledge of this fact, that Lieutenant Haliburton foretold the destruction of the ship: boats from the dock-yard reached her with labour; the guns were thrown overboard, the mizenmast cut away, and about nine o'clock she floated off with the loss of her rudder: the gale increased, it was perfectly dark, and they contrived to keep her head to the westward, and run towards the harbour; but she could not be brought to steer, and at half-past ten sank within pistol-shot of the shore in 13 fathoms water, in Herring Cove, a rocky bay on the south side of the channel.

With the ship sank the captain and the greater part of the crew; the survivors, about 100 in number, clung to the fore and main rigging, and got into the tops which remained above water; about midnight the mainmast fell, taking with it all those unfortunate people who had prolonged their wretched existence for one hour in the top; nine of them reached the foremast, and by six o'clock the whole number living was reduced, from cold and fatigue, to seven men. At daylight a boy came off by himself in a boat and took away two of them, which were all he could carry: how it happened that this poor

child, only 13 years of age, should have been the first to reach the ship after the calamity, I never could learn; the fact is, however, as certain as it is disgraceful to those concerned. The others were rescued in the course of the morning.

Aware that I have been accused of treating the memory of Captain Barker with severity, my answer is, that my motive is that which every public writer should religiously adhere to, namely, the good of posterity. Public men are public property, and be their example good or bad, be their miscarriages the result of weakness, obstinacy, or neglect, it is the duty of an historian to paint after the life, and, having stated his facts, to draw such inferences from them as may warn others to shun the evil, or enable them to pursue the good. I have piloted a frigate into Halifax Harbour myself, but never refused a pilot when I could obtain one; a good pilot is a safe companion on the quarter-deck, and if he be not a good one, you soon discover it, and act accordingly. These observations are not intended to injure the character of the dead, but to forward the interests of the living; and if they should prove the means of saving a jolly-boat's crew, the end will be in some measure answered.

## CHAPTER XV.

Duncan commands in the North Seas—Russian auxiliaries—Trollope's action in the Glatton with five French frigates—Neutral trade annoying to Great Britain—Phœnix takes vessels out of Egeroe—Increasing dissatisfaction of Northern Powers—Mutiny of the British fleet—Its origin—Negligence of Earl Howe—Lord Bridport's signal disobeyed—Declaration of the seamen—Fatal affair on board the London—Many officers turned out of their ships—Pacification of the Channel fleet by Earl Howe—Mutiny on board the Venerable in Yarmouth roads suppressed—Ringleaders pardoned—Consequences—Fleet sails and deserts the Admiral—Ships at the Nore—Escape of the Clyde and St. Fiorenzo—Conduct of the seamen—Their demands rejected—State of Sheerness—Conduct of Parker—Threatens to take the fleet to the enemy—Effective means adopted by the government and merchants of London—Escape of the Leopard—Of the Repulse—Decline of the mutiny—Parker's order to the Earl of Northesk—Surrender of the fleet—Parker put in confinement—Trial and execution—Reflections—Clemency of George the Third—Official papers—Death of Captain of the Marlborough.

The command of the North-Sea station was still held by Admiral Duncan, whose limits extended from the South Foreland to Shetland, and from Calais to an indefinite distance on the coast of Norway. The admiral had his flag in the Venerable, of 74 guns, and under his orders from 60 to 70 sail of pendants, including two sail of the line of the smaller class, a Russian squadron of twelve sail of the line, and seven large frigates, joined him and obeyed his orders; but on the approach of winter they were found to be in so bad a state as to require great repairs, and were, therefore, sent into British ports; one of them, a 74, was frapped together, and in a gale from the westward was compelled to bear away for the Elbe, so that Great Britain derived no other advantage from these auxiliaries than the honour of repairing them, and supplying their numerous wants. They were at length dismissed as being worse than useless, but a few Russian officers were permitted to serve in our navy in order to acquire a knowledge of the profession. This was not an impolitic measure: they were all young men of the first distinction in the Russian empire, and the nautical knowledge they acquired could

only be slightly prejudicial to England in case of hostility, while the probability of such an event was placed at a greater distance by this friendly connexion. The Swedish nobles were admitted into the French navy upon the same terms, and a political attachment between Sweden and France has long subsisted. The detaching of Russia from France was of more consequence than her alliance with us; as Russia, by the means of her shipping, could greatly have swelled the number of an invading enemy, the constant threat, if not the object, of the French government. It may be added that the little instruction acquired by Russian officers in our service would never make Russia a naval power, while the refusal, in this instance, might have made her our implacable enemy.

Admiral Duncan cruised in the neighbourhood of the Dutch coast, and frequently came in sight of the Texel, where the Gallo-Batavian fleet lay at anchor, watching an opportunity to escape, which, when effected, generally ended in their capture in some distant part of the world.

The Argo, a Dutch frigate of 32 guns and 250 men, which we have seen chased into Egeroe with two brigs of war, had long been blocked up in the harbour of Fleckeroe, in Norway; the captain was by some means of persuasion induced to put to sea with his squadron, and sail for the Texel. He appeared off that port on the 12th of May, and was intercepted by the North-Sea fleet; the Phœnix, of 36 guns, Captain L. W. Halsted, was ordered by the Admiral to chase: she quickly came up with and captured the frigate after a short action, in which the enemy had five or six men killed, and about twenty wounded; on our side one was killed, and one wounded. The two brigs were chased by the Pegasus, Captain Ross Donelly; one was captured, the other ran on shore was wrecked.

A gallant action was fought by Captain Henry Trollope in the Glatton, of 54 guns and 350 men, against a French squadron of very superior force. The action commenced at 10 o'clock at night; the enemy waited in line for the Glatton to come down to them, in doing which Captain Trollope lost no time. The Glatton had been built for an East-Indiaman, and was armed with 68-pound cannonades, a species of gun with which Captain Trollope had been particularly successful in the former war. In 20 minutes he had silenced his opponents, and obliged them to retreat, leaving the British ship so disabled in her running rigging, as to be incapable of pursuing. On the following day Captain Trollope had a distinct view of the force which he had engaged,—it consisted of two large frigates, three corvettes or sloops of war, a brig, and a cutter: they had no inclination to renew the action, and the bad sailing of the Glatton prevented

his compelling them to do it. They retired into Flushing, where Captain Trollope watched them until relieved. He was very soon after appointed to the Russel, of 74 guns, and continued attached to the North-Sea fleet.

On this station there was little to attract our notice from the period of the conquest of Holland, by General Pichegru, in the winter of 1794 and 1795, until the year 1797. The Dutch fleet, and the commerce of the Batavian republic, were pent up in the ports of the Texel and Hollands Deep. The contributions levied on the merchants by the French far exceeded anything which they had ever paid to the government of the Stadtholder. Their young men of all ranks were indiscriminately enrolled to serve in the French armies, and they now found themselves united with France, in the full participation of all the burdens of the wars which the French revolution had stirred up.

The European powers had been either actively or insidiously engaged on one side or the other in this eventful contest; the Danes and Swedes, with some of the Hanse-towns, became the carriers of Europe, and reaped a great harvest. Their flags were, however, so much employed in covering and conveying warlike stores to our enemies, that it excited the jealousy of the British government, and orders were given to all the cruisers to examine the vessels of these nations with the most scrupulous exactness. These two powers, it will be remembered, had, in the year 1780, in conjunction with Russia, formed what was called the Northern Confederacy, or armed neutrality, whose object was to establish the principle "that free bottoms made free goods." This principle once established, the enemies of Great Britain would carry on all their trade under a neutral flag; that of a belligerent would never have appeared except in a ship of war. Independently of supplying our enemies with such naval and warlike stores as they could not always have procured, the British commerce would have been injured and the seamen in the king's service, by this concealment of the enemy's property, deprived of their remuneration of prize-money. The Danes and Swedes bore the restrictions imposed on this traffic with extreme impatience; but Russia, not being a commercial power, nor at that time in a situation to join with them in another league against England, they were forced for a time to submit. In the mean time Denmark used every means to annoy the British trade in the Baltic, to which our government submitted with a patience and forbearance almost carried to excess.

The coast of Norway is well known to be indented with secure harbours, particularly between Christiana and North

Bergen: in these the privateers of France found a sure asylum, and assistance in case of need, and, while protected by the Danish government, committed great depredations on our Baltic trade. Nor was it possible for the most vigilant cruiser to protect the convoys on all occasions, as they were obliged, of necessity, to pass near the Naze, on their passage in or out of the Sleeve. The privateers and row-boats, concealed behind a rock, or in some little cove, darted on them, either by night or day, and boarding suddenly, carried them within some jutting headland, or under the protection of a merely nominal battery, where a honey-combed gun, without ammunition, represented the power of Denmark, and established the neutrality of the port. This had long been endured by the merchants, when very serious complaints were made to Admiral Duncan, who sent Captain Halsted, in the Phœnix,* with verbal and discretionary orders to act as circumstances might require. The Phœnix was accompanied by a small squadron, and cruised off the harbour of Egeroe, not far from the Naze, where a French and a Dutch cutter, with three English prizes, had taken refuge. Captain Halsted sent his boats in and took them all out. The privateers, though vessels of force, surrendered without opposition; the enemy, as well as the Danes, cautiously avoiding the slightest appearance of resistance. The two privateers and the three merchant vessels were sent to England for adjudication; but, on a representation from the court of Copenhagen, were immediately returned to the place whence they were taken. Such was the temporizing policy of Great Britain, in order, if possible, to avert the dreaded repetition of the northern confederacy, which, at last, after every fruitless concession on our part, actually took place, and left us, from Archangel to Otchakoff, if we except Lisbon and Gibraltar, not one friendly port in Europe.

Ministers, no doubt, acted with great prudence in not precipitating the country into fresh quarrels. While France, Spain, and Holland were united against us, we were contending, not only for our own independence, but for that of all Europe, which was in danger from the inordinate ambition of the French nation, guided by a spirit of plunder, rapine, and devastation. Denmark and Sweden had neither the discernment to see, nor the generosity to acknowledge, our claims to their indulgence, while contending for the common cause. Events which followed each other, in rapid succession, very soon proved the fact that, but for Great Britain, those two powers would have become provinces of France, and, like Prussia, have been

* The Author was third lieutenant of this ship.

governed by a military prefect. To gratify the avarice of a few merchants of Copenhagen and Stockholm, those courts were willing to endanger their political existence, and throw down the only bulwark between freedom and despotism.

The naval arsenals of France were supplied with hemp, iron, masts, and yards, from Russia, Sweden, and Norway. Ships thus freighted became, to the British blockading squadrons, objects of the greatest interest: numbers of them were captured in the very act of entering the ports of the Texel, Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Carthagena: their cases were fairly and ably argued before the judges of the courts of Admiralty: both at home and abroad, the King's advocate on the side of the captors, the Solicitor-general and the most learned counsel for the claimants, were heard with equal indulgence, and judgment pronounced with an impartiality worthy of the best days of Greece or Rome. The decisions, which are all recorded, are, in general, replete with wisdom and acute reasoning; and even the neutral claimants themselves have often appealed with confidence, and have not been disappointed by the award of our judges.

Great Britain had no other resources for her supply of naval stores than those above mentioned, with the Adriatic and North America: from the former, France, our chief opponent, drew the principal part of hers. The command of the seas gave us the power to intercept them and prevent their reaching the enemy, and that power we used temperately for our own preservation. In 1796 the open hostility of the northern confederacy might have been fatal to our navy, as the quantity of naval stores remaining on hand was too small to afford a hope of their lasting to the end of the war; but the government, foreseeing that a rupture must inevitably ensue, provided an abundant supply of materials for naval equipment: ship timber was imported from the Adriatic, masts and hemp from North America, while not only the navy board, but also private merchants, made very large importations from the Baltic, and the number of British ships which passed the Sound in one year amounted to 4,455, chiefly laden with naval stores, corn, tallow, hides, hemp, and iron: at the same time the most rigid economy was enjoined and enforced in the dock-yards, and on board the ships of war. With these precautions the nation was enabled to meet the coming storm, and was in a condition, in the year 1800, if not to seek, at least not to dread, hostilities; while the trade of our enemies was reduced to the same difficulties to which Great Britain had been subjected at the conclusion of the American war.

If it were inquired what event, during the reign of his Majesty

King George the Third, had most endangered the safety of the British empire, few would hesitate to say that the mutiny of the fleet was, of all those that happened in that long and interesting period, the one most likely to have accelerated its downfal—it occasioned a political paralysis, which affected not only the kingdom at home but every foreign settlement or station where a ship of war was to be found. The belligerent powers which were already united against us, and the nations of the north, whom the artful policy of France had nearly succeeded in forming into a second armed neutrality, together with the states of America, all rejoiced at the flame of discord which had suddenly burst forth in the British fleet. "The tyrants of the seas," it was exultingly said, were at their last gasp, and the free and unfettered trade of the world it was fully expected would have been the first-fruits of our annihilation. Fortunately our enemies knew as little how to avail themselves of our disasters as they did of the true character of the British nation and her sailors, amongst whom there was always a wide difference between mutiny and treason. Instead of sinking under the threatened danger, the spirit of the King and the people rose with the occasion, and the trident was still doomed to achieve new victories in the hands of that power which, under the protection of Divine Providence, had known how to wield it with valour and justice.

The origin of the mutiny has been ascribed to various causes —to the machinations of domestic traitors, and corresponding societies,—to the severity or tyranny of the captains, and the secret influence of foreign enemies. These may each have had their weight in producing the fatal effects, but certainly severity in the captains was not generally, nor could it have been reasonably, complained of by the seamen. Most of the captains erred on the other extreme, particularly that highly accomplished officer, the late Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, at that time captain of the Queen Charlotte, on board of which I had been serving not long before, and where the want of punishment of the men was felt by the officers as a great evil. Having been a witness to the greater part, and intimately acquainted with the whole transaction, I shall proceed to state what were the causes set forth at the time, and which never were, and, I think, never could be, fairly contradicted.

Since the reign of Charles the Second, notwithstanding the great increase in the price of every article of human subsistence, no addition had been made either to the pay or allowances of the seamen of the royal navy, and it was well known that the rations were not sufficient for their complete nourishment: hence *one* of the causes of the ravages made by the sea-

scurvy in long voyages, where the men had no opportunity of increasing the quantity of their food. This dreadful disorder is now no longer known, owing to the improved and more liberal method of treating the crews of his Majesty's ships. The seamen, by means of anonymous letters, had stated to Lord Howe, the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, the hardships under which they laboured; but the noble Earl, ever deaf to the voice of remonstrance or complaint, coming in such a shape, had no notion of governing the navy by other means than the Articles of War; the round robins and petitions which he received were therefore disregarded and laid aside, without the subject even being mentioned to the privy council, or perhaps (till just before the explosion) to the board of Admiralty.

Anonymous letters containing demands for redress of grievances were sent in from most of the ships at Spithead, and in Portsmouth harbour, as early as the month of February. The mode adopted by the seamen for expressing their complaints appears to have been founded on an erroneous construction of the 22d article of war: fearful that the leaders in such a cause might have been selected as examples for punishment, they unfortunately had recourse to those means in preference to an open and manly representation, which no doubt would have received due attention; it must also be observed that a petition for an increase of pay, under the same plea, had been a few months before presented by the naval lieutenants, and had met with complete success. The 22d article of war states, "that if any person in the fleet shall find cause of complaint of the unwholesomeness of the victual, or other *just* grounds, he shall quietly make the same known to his captain or commander-in-chief," who by the same article is directed to inquire into, "and cause the complaint to be *presently remedied*." What then were the seamen to do? They evidently *had* a just cause of complaint, and had made it known in the only way they could consistently, as they supposed, with their own safety.

The triumph of Lord Howe over the captains of 1788 may have led him to suppose that he should silence the complaints of the seamen in 1797 with equal facility; unfortunately between the cases there was no analogy. The officers, ever diffident, except in their country's cause, having been refused the object of their prayer, sank into humble retirement and silent acquiescence: not so the seamen; with that rough and unpolished audacity which had been the terror of their enemies, they persisted, and obtained the redress which they sought.

Attention ought not therefore to have been withheld under the pretence that no signature was attached to their petitions, or

that they were signed in what is called a round-robin.* Had these been duly answered, by granting the required indulgences in the first instance, which were afterward extorted from the Government by force, there would have been no general mutiny, the lives of many valuable men might have been saved, and the navy spared the disgrace of a general insubordination; nor would the country at large have been subjected to serious apprehensions, amply proved by the fall of the Three per Cent. Consols to 45½.

The Channel fleet sailed from Spithead on the 3d of March, and soon after returned into port, when the seamen, finding their claims unnoticed, proceeded to seek redress in the manner which we are now to relate.

On the 15th of April (Easter Sunday), Lord Bridport, the commander-in-chief, made the signal No. 154, to prepare for sailing; the answer to which was three cheers from every ship in the fleet then lying at Spithead: the example was set by the Queen Charlotte. This ship, from the relaxed state of discipline in which she had been kept while the flag of Earl Howe was flying on board her, naturally became the focus of all mutiny, a character which she maintained until she was burnt off Leghorn.

The first declaration of the seamen after this open demonstration was, that they would not weigh an anchor until their just demands were complied with, "*unless the enemy's fleet should put to sea*," in which case they would go out and fight them, and then return into port and renew their complaints.

Against this explosion, though not unexpected either by the board of Admiralty or the admirals and captains at Portsmouth, no precaution appears to have been adopted. Every means of remonstrance and persuasion was resorted to in order to induce the men to return to their duty, but in vain; their measures were taken with a cool and secret determination. If any ship showed the smallest inclination to depart from the rules laid down by the leaders, she was immediately placed in the centre of the fleet, and watched with the most unceasing vigilance. Two delegates were chosen from each ship, and the whole assembled together in the admiral's cabin, on board the Queen Charlotte. Every man was sworn to be true to the cause, and not to yield until their utmost demands should be complied with. Yard-ropes were rove at the fore yard-arm of each ship, and a threat of immediate execution held out to any one who should betray them. Some officers, who had rendered themselves remarkable for the severity of their discipline, were

* From the names being written in a circle on lines emanating from the centre, so that no one appeared to be the first to sign.

sent on shore; but these were few in number, and soon recalled: the seamen mounted the rigging at 8 o'clock in the morning and at sunset, and gave three cheers; this practice was continued during the time the mutiny lasted. The Channel fleet was now completely in their power: the Admiralty, that had so lately slighted their complaints, flew to Portsmouth, and offered unheeded concessions; and a committee of the board made several ineffectual proposals to restore harmony; while the deepest consternation and alarm prevailed throughout the country.

On the 21st of April, Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole, went on board the Queen Charlotte, to confer with the delegates, who assured them that no arrangements would be considered final, unless sanctioned by the King and Parliament, and farther guaranteed by a proclamation for a general pardon. Admiral Gardner went on the forecastle, and told the seamen they were acting in a disgraceful manner. If, said that gallant officer, you will return to your duty, you may hang me at the yard-arm, at the same time placing his neck in the noose of the yard-rope; but the seamen showed no disposition to offer any violence to the vice-admiral, who was greatly beloved in the navy.

Lord Bridport, finding the red flag, or flag of defiance, flying on board the Royal George, ordered his own flag to be struck, declaring that he would never hoist it again. The seamen, equally enraged on their part, declared, as I was informed at the time, that it never should be rehoisted, but both parties became soon after reconciled. The ships shotted their guns, kept a watch constantly on deck the same as at sea, and confined the officers on board; but put no other restraint on their persons, nor offered them any violence.

On the 22d, the men, being rather more tranquil, caused two letters to be written, one to the Lords commissioners of the Admiralty, stating the cause of their conduct on the preceding day; the other to Lord Bridport, in which they disclaimed any intention of offering him personal offence.

This produced the return of Lord Bridport to his ship,—his flag was re-hoisted, and, addressing the crew, he acquainted them that he brought with him a compliance with all their demands, and his Majesty's most gracious pardon for all past offences. These offers, after some deliberation, were accepted, and the men returned with cheerfulness to their duty.

It was now generally thought that all disputes were finally settled, and the fleet dropped down to St. Helen's, preparatory to sailing; but on the 7th of May, when Lord Bridport made

the signal to prepare for sailing, every ship refused to obey; the seamen alleging that the Government did not intend to keep its faith with them; and the delegates had determined to hold what they called a convention, on board the London, of 98 guns, then bearing the flag of Vice-admiral Colpoys, who resolved, if possible, to oppose their measures: they, however, got on board; when the vice-admiral informed them that if they offered to meet in convention he should order the marines to fire on them: the delegates persisted: the marines levelled their pieces, and in this situation they were again admonished, but to no purpose. A scuffle ensued, and one of the delegates fired at Lieut. Simms, of the marines, and wounded him. Lieut. Peter Bover was directed by Captain Griffiths (the late Vice-admiral Sir Edward G. Colpoys) to prevent the mutineers pointing a main-deck gun aft against the officers. Bover executed his orders, but the seamen returned to the gun again, when he shot one of them with his pistol; for this he was soon after taken to the forecastle to be hanged at the yard-arm, and the rope was put round his neck, but he was saved by the interference of Mark Turner, one of the delegates, who had known him in a former ship; two other seamen were killed at the same time in this unfortunate affair. The seamen of the London, having now gained the command of the decks in defiance to the officers and marines, turned the muzzles of the foremost guns aft, and threatened to blow every one of their opponents into the water: in the mean while my poor friend Peter Bover was standing on the forecastle, awaiting the sentence of the mutineers. The admiral interposed, and very nobly observed that he alone was to blame, and not the first lieutenant; and that he (the admiral) had acted by orders which he had received from the Admiralty. The seamen demanded and obtained those orders. They then confined the admiral, captain, and officers, to their cabins, and made the marines prisoners. On the 11th, the crew of the London expressed a wish that the admiral should go on shore, which he did, accompanied by Captain Griffiths; and the crews of the other ships behaved in a very riotous manner, sending many distinguished officers out of their ships; among others were Captain Holloway, of the Duke; Alexander Hood, of the Mars; Thomas Wells, of the Defence; George Campbell, of the Terrible; John Nicholls, of the Marlborough; John Cooke, of the Nymph; and John Bligh, of the Latona. Vice-admiral Gardner was also sent on shore from the Royal Sovereign, with three of his lieutenants. He was afterwards requested by the seamen to return, but refused until these officers were allowed to accompany him.

The Channel fleet continued in a state of mutinous ferment until the 14th of May, when Earl Howe arrived at Portsmouth, with full powers to inquire into and settle all matters in dispute. His lordship also brought with him an Act of Parliament, which had been passed on the 9th, in compliance with the wishes of the seamen, and a proclamation of pardon to all who should immediately return to their duty.

On the 15th the delegates from the ships at Spithead landed, and proceeded to the government-house at Portsmouth, where they partook of some refreshment, after which they marched in procession to Sally Port, where they embarked in the barges of the ships of war, accompanied by Lord and Lady Howe, and some officers of high rank, and persons of distinction. Having visited all the ships at St. Helen's, they returned to Sally Port, where they landed, and Lord Howe, who was very infirm, was carried on the shoulders of the delegates to the government-house, where they had the honour of dining at table with the Earl and his lady. Everything now appeared to be happily adjusted, and on the following day the fleet sailed in quest of the enemy, under the command of Lord Bridport.

This was the last time Earl Howe ever went afloat; and it is supposed that his lordship's feeble constitution received a shock on this occasion which it never recovered: he died shortly after.

If in the origin of this unfortunate affair I have endeavoured to show the seamen in the most favourable light, and to point out what in my judgment were the errors of the Government, I must now present both parties in the very opposite extremes. Whilst Lord Bridport watched the fleet of France in the harbour of Brest, and preserved at least the outward appearance of good order, the fleet in the North Seas, under the command of Admiral Duncan, and that off Cadiz, under the Earl of St. Vincent, were in the highest state of insubordination; which, in the first, soon broke out into open acts of mutiny, and in the latter was smothered and entirely suppressed by the coolness and fortitude of the officer intrusted with that important command. I shall begin with an account of the transactions of the fleet in the North Seas, as being nearest to the seat of empire, and one in which the greatest atrocities were committed, and of which I was an eye-witness.

On Sunday, the 27th of May, the fleet under the command of Admiral Duncan, consisting of 15 sail of the line, was lying in Yarmouth roads, when about four P. M. the crew of the Venerable, of 74 guns, the flag-ship, mounted the rigging and gave three cheers: Major Trollope, who commanded the de-

tachment of marines embarked on board, instantly flew on deck, with his men under arms, accompanied by the officers of the ship, and in a very few minutes restored order and obedience; the ringleaders were secured to the number of six, and confined in irons: their speedy and exemplary punishment would have been both a wise and a merciful measure. But the admiral, remarkable for uniting in his own person the most undaunted courage with the most benevolent heart, forgave them, upon a promise of their never repeating the offence; and it must be owned that the crew of the Venerable, by their subsequent conduct, perfectly redeemed their character: the outrage, however, which they had perpetrated, had infected the surrounding ships, more prompt to imitate their bad than to follow their good example. On the following day the fleet sailed for the Texel, and were becalmed outside of the sands off Yarmouth, where the ships anchored, except the Standard and Belliqueux, of 64 guns each, which returned into Yarmouth roads "to redress their grievances"—such was the language of the mutineers; and at the same time some of them had put forth a declaration, that the seamen of the Channel fleet had not done enough—that they should have insisted on seamen sitting as members of courts-martial where any of their own class were to be tried—and many other propositions equally frivolous and incompatible with the good of the service.

It is a fact that, after the pacification of the Channel fleet, which consisted of the largest, best manned, and what were deemed the finest ships in the British navy, that of the North Seas, deprived of such auxiliaries, might, with the exertion of a little firmness and temperate punishment, have been reduced to obedience, and the fatal consequences which ensued have been entirely prevented.

On the morning of the 29th of May, when the signal was made for the fleet to weigh, it was reluctantly complied with, and such ships as did weigh returned into Yarmouth roads: the seamen of the Agamemnon cut her cable, though they did not refuse to make sail on the ship when desired so to do; and, during the morning, the rest of the ships got under sail, and stood to the eastward. Before 12 o'clock, however, all of them had deserted the admiral, except the Adamant, of 50 guns, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Onslow; the Glatton,* commanded by Captain Trollope; and the Agamemnon, commanded by Captain Fancourt. At 1 o'clock the two latter ships also mutinied, and, leaving the Venerable and Adamant

* The Glatton went to the Downs.

to proceed off the Texel, returned into Yarmouth roads. On board the Agamemnon little suspicion was entertained of an intention to mutiny till the people had dined, when they were called by the boatswain's mate, but none appearing, a petty officer came, and gave information that the ship's company had retreated to the fore part of the lower deck, and refused to come up. I was at that time officer of the watch, and fourth lieutenant. I acquainted the captain, who desired me to accompany him down to speak to them. We went forward on the lower deck, and found the men had made a barricade of hammocks from one side of the ship to the other, just before the fore hatchway, and had left an embrasure on each side, through which they had pointed two 24-pounders; these they had loaded, and threatened to fire in case of resistance on the part of the officers. The captain spoke to them, but, being treated with much contempt, returned to the quarter-deck. A few minutes after a number of the people came up; some seized the wheel, while others rounded in the weather braces and wore the ship, passing under the stern of the Venerable. The admiral made our signal to come to the wind on the larboard tack, the same as he was on himself. We answered with what was then called the signal of inability, being a flag half white and red over half blue and yellow, both horizontally divided. When the sails were trimmed on the starboard tack, and the course had been shaped by the delegates for Yarmouth roads, the captain went to his dinner with the officers, whom he had, according to the usual custom, previously invited, leaving me in charge of the deck, though without the smallest authority, if such an anomaly can be conceived. About half-past 3, Axle, the master-at-arms, came to me, and openly, in the presence of others, said, "Mr. Brenton, you have given the ship away; the best part of the men and all the marines are in your favour." I replied that I could not act by myself; that the captain had decided, and I feared there was no remedy. I, however, went into the cabin, and in a very clear and distinct manner told Captain Fancourt what the master-at-arms had said, and added my firm conviction that he was right, advising immediate measures to retake the ship, and join the admiral. His answer I shall never forget. "Mr. Brenton, if we call out the marines some of the men will be shot, and I could not bear to see them lying in convulsions on the deck; no, no, a little patience, and we shall all hail unanimity again." I quitted the cabin, and walked the deck until my watch was out, too much irritated to say a word more.

On the following morning we reached Yarmouth roads, and

joined three other ships, each having a red flag flying at her foretop-gallant-mast head; the Agamemnon hoisted one also, which was called by the delegates the flag of defiance. During the whole of this time the officers kept charge of their watches, the seamen obeying them in any order for the safety of the ship, but no farther. A meeting of the delegates was immediately called, at which it was decided that the Agamemnon and Ardent, of 64 guns, and the Leopard and Isis, of 50 guns, should go to the Nore, to augment the number of ships at that anchorage in a state little short of open rebellion, but not with any view of assisting or being assisted by the enemies of their country; and it is certain that, had these put to sea, we should have immediately gone in pursuit of them with the same zeal and loyalty as at the beginning of the war.

As soon as the determination was made known of taking the ships to the Nore, the officers of the Agamemnon declined doing duty, and retired to their cabins, or to the ward-room, where they remained unmolested, and were even treated with respect. The mutineers demanded the keys of the marine arm-chest from Captain David Wilson, who commanded the party; the gallant veteran himself, unsupported, threw the keys overboard, and told the delegates to go after them. They then demanded the keys of the magazine, which my gallant friend, Cutcliffe, the first lieutenant, refused to give up. The captain was then on shore. When he came on board he gave the mutineers all they demanded, and all that the officers had refused.

Before we left Yarmouth Vice-admiral Sir Thomas Pasley came on board, and endeavoured to prevail on the people to return to their duty; but no argument could avail with men who had so recently thrown off the ties of discipline and obedience. Having set forth the inevitable consequences to themselves and to their country of the conduct they were pursuing, the vice-admiral demanded of what they had to complain? A man named Patrick Shea, a delegate of the Leopard, replied, "That they were not allowed to keep the Sabbath-day holy, and that the fiddler had been ordered or permitted to play to them on Sunday." Such were their grievances. This speech cost the orator his life; he was hung at the Nore soon after, with many others of the same ship. The crews behaved with the greatest insolence to the vice-admiral, and, crying out "Down, down," all ran below.

The four ships anchored at the Nore about the 6th of June, late in the evening, under the entire command of the quarter-masters and delegates, the pilots taking charge as usual. At this time we observed a heavy firing of great guns and mus-

ketry from the whole fleet assembled there. A boat at this moment came alongside, and some delegates appeared on the quarter-deck. I inquired of them what the firing was about? and one of them, who I think was Parker himself, said it was all at the Serapis, which had run away from the fleet, and got into the harbour. This ship, it appeared, had followed the noble example set them by the Clyde, of 38 guns, commanded by Captain Charles Cunningham, and the St. Fiorenzo, of 40 guns, commanded by Sir Harry Neale. These frigates, in defiance of the threats of the delegates, and hostile preparations on the part of the ships near them, had boldly passed through the whole a few days previously.

It is impossible to describe the heat and irritation of the seamen at the Nore at the time of the arrival and the accession of the four ships of the line to their cause. The insolence of the leaders was raised to such a height that it was difficult to say where their excesses might end; and it was intimated by some of the delegates who came to *visit* the Agamemnon that violence might be offered to the officers and their adherents. Under these melancholy circumstances, into which we had been betrayed by the want of resolution and firmness in the captains of the four ships, and not by their tyranny, the officers prepared for the worst, went to their cabins, put their pistols by their sides, and lay down in their clothes. A seaman was placed as sentinel at the wardroom-door with *three* loaded pistols, two of which were stuck in his belt, and the third he held in his hand; but no incivility was offered to any one. I lay down on the locker in the wardroom. At sunrise I was awoke by the reports of great guns and musketry, and saw what I supposed to be officers and men hanging at the yard-arms of some of the ships. They were run up in the smoke of the guns, in the manner usually practised at naval executions. While hanging, volleys of musketry were fired at them; and we concluded that we should very soon share the same fate; nor was it till two or three hours afterward that we were undeceived, and informed that the figures suspended were only effigies meant to represent the Right Hon. William Pitt, whom they familiarly termed "Billy Pitt," and considered as their greatest enemy.

It appeared that the fleet collected at the Nore had agreed to place themselves under the command of a man named Richard Parker, who had struck the flag of Vice-admiral Buckner on board the Sandwich, of 98 guns, the guardship at the port, and substituted the red flag at the foretop-gallant-mast head, which he called his own; it was also worn by all the ships, though still acknowledging Parker's authority.

About 10 o'clock this man came on board the Agamemnon in his barge, with a band of music playing "God save the King" and "Rule Britannia." The corps of marines maintained its good character to the last, and, had they been supported, would infallibly have quelled the mutiny in the North Sea-fleet. A committee of delegates was constantly sitting on board the Sandwich, in the admiral's cabin: their table was covered with a union jack, a can of beer was placed on it, the members sat with their hats on, and ordered such captains as were summoned before them to be uncovered: this Captain Cunningham and others refused to do.

Previously to the arrival of the Agamemnon at the Nore, a scene both disgraceful and unprecedented took place at Sheerness.

On the 20th of May the delegates sent to Vice-admiral Buckner a statement of their demands, and a declaration that nothing but a full compliance therewith should induce them to return to their duty; they were as follow:—

Art. 1. That every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portsmouth should be granted to the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

2. That every man, upon a ship's coming into harbour, should have liberty to go and see his friends, it being understood the number should be limited according to the duty of the ship.

3. That ships going to sea should be paid all their arrears of wages down to six months.

4. That no officer that has been turned out of any of his Majesty's ships shall be again employed in the same ship without the consent of the ship's company.

5. That whenever any of his Majesty's ships shall be paid, if there be any pressed men on board who shall not be in course of pay, they shall receive two months' advance, to furnish them with necessaries.

6. That any seaman who may have deserted from his Majesty's service, and shall be now in any of his Majesty's ships, shall be pardoned, and receive *indemnification.*

7. That a more equal distribution be made of prize-money in ships of war.

8. That the Articles of War, as now enforced, require various alterations, and several should be expunged; and, if more moderate ones were held forth to the seamen in general, it would be the means of taking off that terror and prejudice against his Majesty's service too frequently imbibed by the seamen, and preventing their voluntary enlistment.

And the committee declared their determination not to surrender their charge until the appearance of some of the lords of the Admiralty to confirm the above demands. This paper

was dated on board the Sandwich, on the 20th of May 1797, and signed by the delegates of each ship.

The first of these articles was unnecessary, as the seamen well knew that *all* were included in the indulgences granted to the fleet at Spithead.

The second had always been granted whenever the service would admit of it; but it was impossible to make it an absolute rule.

The third was the common practice of the service.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth, were inadmissible.

The seventh, though at that time refused, was some years afterward taken into consideration, and a very large share of prize-money deducted from the captains and given to the seamen.*

With respect to the eighth, had the Articles of War always been enforced to the letter, there might have been some cause for complaint, but this was well known not to be the case.

The demands were all firmly and properly refused by the Admiralty, and a pardon offered to such as would return to their duty. Admiral Buckner, in delivering this reply to the delegates, allowed them ten minutes to prepare an answer; instead of so doing they took to their boats, boarded and brought the gun-boats out of the harbour, and carried them to the Great Nore, firing at the garrison of Sheerness as they passed; more, as they said, in defiance, than with a view to doing any injury. The mutiny from this moment assumed the character of rebellion, and as such the Government and the nation, justly incensed, determined to treat it.

The delegates and committee-men were still in the habit of going on shore at Sheerness, parading the streets with flags, insulting the admiral and all lawful authority, and making converts to their cause among the lower orders; this was soon put an end to. Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey were sent down to direct the naval and military operations intended to reduce the fleet to obedience. On the 27th of May a party of delegates had gone up the river Thames, and endeavoured to persuade the crews of the ships lying at Long Reach to join them, and drop down to the Nore; they were fired at by the fort of

* This has been done within a short period. By the King's Order in Council, dated 19th March 1834, a new and more equitable distribution is made; if it be just to do it now, it would have been equally so to have done it earlier. The chances of prize-money in any future war will be far less than they have ever been, to which we may add this important consideration, that, in consequence of the enormous reduction in the captain's portion, he, as the responsible detaining officer, will be very cautious how he sends a neutral into port for adjudication. Where a captain formerly obtained £6,000, he will now only get £1,000. The flag proportion is reduced to one-half.

Tilbury, and, having landed at Gravesend, were taken into custody by the loyal inhabitants, but by some means they regained their liberty. This lenity was, no doubt, intended to favour the officers of the fleet, who were in the power of the mutineers; and this explanation goes to the entire acquittal of Vice-admiral Buckner, who acted with the same motives as the loyal people of Gravesend. The men set at liberty at that place soon after prevailed on the crew of the Lancaster, of 64 guns, to join them.

On the 29th of May three lords of the Admiralty went down to Sheerness, and held a board at the house of Commissioner Hartwell; the delegates were sent for, and their lordships, finding their insolence increase with the concessions of Government, returned to town, assuring them that nothing beyond what had been granted would be offered by the Legislature.

The mutineers, with Parker at their head, now became desperate, and proceeded to blockade the mouth of the Thames; for this purpose they placed the Standard, of 64 guns, Brilliant frigate, of 28 guns, and Inspector and Swan sloops of war, across the river, from the Nore Sand to the town of Southend, and stopped every vessel bound up or down, except the fishermen and a few neutrals; the latter received a pass, signed "Richard Parker." The extent and value of the trade detained at the Nore was immense, and the consternation in London and throughout the empire proportionably great; it was at this time that the Three per Cent. Consols were at 45½.

Before the arrival of the Agamemnon and the other three ships at the Nore, Parker had been on board the Clyde, and endeavoured to prevail on the crew of that ship to take her up against Tilbury Fort; but this Captain Cunningham prevented, and his was the first ship of war that quitted the cause of the mutineers. The St. Fiorenzo next escaped: this ship was going with the Princess Royal of England to Cuxhaven; her Royal Highness, having been then recently married to the Grand Duke of Wirtemberg, embarked shortly after at Harwich. The arrival of the four ships from Yarmouth made the number of the rebel fleet amount to about 13 sail of the line*, besides frigates, sloops, and gun-boats.

The desertion of the Clyde, St. Fiorenzo, and Serapis, had thrown a damp over the spirits of the ringleaders; and however they might have effected to despise the act, or to rejoice at the accession of the four ships, it had very important consequences; it spread distrust among them, and led them to doubt the

* In the North-Sea fleet fifties were taken into the line.

firmness of each other; and every one sought, by indirect means, to make his peace and secure his own safety. This was the secret feeling and principle of action among all, except Parker and his most guilty adherents; hence the marked attention and kindness shown by many of the seamen to their officers, the assurances that all would soon be well, and the offers to convey letters on shore for them. The leading men on board the Agamemnon, not choosing to *resign* the situation of delegate, got drunk purposely, and were consequently dismissed by a vote of the ship's company.

About this time it was proposed to turn the officers on shore from the Agamemnon, but only the captain of marines and one midshipman were sent away. It was proposed to send me on shore with them, and the motion was strongly supported by my servant, a boy whom I had taken great pains in teaching to read, which I found he disliked, and who took this method of getting rid both of his book and his tutor; the motion was, however, negatived, and I remained in the ship a few weeks longer.

Among the various schemes and extravagant projects of the rebel admiral and his friends, none exceeded in folly and madness that of taking the fleet to sea, and delivering it up to the enemy, or proceeding to distant countries and selling the ships for what they could get. This was the last effort of despair, and upon its failure the whole spell was dissolved.

The conduct of the mutineers had now gone to such an extreme, that no compromise was offered to them; the energies of the Government and of the nation were roused; subscriptions were entered into by the merchants at Lloyd's to procure volunteers to man the ships and gun-boats intended to go against the rebel fleet; the forts at Tilbury, Gravesend, and Sheerness, were put into the most efficient state, and furnaces placed in them for heating shot; the buoys at the Nore and along the coast, down the Swin and Queen's Channel, were taken up, which effectually cut off the retreat of the ships. The Neptune, of 98 guns, Commodore Sir Erasmus Gower, manned with volunteers raised by the merchants, with the Lancaster, of 64 guns, whose crew had now returned to their duty, and the Agincourt, of 64 guns, with many gun-boats, were ordered to drop down the river, and prepare to attack the rebels.

Upon the return of the Board of Admiralty to London, a proclamation was issued for the suppression of the mutinous and treasonable proceedings of the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships at the Nore, and at the same time offering his Majesty's pardon to such as should return to their duty; and on the 6th of June two Bills were brought in and passed

through both Houses of Parliament, and received the Royal assent,—one for the punishment and prevention of any attempts to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces, by sea or land, from their duty or allegiance, or to entice them to mutiny or disobedience; the other, for the more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships then in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectually repressing of such mutiny and rebellion. These strong and active measures, the voice of the nation against them, and the seamen doubtful of each other, were the final causes of the sudden dissolution of this formidable combination. About the 9th of June Parker made the signal to prepare for sailing, by loosing the fore-topsail of the Sandwich, and firing a gun; the signal was answered by all, but obeyed by none. It was an awful crisis, which seemed to have brought most of these men to a sense of the guilt and danger they were incurring. It was blowing at the time a fresh breeze from the south-east.

To what extent the rebel admiral and his desperate followers would have gone, it is not easy to say; but it was evident, from the moment the signal was made, that the union which had hitherto existed among them was at an end. The great body of the seamen evinced a determination to resign the command of the ships into the hands of their officers: some immediately put it in execution; others only waited a safe opportunity.

The Leopard, of 50 guns, under the command of Lieutenant Robb (the captain having been sent on shore), had the distinguished honour of being the first to abandon the cause, after the infamous proposal of going over to the enemy was made known. This ship had been one of the most violent: but on the 10th of June Mr. Robb perceived a change in the dispositions of some of the petty officers, and resolved to turn it to advantage. Collecting the officers of the ship, and a few seamen on whom he could depend, into the wardroom, he turned the aftermost guns forward, primed and loaded, and placed trusty men by them ready to fire, should it unfortunately prove necessary; the wardroom-door was then thrown open, and, while it thus unmasked his battery, which commanded the main deck, himself and his followers, well armed, rushed forward among the people, and ordered them to surrender; some little resistance was at first offered, but soon subsided. An officer ran down with a party to the lower deck, seized the foremost guns which were pointed aft, and, by pouring vinegar into the vents, completely disabled them; the same officer awaited orders to cut the cables. In the mean time those on deck were not idle; a party went aloft and loosed the topsails, which in a few minutes were sheeted home, and the jib run up,

the cables cut, and she passed through the fleet, exposed to its fire, without sustaining any injury. Mr. Robb conducted his ship in the most gallant and seaman-like style up the Thames, and, when out of gun-shot, had run as far as the remains of day-light would permit. He then came to an anchor, and put 18 of the most daring of the ringleaders into close confinement.

The example of the Leopard was soon followed by the Repulse, of 64 guns; but this ship lay too far to the westward to weather the Nore Sand, and gain the river Thames; she was therefore obliged to run for Sheerness harbour. Unfortunately, the tide at that moment did not serve—it was about three o'clock—and there was not sufficient water to carry her over the shoal; this the pilot in vain represented to the seamen, who in this ship were nearly all in favour of the Government, and who, flying suddenly from one extreme to the other, insisted on the cables being cut and sail made; this was done, but, as the pilot had foretold, the ship grounded very soon after, and lay exposed to the fire of the whole fleet for the space of one hour and twenty minutes. Those ships whose guns could not otherwise be brought to bear got springs on their cables with a degree of celerity that would have gained them immortal honour in a better cause. Among these was the Director, of 64 guns, Captain William Bligh. The officers of the Repulse now saw that every energy was required on their part to save the ship's company, who had thus rashly committed themselves; the latter seemed also determined, by their coolness and good conduct, to atone for their past misdeeds.

There was not a ship in the fleet whose guns could be brought to bear which did not fire on the poor devoted Repulse. The leading men of our ship begged they might be also allowed to fire, but, to prove they had no bad intention, requested that Rowed and myself would point the guns, which we did in such a manner as sent every shot very wide of the object. This good spirit, however, did not pervade the fleet generally. For one hour and twenty minutes the firing was kept up on the Repulse as she lay aground, and never returned a shot. Her officers and crew in the mean time were not idle. The water in the hold was started, the casks stove, and a strong party sent to the pumps. In this manner the ship was lightened, and as the tide rose she floated off, and ran into the harbour, having received no other damage than the destruction of her lower and running rigging, some shot in her hull and masts, and only one person wounded, Lieutenant George Augustus Delano, who lost his leg. From this time the mutiny rapidly declined; the ships deserted, one after the

other, in quick succession. On the 13th the Agamemnon left the Nore, and went up to Tilbury Fort, with the Standard, Nassau, Iris, and Vestal.

While the ferment was at its height, and the Leopard was running up the Thames, the people on board the Agamemnon evinced a desire to follow her example. I was on the quarter-deck with the other officers; some delegates were on board from the Montagu, at that time one of the most violent ships; supposing that these men would corrupt ours, I went up to one of them as he stood on the starboard gangway, determined to put him instantly to death, and, clapping my pocket-pistol to his ear, was in the very act of pulling the trigger, when a momentary flash of reason checked me, and I commanded him instantly to quit the ship, which he, seeing my excited state, did with an agility easily to be imagined. I have reflected since on this rash intention, and have been very thankful that I did not execute my purpose, which could have answered no other effect than throwing the fleet into still greater confusion, and perhaps have ended in the death of myself and many other officers. As soon as this man and his associates had quitted the ship, our crew declared themselves ready to follow the Leopard. Our captain, a good-hearted silly old man, lost his head so much that we all laughed at him; but we obeyed the orders of Cutcliffe, the first lieutenant, who sent us all to different parts of the ship; one to the lower deck to cut the cables, another to the main deck to man the topsail-haulyards, and to run the jib up. Bones and Andoe, two of the mates, went up with me to cut the main-topsail loose, and while we were so employed we heard many voices exclaim "Down, down;" I paid no attention to this, but was cutting away the gaskets when I heard the words repeated with much energy by Lieutenant Rowed, who was on the forecastle, and who called to me by name; I knew him too well not to attend to his advice on this occasion, and, turning round, I took hold of the main-topmast back-stay, and slid down with greater velocity than I intended, but I could not check myself, and, when I reached the deck all the skin was torn from my hands, and the fingers' ends, in some instances, almost bare to the bone. The captain was stamping and raving, declaring that he had not an officer to support him; I showed him my hands, and said, with great indignation, that he ought not to say so; he replied, "Sir, you are mad." I made answer, "No, Sir, not mad, but you will soon make me so."

Finding everything in confusion fore and aft, and a great change in the sentiments of the ship's company since I had left the deck to cut the main-topsail loose, I inquired the rea-

son, and also why I was called in such haste from aloft. Rowed, who was a very fine gallant fellow, said he had called me down to save me from destruction; that the ship's company had been intimidated by the Montagu, which lay very near us; that they saw the guns of that ship pointed into us; and that they gave up, for that time, all thoughts of quitting the fleet. This, I conclude, was owing to the information furnished by the poor fellow whose brains had so recently escaped the effects of my excitement. There was no help for it, so we made all fast, and went to our cabins for a day or two longer. Rowed assured me that half a dozen muskets were presented at us by the mutineers as we lay out on the main-topsail-yard, and that was his reason for calling to me by name. When the mutineers of the Leopard were executed soon after on board of that ship, as she lay at the Great Nore, Patrick Shea was one of them: he was the man who spoke so roughly to Sir Thomas Pasley when that officer came on board of the Agamemnon in Yarmouth-roads; and he it was who complained that they were not allowed to keep the sabbath-day holy. All these unhappy men fell victims to a little want of firmness on the part of their superiors. While they were hanging at the yard-arm Captain Fancourt addressed his ship's company, and said that himself and his officers were all equally culpable for not having suppressed the mutiny by force. I said nothing to him at the time, but when Rowed, who was my friend, returned on board from attending the execution, I informed him of it, and then all the officers demanded an audience of the captain, and remonstrated with him on the injustice of the assertion. He could not contradict a word we said, and I told him I should write an account of the mutiny to Lord Spencer, and ask at the same time to be superseded and removed to another ship. This I did on the following day, and at my request I was appointed first lieutenant of the Raven sloop of war, of 18 guns, in which vessel I was shipwrecked in the month of February following.

Previously to matters coming to these extremities, the mutineers had endeavoured, through the medium of Captain the Earl of Northesk, of his Majesty's ship the Monmouth, to bring about a reconciliation with the Government. His lordship was sent for by the "convention" (as the committee of delegates assembled on board the Sandwich insolently styled themselves). On the Earl's presenting himself before this assembly, Parker addressed his lordship, and said that they had unanimously decided on the terms under which alone they would surrender the command of the fleet. These terms were con-

tained in a letter* which they had addressed to the King, and of which they commanded his lordship to be the bearer, exacting, at the same time, a promise to return on board within 54 hours. On the letter being read to him, Lord Northesk informed the delegates "that he certainly would convey it to the King, but he could not, from the unreasonableness of the demands, flatter them with any prospect of success." They persisted, and declared, in case of refusal, that they would take the fleet to sea; and his lordship received a written order, as follows:

*Sandwich, June* 6, 1797, *three* P.M.

To Captain Lord Northesk.

You are hereby authorized, and *ordered*, to wait upon the King, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates; and are directed to return back within 54 hours from the date hereof.

(Signed) R. PARKER, PRESIDENT.

His lordship proceeded to London, and, having first waited on the Board of Admiralty, was accompanied to his Majesty by Earl Spencer. The demands of the seamen were rejected, and Captain Knight, of the Montagu, carried back the answer of the Government.

On the same evening, after the escape of the Leopard and Repulse, the Ardent got away and ran into the harbour; she was fired at by the Monmouth, received some damage, and had some of her men killed or wounded, and even on board of the deserting ships sharp contests took place, which, in some instances, ended fatally.

The situation of Parker and his associates now became awful: deserted by nearly all their followers, they saw themselves on the point of being delivered up to the justice of those laws against which they had offended beyond any hope of pardon.

On the 13th of June the red flag was hauled down on board of most of the ships, and a blue one substituted in its stead. This the sailors called the "signal of agreeableness;" every ship that displayed it might be considered as loyal; and, last of all, the Sandwich surrendered: Parker was put in irons, and the next day the ship was taken into harbour, where she remained until the whole of the trials were over.

Here ended the general mutiny of the British navy; nor was anything of the kind ever after attempted. If the Govern-

* P. 453, vol. i. first edition; also the proclamation, which Parker styled "foolish."

ment, at the beginning, displayed any want of firmness, it might, under such novel and unprecedented circumstances, have been readily excused; its subsequent determination and magnanimity justly entitle it to the admiration of posterity.

On the arrival of the Sandwich in the harbour of Sheerness, Parker, and Davis who had acted as the captain of the ship under him, with about 30 more of the most active mutineers, were taken on shore, and committed to the black-hole in the garrison. On board the Standard one of the delegates shot himself when the ship surrendered, and his body was buried, as the law then directed in such cases, in a highway.

On the 22d of June a court-martial was assembled on board the Neptune, of 98 guns, lying at Queenhithe; Vice-admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart., was the president, and Captain Moss, of the Sandwich, the prosecutor. The charge of mutiny was fully proved, and some curious particulars were related in the course of the trial.

Vice-admiral Charles Buckner, being called as a witness, deposed that his flag had been struck without his orders: that on the 23d of May, and on the evening of the same day, as he was examining complaints alleged against two marines, who had been brought into the garrison by a party of the military, Parker and Davis came abruptly into the commissioners' house at Sheerness, and demanded "why those men were in custody?" informing the admiral at the same time "that his flag was struck, and that he had no longer any authority—the power was in *their* hands;" that they then took the men away to try them, as they said, for being on shore without leave. When the admiral condescended to remonstrate with Parker on the outrageous nature of his conduct, the latter replied that "he was not to be intimidated." The admiral produced a letter which he had received from the prisoner Parker during the mutiny, in which he styled himself President of the Committee of Delegates, stating that the Government had acted wrong in stopping the provisions for the fleet, and "that the *foolish* proclamation was calculated to inflame the minds of honest men."

Parker, being called on for his defence, endeavoured to prove that all he had done was for the good of the service, and that he had only acted with a view to prevent the seamen falling into greater excesses, that he had never treated any officer with disrespect, and that, though he was on board the Dictator when that ship fired into the Repulse, he did his utmost to prevent it.

The acts of atrocity were, however, too recent and too notorious to admit of doubt or palliation; and the signature of the prisoner to the *order* given to the Earl of Northesk was alone

a sufficient cause for his condemnation. The court, in two hours, returned the following sentence :—

"That the whole of the charges against the prisoner, Richard Parker, are fully proved; that the crime is as unprecedented as wicked—as ruinous to the navy as to the peace and prosperity of the empire: the court doth, therefore, adjudge the prisoner to suffer death, and he is hereby sentenced to suffer death accordingly, on board of such ship, and at such time, as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall appoint."

He listened to his condemnation with a degree of calmness and composure that astonished every one present; and, addressing the court, he said—"I have heard your sentence,—I shall submit to it without a struggle. I feel thus, because I am sensible of the rectitude of my intentions. Whatever offences may have been committed, I hope my life will be the only sacrifice—I trust it will be thought a sufficient atonement. Pardon, I beseech you, the other men; I know they will return with alacrity to their duty."

On the 29th Parker was executed on board the Sandwich, in the harbour of Sheerness. He died penitent, solemnly denying having any connexion or correspondence with any disaffected persons on shore, and declaring that it was chiefly owing to him that the ships had *not* been carried into an enemy's port.

After prayers, in which he was extremely devout, he rose up, and asked Captain Moss if he might be indulged with a glass of wine, which being brought to him, he took, and, lifting up his eyes, exclaimed—"I drink first to the salvation of my soul, and next to the forgiveness of my enemies." He then requested Captain Moss to shake hands with him. The captain complied very readily with his request, and he desired that he might be remembered very kindly to all his companions on board the Neptune, with his last dying entreaty to them to prepare for their destiny, and refrain from unbecoming levity. When conducted to the scaffold erected on the forecastle, he asked whether he might be allowed to speak, and, immediately apprehending his intentions might be misconceived, he added—"I am not going, Sir, to address the ship's company; I wish only to declare that I acknowledge the justice of my sentence, and I hope my death may be deemed a sufficient atonement to save the lives of others." He begged a minute to recollect himself, during which time he knelt down; then, rising up, he said—"I am ready." The fatal gun fired, and he was instantly swung off to the fore-yard-arm, the rope being manned by the crew of the Sandwich. Thus ended the life of Richard Parker. He was 30 years of age, of a robust make, dark complexion,

black eyes, about five feet eight inches high, and a very good-looking person. On his trial he conducted himself with admirable coolness and presence of mind. Having seen him on this occasion, and from the knowledge I had of his former circumstances from my father, who was at that time regulating captain at Leith, and by whose order he was sent round to the Nore, I have no doubt that he was at times deranged. In his passage between Leith and Sheerness he attempted to destroy himself by jumping overboard; he was taken up and brought to the Nore, where he was, with other newly-raised men, put on board the Sandwich: soon after which the mutiny broke out; he joined in it, and became a leader. That his conduct in this situation was most atrocious and inexcusable cannot be doubted; let us, however, do him the justice which his penitence fully deserved. No man, in his last moments, ever did more to expiate his guilt than Parker; his contrition edified, his example deterred, and his advice, given to his shipmates in the hour of dissolution, did as much to allay the spirit of insubordination in the fleet in the North Seas as all the other instances of just severity which afterward occurred.

The mutiny, when on the decline at the Nore, was revived for a short time by an exercise of that freedom of the press which exists in few other countries. About the beginning of June it was asserted that his Majesty's ministers had no intention of keeping their faith with the seamen*. The unfortunate observation, which was, however, uttered by a member of the opposition, appeared in the public prints of the day, and was eagerly caught up by the sailors, who just at that period were listening to the terms of conciliation held out to them; but, on the newspaper which contained the inflammatory paragraph reaching the fleet, it was conveyed like wildfire from ship to ship, and the mutiny broke out with renewed fury. The observation, like many others of the same nature, was not founded in fact, nor calculated to effect any other purpose than the annoyance of the ministers. Parliament immediately granted the sum of £370,000 to make good the increased pay and allowances to the seamen, whose condition was much improved by this act of justice and policy.

The King, whose courage never forsook him in the hour of

* When this sheet was printed and worked off in the first edition, Earl St. Vincent saw it before it was published; and I well remember his remark:—"What you say is true, Sir; he did say it, and it caused the revulsion of which you speak; but, take my advice, and don't publish it, whatever it may cost you to cancel the leaf. I don't say this because it was the speech of one of my own friends, but because I am sure it will do you harm." The party is now long since numbered with the dead, and, therefore, the mentioning the fact can injure no one. I took his lordship's advice, and did cancel the leaf.—AUTHOR.

danger, forgot not mercy when the rebels were subdued and in his power. The trials lasted four or five weeks after the death of Parker, and some executions took place; not more, however, than the safety of the country demanded; while about 180 prisoners were pardoned and returned to their duty, among whom were the whole of those who had been selected from the Agamemnon.

As the practice of flogging in the army and navy has lately engaged both the attention and the feelings of the country, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without recording my opinion on the subject as far as the navy is concerned,—an opinion founded on the experience of 48 years' service, including 28 years' active employment.—I perfectly concur in the decision of the House of Commons of the 13th April, 1836, on this important question. The limitation of the extent of the punishment is wise; but its utter abolition is inconsistent with the safety of a ship, and might, therefore, affect that of a fleet, and by consequence compromise the well-being of the empire. I admire the humane feelings which actuated those who have mooted the question; but, considering the defective state of moral training in a large mass of the seamen requisite in war, I am firmly convinced that the time is not yet come when this painful mode of enforcing discipline can be dispensed with. I can with certainty aver, in opposition to what was advanced during the debate, that corporal punishment was not named as a grievance among the complaints of the delegates: and it is a well-known fact, that good seamen are always dissatisfied, and very apt to desert from ships, where the idle and the disorderly go unpunished; knowing that all the hard work falls on those who are willing, while a drunkard will sleep away days and nights in irons, with three sober men abstracted from the effective strength to guard him. If we would avoid corporal punishment, let us train up our men to be ashamed of it. On this subject I have already said much, and shall probably, in the course of this work, have occasion to say more.

Notwithstanding their insolent and unjustifiable address to the best of Kings, the seamen, generally speaking, throughout the mutiny, conducted themselves with a degree of humanity highly creditable not only to themselves, but to the national character. They certainly tarred and feathered the surgeon of a ship at the Nore; but he had been five weeks drunk in his cabin, and had neglected the care of his patients: this was, therefore, an act which Lord Bacon would have called "wild justice." The delegates of the Agamemnon showed respect to every officer but the captain; him, after the first day, they never insulted, but rather treated with neglect: they

asked permission of the lieutenants to punish a seaman, who, from carelessness or design, had taken a dish of meat belonging to the wardroom and left his own, which was honestly and civilly offered in compensation. I need scarcely add that the poor man was protected, and the offer declined.

It was long before the fleet entirely recovered that sound discipline which, till the fatal mutiny of 1797, had rendered it the terror and admiration of the world; partial disturbances frequently occurred on board the ships of the Channel and North-Sea fleets, as well as on our foreign stations. Among others the Royal Sovereign, Saturn, Pompée, and Marlborough, were particularly conspicuous. The crews of the frigates Beaulieu and Phœnix had very serious disputes with their officers, but the whole were finally subdued by proper exertions, and the determination of the Government to put down the disgraceful and dangerous habit: a few men were tried and executed, and perfect obedience restored. Captain * * *, of the Marlborough, went to the Admiralty, where, his conduct not having given entire satisfaction, he was refused an audience; after repeated and fruitless solicitations he drew his dirk in the waiting-room, and, plunging it into his bosom, exclaimed as he expired, "I have always done my duty!"

We are now to revert to the affairs of the Mediterranean.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Description of Corsica—Theodore—Thanks to Lord Hood voted by parliament—His lordship sails from Hieres bay, and proceeds to Corsica—Loss of the Ardent, of sixty-four guns—Fleet meets with bad weather, and arrives in Martello bay—Troops land—Fortitude and Juno engage the tower—Description of it—It surrenders—Imitated in England—Forneille taken—French evacuate St. Fiorenzo—British seamen mount guns on the heights—Storming of the battery of the convention—Preparations for the reduction of Bastia—Nelson—Opinion of him—He is wounded—French fleet sail from Toulon—Bastia capitulates—Sir Gilbert Elliot appointed Viceroy of Corsica, which is formally annexed to the British crown—Surrender of Calvi—Capture of La Sybille by the Romney—Disposition of the fleet, and capture of the Berwick—Engagement with the French, 14th of March—Capture of the Ça Ira and Censeur—Disastrous effects of this action—Loss of the Illustrious—Lower-deck ports—Comparative force of ships—Capture of La Minerve by the Dido and Lowestoffe—Vice-admiral Hotham's second rencontre with the French fleet—Capture of the Alcide—Reflections on the action—Nelson sent to the coast of Genoa with a squadron—French send out squadrons—Richery captures the Censeur and part of the convoy—Resignation of Lord Hood—Death and character—Appointment of Sir John Jervis to the chief command—Importance of the charge—He sails for his station in the Lively—Concluding observations.

The conquest of the island of Corsica by the British forces, in the war of the revolution, renders it necessary to offer a short account of its political state previous to the landing of the British troops upon it for the first time in 1794.

The whole of my information on this subject is extracted from the work of Mr. Boswell, the friend and biographer of Dr. Johnson. He made the tour of the island in 1768, and has favoured the world with the only history of it upon which we can safely depend.

I shall not go back to its earliest records, conceiving it sufficient for my purpose to state that it had long been subject to the Genoese, who had purchased it from the Pope.

A prey to the tyranny of the republic of Genoa, and to internal discord, the Corsicans were often reduced to the greatest extremities. In the year 1735, Theodore Baron Newoff, a German adventurer, offered himself as their king, and was

accepted. He landed on the island in 1736, bringing with him a very scanty supply of money and followers; he assumed the functions of royalty, was proclaimed king, coined money, made laws, and defeated the Genoese. For a time Theodore carried on a system of imposture which would have been discerned in any country of Europe but Corsica. He affected to look for promised supplies as he gazed on the horizon through his telescope; but, finding his people begin to cool in their affection towards him, he left them, after a residence of eight months, and went to England and Holland: from the latter country he obtained some ordnance and other warlike stores, and returned to Corsica, where he landed them, but would not trust his own person, having, as Mr. Boswell states, murdered the supercargo to get rid of his importunities for the payment of the freight. After this Theodore retired to England, where he ended his days in want and contempt, having made over his kingdom as a pledge to his creditors: he died in London, December 11, 1756, and was buried in St. Anne's churchyard, Westminster.

The aged Paoli held the reins of government while his country was rendered a desert by the French and Genoese; and in 1749 an offer was made by the Corsicans to surrender their island to the English, who were implored to take it under their protection. This was declined, and the celebrated Paoli, son of the General, was in 1755 elected to the chief command. He did much to improve the moral qualities of his countrymen, whose treachery to each other had rendered them an easy conquest to their enemies. France interfered, not to save, but to crush them, by sending six regiments to assist the Genoese; upon which Rousseau makes the following remark: —"It must be confessed that the French are a cruel, servile people, sold to tyranny, and ever exasperated against the unfortunate: if they heard of a man enjoying his liberty at the other end of the world, I believe they would go there for the pleasure of extirpating him." Such is the character given of the French of the æra of absolutism by a man whose remains are deposited in the Pantheon of Paris.

The troops sent by France arrived in 1764, under the command of the Count de Marbœuf, who appears to have exercised his authority with prudence and humanity, and who continued in the island, the friend of Paoli, and the conservator of peace; he, however, kept the Genoese in possession of the important towns of Bastia, San Fiorenzo, Calvi, and Ajaccio.

The French lived in terms of harmony with the islanders, and obtained from them concessions which were favourable to

their marine, among others that of cutting wood for naval construction; and Toulon received lower masts and yards from the western shores of that island.

The influence of France over Corsica was so complete in 1789, that it was incorporated with that kingdom, and declared to be one of its departments. The advantages of this union were not so apparent to the Corsicans or to Paoli as to induce them to submit to it with patience; and they thought the internal discord of France, and the surrender of Toulon to the English, offered a favourable occasion for recovering their independence. Paoli, therefore, by permission of the majority of his countrymen, sent the invitation to Lord Hood which I have related in a former chapter.

On the day that both Houses of Parliament unanimously voted their thanks to Lord Howe and his fleet for the battle of the 1st of June, Lord Grenville moved in the House of Lords a similar honour to Lord Hood and his companions in arms for the capture of Toulon, and the destruction of the French fleet and arsenal. This was strongly opposed by the Earls of Lauderdale and Derby, chiefly on the grounds of his lordship's conduct previously to the evacuation. Lord Grenville's motion was at length carried by a great majority, after a very animated debate; but the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Albemarle, Lauderdale, Derby, and Thanet, entered their protest on the journals of the House*.

Five weeks Lord Hood remained with his fleet and land-forces in Hieres bay for the purpose of receiving provisions and wine from Gibraltar, Alicant, and Minorca, disposing of the emigrants not fit to bear arms, and making arrangements tending to the restoration of order and efficiency in the ships.

About the time he was preparing to sail his lordship received advice that the French had embarked 8,000 troops at Villa Franca, and were determined at all hazards, under the convoy of two frigates and some smaller vessels, to throw them into Corsica.

Lord Hood detached a strong squadron to intercept them off Bastia, and sent the Ardent, of 64 guns, commanded by Captain R. M. Sutton, off Villa Franca. It was while employed on this service that the Ardent took fire at sea, blew up, and every soul perished. Her quarter-deck was found with some of the gun-locks sticking in the beams; and the

* See Parliamentary Debates, 1794. In 1803 a debate ensued on the propriety of allowing prize or compensation money to Lord Hood's fleet for the capture of the ships at Toulon; it was finally carried.

marks of the splinter netting deeply impressed on the deck, left no doubt that the whole was the effect of explosion.

When Lord Hood sailed from Hieres bay his fleet consisted of 60 sail, including victuallers and horse transports, having on board, besides his own troops, about 2,200 of the unfortunate Toulonese. On the 25th February, 1794, at sunset, the fleet came within three miles of the isle of Capraja, off the north end of Corsica: on the following day a heavy gale of wind drove them to leeward of Elba: they suffered much from bad weather, but on the 29th gained Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elba, where a number of the emigrants were landed. After repairing their damages the fleet sailed on the 6th of March: Commodore Linzee had charge of the troops and transports, with directions to land them wherever General Dundas might deem it expedient. The Commodore proceeded to Fiorenzo bay, on the south side of which he came to an anchor to the westward of Martello point, on which stood a tower of the same name; the troops were put on shore that evening, and took possession of a height that commanded this fort, which the Fortitude, of 74, and the Juno frigate, of 32 guns, were ordered to attack. After having engaged it for two hours and a half, they were obliged to move off with very considerable damage. The Fortitude lost seven men, and was three or four times set on fire by heated shot,—once in the cockpit and store-room,—without having made any visible impression.

This tower was of an extraordinary and ingenious construction, about 50 feet in diameter by 45 high, and of a circular form; the walls were 12 feet thick; the parapet was lined with bass junk, a kind of cable made of grass, and the interstices filled up with wet sand: it bade defiance to our marine gunnery more, I conceive, for the want of good training than from the actual strength of the place. The force was only one 24-pounder, mounted *en barbet** on a sliding carriage, and recoiling on an inclined plane: there were about 30 men

* The Editor of James' Naval History, vol. i. p. 178, says it was a 12-pounder. I think he is mistaken, and say it "in the teeth of the official reports," because I remember very well seeing a model of this tower, with the exact account of its furniture and equipment. We know also that a 12-pounder is not a gun to use against a ship of the line; moreover, Gazette is not always Gospel.

The same author questions the term mounted "*en barbet*," which he says ought to be *barbette*. I consulted Boyer, who says, "Barbet is s. m. *Chien à gros poil, et frisé, qu'on dresse à la chasse des canards.*" The next article to this is "*Barbette*, s. f. a sort of stomacher worn by nuns." If I am not mistaken the term is taken from *barbet*, a setter or sort of dog which crouches in the grass, and to which the gun thus mounted is supposed to bear some resemblance.

in the tower, though three were sufficient to work the gun. Our troops, having got possession of the heights in its rear, brought their artillery to bear on it, and very soon compelled the little garrison to surrender.

There was a well of water within, and provisions sufficient to have lasted longer than an enemy could have lain in the bay. This tower was, on the evacuation of the island, blown up in the following year, a model of it being previously made, and sent to England.

So admirable was the defence, and so well adapted did this kind of fortification appear to repel invasion, that many towers were built on the accessible landing-places on the south and east coasts of England, and great part of Ireland, but without much resemblance to the original. This measure occasioned some discussion in the House of Commons, and was certainly considered by many as a very unnecessary expense. The ordnance department was not at that time so noted for economy as it has since become ; and the panic of invasion was lulled by the project of making England a fortified island.

A strong westerly gale on the 11th of March obliged the admiral to take shelter under Cape Corse, the north point of the island ; nor was it till the 17th that he got back to St. Fiorenzo bay. On the same evening the enemy's works on the heights of Fourneille were stormed, and taken with little loss on our part. On the 19th the empty town of Fiorenzo was entered by our troops, the enemy having retreated to Bastia. The whole of the troops landed on this service did not exceed 1,400 bearing arms. The battery of the convention was very strong, mounting 21 guns of heavy caliber, situated on the western shore of the gulf, and defending the town of Fiorenzo. The mountains which overlooked this post were deemed by many to be inaccessible, and probably few but Englishmen would have attempted to place guns in such a situation. In all conjoint expeditions of the army and navy the landing or transporting of cannon is performed by the seamen, after which the artillery officers mount the guns, and complete the batteries. At the reduction of Corsica this work was executed in such a manner as to call forth the highest eulogiums from General Dundas, the commander-in-chief of the land forces. " In four days," says the general, " by the most surprising exertions of science and labour, they had placed four 18-pounders, a large howitzer, and a ten-inch mortar, in battery, on a ground elevated 700 feet above the level of the sea, and where every difficulty of ascent and surface opposed their undertaking." On the 16th, in the morning, we opened our fire on the redoubt of the convention ; one battery

enfiladed this redoubt at the distance of 1,000 yards; another took it in reverse, at the distance of 800 yards. The enemy's redoubt occupied the summit of a detached hill, about 250 feet above the level of the sea: our fire was unremitting upon it for two days; we brought up additional guns, and the fire of the enemy appeared to relax. Corsica was at this time defended by the French, and part of the inhabitants.

The preparations made for storming being completed, it was carried into effect during the night by Lieutenant-colonels Moore and Wauchope, and Captain M'Kenzie, with detachments from the Royals, 25th, 50th, and 51st regiments; the 11th, 30th, and 69th, being in reserve. These gallant men advanced boldly up to the works, received three discharges of artillery, leaped into the trenches and embrasures, and carried all before them with the point of the bayonet. Until this moment our batteries kept up a constant and galling fire under the skilful directions of Captain Wilkes and Lieutenant Duncan, of the Royal Artillery. The enemy fled in all directions, abandoned the works of Fourneille, and on the 18th of April the British squadron anchored in Martello bay* in perfect security. Two large French frigates were lying in the bay of Fiorenzo during this attack—one was sunk by the shot from their own batteries, the other burnt previously to the evacuation of the town; the first was soon after weighed, and commissioned with the name of the St. Fiorenzo, and became one of the most distinguished ships in the British navy. Twelve hundred Corsicans, under the command of General Paoli, rendered every assistance to the English; a large quantity of ordnance and ammunition fell into our hands.

The landing on the island being thus made good, and an anchorage obtained for our shipping, the chiefs concerted measures for the reduction of Bastia and Calvi, into which the French party had retreated. The wild and mountainous country of Corsica is ill calculated for the display of military tactics, or scientific warfare: the savage natives from their rocks and cliffs are accustomed to destroy the game or slay their enemy with the rifle gun—a weapon peculiarly well adapted to the vindictive disposition of the Corsican; and numerous instances occurred of their fatal dexterity in its use. No sooner was Fiorenzo in our power than the forces which could be spared were detached in the first instance to Bastia, where they found

* Some of the Martello towers stood in this bay, but whether they imparted their name to, or derived it from, the anchorage, I have not been able to determine. I have been told the bay took its name from the myrtles which grow on its shores. Mr. James says the tower was called after the inventor, Monsieur Martel.

Lord Hood and part of the fleet, with some troops, already employed in the siege of that place. The enemy displayed great courage in its defence, and our countrymen acquired immortal honour by their resolution and perseverance in the attack. It was at the siege of Bastia that the talents and courage of the immortal Horatio Nelson first made him conspicuous. He was at that time captain of the Agamemnon, of 64 guns. In his disposition mild, unassuming, and gentle, he seemed to shun rather than court the public gaze, and in his private life he might have been passed over as a person of rather inferior talent. The opinion given of him to the author by a naval officer of distinguished rank and merit was, that "he was great in action, but little out of it;" the term "action" must, however, be extended to the charge of a fleet when on service. On the occasion which I am now relating he commanded the seamen who were landed for the purpose of transporting the mortars and artillery to the situation required by the engineers, and never was work of the kind more skilfully or expeditiously performed: the same, if not greater difficulties presented themselves here than at Fourneille. It was at the siege of Bastia that Nelson was wounded severely in the head, and lost an eye.

The French having with wonderful skill and industry equipped several of their ships, which had been left burning at Toulon in the hurry of the evacuation, put to sea on the 5th of June with a strong squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line, and five or six frigates; Lord Hood immediately went in quest of them. On the 10th, at day-light, he discovered and gave chase to his enemy, who, having the advantage of our fleet in sailing, contrived to gain the anchorage of Gourjean bay, a little to the eastward of the gulf of Frejus. Here a sudden shift of wind prevented the admiral's attacking them, and subsequent events rendered the measure unadvisable; leaving, therefore, Admiral Hotham with a squadron to watch them, his lordship proceeded to assist in the reduction of Bastia.

The capitulation, as appears by a letter from Lord Hood to the secretary of the Admiralty, took place on the 22d of May. Thus the island of Corsica fell for the first time under the dominion of Great Britain; the British flag was displayed on all its fortresses except Calvi, which had not yet surrendered, and the sovereignty of the island was vested in the King of England, to whom the people swore allegiance. Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Lord Minto, father of the present first lord of the Admiralty, was appointed viceroy, the British constitution proclaimed, and its laws declared to be those of the new conquest. There were many considerations which rendered the temporary

occupation of the island particularly desirable to Great Britain. The harbours of Corsica are certainly not the best, though its bays and roadsteads offer some shelter during the tempestuous season of the year, and were especially necessary to us at a time when we had no other friendly haven between Constantinople and Gibraltar; nor could it be supposed that France, a jealous, enterprising, and warlike nation, could allow us to retain undisturbed possession of an object of such vital importance to her commercial and maritime greatness in the Mediterranean. Sir Gilbert Elliot addressed a letter to the secretary of state from Corté, the capital of the island, dated the 21st of June, and informed him that the union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain was formally concluded; and assured him that no national act was ever more unanimously sanctioned on the part of those who were authorized to do it, or by a more universal approbation, amounting, as he observed, to enthusiasm on the part of the people.

The deputies, having met at Corté in sufficient numbers to constitute a national assembly, chose General Paoli as their president, and Messrs. Pozzo di Borgo and Muselli as their secretaries. On Sunday, the 14th, General Paoli opened the assembly by a speech, stating the cause of their convocation, and giving a brief summary of the events which had taken place since they had met in the preceding year. The assembly passed a unanimous vote of thanks to the general for all he had done, and formally declared, first, their separation from France, and, secondly, their union to the crown of Great Britain.

The articles of this union were prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose, and underwent a full and free discussion in the whole assembly; when having been explained to them by Monsieur Pozzo di Borgo, they were with one consent presented to the viceroy, and accepted in the name of his sovereign. His Excellency then proceeded by invitation to the assembly, where he received from General Paoli, in the name of the people, the tender of the crown and sovereignty of the island. The viceroy then took, in the King's name, the prescribed oaths to maintain the laws and liberties of the island according to the constitution.

In the mean time the siege of Calvi was pressed with the greatest vigour, both by land and sea. Nelson was here, and performed the same services as he had done at Bastia. Calvi lies in a deep bay on the north-west side of the island; it held out till the 18th of August, when it capitulated, after a close siege of 51 days, and a rigorous blockade by sea. The fort of Mollinochesco, situated on a steep rock, commanded the com-

munication between Calvi and the province of Ballagni, from which it was considerably in advance. The bomb-proof fort of Mozello, well mounted with heavy artillery, guarded the approaches to Calvi, which was of itself both by nature and art a strongly-fortified town. Two frigates lay in the bay, and supported by their fire the works of the enemy. These important outposts were speedily reduced by batteries formed on the heights, which, like those of Fiorenzo, had hitherto been deemed inaccessible, and the rapidity of their approaches baffled the calculation of the most scientific theorists. The frigates and all the vessels in the bay were compelled to take refuge under the guns of the town. Lieutenant-colonel (afterward the gallant and ill-fated Sir John) Moore, of the 51st regiment, with Major Brereton, of the 30th, proceeded with the cool determination of British soldiers through a heavy fire into the breach of Mollinochesco with fixed bayonets and unloaded arms. They quickly dislodged the enemy from their strong hold, carrying the trenches on the left with equal intrepidity. Possessed of all his most important outposts, and with batteries advanced within 600 yards of the walls of the town, General Stewart offered the commandant terms of capitulation, which were haughtily rejected, and the labours of the troops renewed for nine days more, when, the gun and mortar batteries being complete, a severe bombardment of 18 hours induced them to surrender, and the last remains of the French were expelled from Corsica.

The Melpomene frigate, with some smaller vessels in the harbour, were taken at the surrender of Calvi. After signing the capitulation Lord Hood returned to England, leaving the command of the fleet with Vice-admiral Hotham. His lordship arrived at Spithead in the month of November, and soon after struck his flag.

In the month of June the French frigate La Sybille, of 48 guns and 430 men, was lying at anchor with her convoy at the island of Miconi, in the Archipelago, which, being Greek, the captain concluded to be neutral. Whether in strictness of political faith it should have been so considered I have serious doubts; certain it is that Captain Paget, of the Romney, of 50 guns and 350 men, did not acknowledge the neutrality; he therefore ran in, anchored alongside the French frigate, got springs upon his cables, and summoned her to surrender; to this the French captain replied that he should defend himself as long as he could. Captain Paget, having his ship perfectly prepared, immediately commenced an action, which was well supported on both sides for one hour and ten minutes, when the republican colours were struck. The enemy had 55 men

killed and 100 wounded; the loss on board the Romney was 10 killed and 30 wounded.

The blockade of Toulon, and watching the enemy's coast during the winter, employed part of our naval force; the protection of the Levant trade, and the assistance of our merchants in different parts of the Mediterranean, occupied the attention of Nelson, Fremantle, and other distinguished officers: a squadron was stationed to guard the new conquest of Corsica; while the main body of the fleet cruised before Toulon and the Hieres Islands. Whenever the admiral was compelled, from the state of the weather or want of water, to put into port, he repaired to Fiorenzo bay, in Corsica—a bad anchorage, but the only one he could obtain, or resort to consistently with his duty. This bay is exposed to the north-west winds, which send in a heavy sea. The Berwick, of 74 guns, had her lower masts stripped without the proper precaution for securing them, by which neglect they rolled over the side: at no time could a ship of the line so ill be spared; and the admiral, conceiving that it had occurred from want of seamanship, directed the captain, first lieutenant, and master, to be tried by a court-martial, when they were all dismissed from the ship. In the mean time the fleet proceeded to Leghorn roads: the Berwick was left under the command of Captain Littlejohn to rig jury-masts, and to follow as fast as possible; and having put to sea in pursuance of these orders, with his ship as well equipped as circumstances would admit, he fell in with the French fleet: a running fight ensued, and every exertion was made to save her; but after an ineffectual resistance she was forced to surrender, with the loss of her captain and two or three of her men.

In the month of March, 1795, the admiral, having learnt that the French fleet was at sea, and very soon after of the misfortune that had happened to the Berwick, lost no time in going in pursuit of his enemy. He had a strong breeze at E.N.E., and had obtained farther accounts by the Tarleton brig that they had been seen standing to the southward, which induced him to conclude that they were bound to Corsica, for which island he immediately shaped his course. On the 12th the fleets came in sight of each other, when that of the republic was to windward, and ours could not gain upon them from the wretched sailing of most of the ships. On the following day they were still in sight. The weather was squally: a general chase was ordered; one of the French ships lost her topmasts; Captain Fremantle, in the Inconstant of 36 guns, immediately attacked and raked her until supported by Nelson in the Agamemnon, who did her so much damage that she could not recover herself; but they were both by this time

advanced so far from their own fleet as to be in imminent danger of capture by that of the enemy, who bore up to the relief of their consort. Nelson was therefore compelled to relinquish his prey for that time; and such was the superiority of the republican fleet in point of sailing, that with this disabled ship in tow our fleet gained nothing upon them. In the evening the vice-admiral made the signal for the fleet to form the line of battle on the larboard line of bearing,* or in such a position relatively to each other as to be in a regular line of battle when brought to the wind on the larboard tack. Let us suppose the wind to be due north; each ship must be brought to bear relatively to each other E.N.E. and W.S.W., so that, if they should be directed to come to the wind on the larboard tack, they would then form a line of battle a-head. The practical seaman, or any person commonly conversant with the subject, will easily apply this rule to any other points or bearings, always keeping in mind that when a ship is brought to the wind she is supposed to lie within six points of it.

At daylight on the 14th of March the crippled ship of the enemy, with her consort, which had her in tow, were observed to be so far to leeward of their own fleet as to afford a fair prospect of cutting them off, or of bringing on a general engagement. The enemy, therefore, came down to support these two ships, but evidently wishing to avoid an action. By this time the Captain and Bedford, of 74 guns each, were so far advanced as to have placed themselves between the disabled ship and her fleet; and so closely were they supported by the other ships of the British van, that the French Admiral abandoned them to their fate; it is but justice, however, to say that they were defended by their captains to the last with fury and despair.

The Illustrious and the Courageux both lost their main and mizen masts, and the rest of the van suffered so much as for a time to render them unfit for service. It appeared that the French fleet had troops on board for the reconquest of Corsica. The ships taken were the Ca Ira of 80, and Censeur of 74 guns; the first had 1,300 and the latter 1,000 men on board at the commencement of the action: each of them is said to have lost nearly 400. The French have invariably artillery-men to load and point their guns. In this action the Marseillaise frenzy was supposed to have been increased by the copious application of ardent spirits. Officers of the British navy who were present, and boarded the prizes, informed me that the scene was as novel as it was horrid. The holds were filled with dead or dying men, who, as they fell at their quarters, were tumbled

* For plate, and explanation of this term, see also vol. ii., 1st edition, p. 67.

headlong down without any regard to their condition; and four days after the action dead bodies were dragged out from the cable tiers and the wings. It was found, on inquiry, that not only were the people made drunk, but the ferocious republican officers stood behind them, and with drawn swords or pistols compelled them to fight: some in a state of intoxication bestrode the guns when in the act of firing, and with the recoil their brains were dashed out against the beams; while others chanted the hymn of the Marseillaise, and a scene more truly infernal was never perhaps witnessed.

Our loss in the action amounted to 355 in killed and wounded. The Tancredi, a Neapolitan 74, commanded by the Prince Carracciolli, had a share in the honour of the day: of this gallant and unfortunate man I shall hereafter have a melancholy history to relate.

The effects of this action were disastrous to the British fleet; the damages, under the privation of naval stores and convenient ports, were not easily repaired. The Illustrious, of 74 guns, which bore a conspicuous share in cutting off the retreat of the disabled ships, lost one of her lower-deck ports; this obliged them to keep her on the wrong tack, and finally to run on shore near the rocks of Avenza in order to save the crew, which they effected.

*Order of Battle on the 14th March, 1795.*

Van,

Under Vice-admiral Goodall.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Captain | Capt. Reeve | 74 | 590 | 3 | 17 |
| Bedford | (Now Ad. Sir D.) Gould | 74 | 590 | 7 | 17 |
| Tancredi (Neapolitan) | Prince Carracciolli | 74 | 600 | 1 | 5 |
| Princess Royal | J. C. Purvis | 98 | 760 | 4 | 8 |
| Agamemnon | Horatio Nelson | 64 | 491 | 0 | 13 |

Centre.

Vice-admiral Hotham (flag).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Illustrious | T. L. Frederick | 74 | 590 | 20 | 69 |
| Courageux | John Montgomery. | 74 | 640 | 8 | 32 |
| Britannia | R. Holloway | 100 | 839 | 1 | 18 |
| Egmont | J. Sutton | 74 | 590 | 7 | 21 |

Rear.

Rear-admiral Linzee.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Windsor Castle | (Now V. A. Sir J.) Gore | 98 | 755 | 6 | 30 |
| Diadem | C. Tyler | 64 | 491 | 4 | 13 |
| St. George | T. Foley | 98 | 760 | 4 | 13 |
| Terrible | G. Campbell | 74 | 590 | 0 | 6 |
| Fortitude | Wm. Young | 74 | 590 | 1 | 4 |

Frigates—Inconstant, Lowestoffe, Meleager, and Romulus.

*French Line in the same Action.*

| | *Guns.* | *Men on board.* |
|---|---|---|
| Le Sans Culottes | 120 | 2000* |
| Victoire (late Languedoc) | 80 | 1300 |
| Le Tonnant | 80 | 1300 |
| Guerrier | 74 | 1000 |
| Conquérant | 74 | 1000 |
| Mercure | 74 | 1000 |
| Barras | 74 | 1000 |
| Genereux | 74 | 1000 |
| Heureux | 74 | 1000 |
| Duquesne | 74 | 1000 |
| Timoleon (late Commerce de Bourdeaux) | 74 | 1000 |
| Ça Ira (taken) | 80 | 1300 |
| Censeur (taken) | 74 | 1000 |
| Alcide | 74 | 1000 |
| Souverain | 74 | 1000 |

Four frigates, sloops, &c.

The usual complement of a French first-rate is 1,000 men, and of a seventy-four 730 ; all above this number were troops.

The French had the superiority in weight of metal and number of guns and men, although our fleet had four ships of three decks, and theirs only one: their eighty-gun ships are noble vessels, and their seventy-fours carry their guns so high, as to enable them to fight their lower-deck with great advantage: if to these considerations we add their superior sailing, the naval reader will quickly perceive that we owe all our superiority, under Providence, to our officers and men. The French admiral got back to Toulon, and Admiral Hotham put into Fiorenzo bay with his prizes, where the Ça Ira was soon afterward by accident set fire to and burnt.

Early in June, 1796, Captain George Henry Towry, in the Dido, of 28 guns, nine-pounders, and Captain Robert Gambier Middleton, in the Lowestoffe, of 32 guns, twelve-pounders, fell in near Toulon with two French frigates, and, after a very gallant action, captured one of them, La Minerve, of 38 guns, but mounting 44 ; † the other, which was called the Artemise, of 36 guns, made her escape. This is a very rare instance in our service of an eighteen-pound frigate being captured by a ship carrying only twelve-pounders on her main deck.

On the 4th of July, Vice-admiral Hotham, lying with his

* This number of troops and sailors is not an improbable statement.

† When carronades were introduced, ships which received them put out a certain number of their long guns, to make room for this new, and at that time favourite instrument. At the same time they retained their former ratings. This was altered in 1817, when, by an Order in Council, ships were rated according to the number of pieces of ordnance mounted.

fleet in Fiorenzo bay, detached Nelson in the Agamemnon, with two or three smaller vessels, to cruise off Genoa; but on the morning of the 7th they were chased and driven in by the French fleet. The British ships refitting and watering were very ill prepared for such a visit: by the most zealous exertions the fleet was ready for sea in the evening, and sailed at night with the land breeze, but saw nothing of the enemy. On the 12th the admiral was off the Hieres Islands, where he learnt that they could not be many leagues from him. The signal was instantly made to prepare for battle, and on the 13th at daylight he saw the French fleet of seventeen sail of the line to leeward of him, on the larboard tack; it was then blowing a gale from the west-north-west, there was a heavy sea running, and six of our ships were bending their main-topsails, which had been split during the night. At four A.M. the British fleet formed on the larboard line of bearing, and carried all sail to preserve that line, and to keep the wind of the enemy, whose fleet was on the larboard tack standing *in* shore, while our fleet *stood off* shore and away from the enemy, until they were not to be *seen from the decks of our ships*. Such was the position of the two fleets (I have it from an officer present in the affair), when at eight o'clock the vice-admiral, finding it was the intention of the enemy to avoid an action, made the signal for a general chase—the ships to engage as they came up, and to take stations for mutual support. Unfortunately the gale was suddenly succeeded by baffling winds and calms, in consequence of which only a few of the van ships could get up with the enemy's rear, with which about noon a warm action ensued, and the Alcide, a French 74, was captured. The others, by a shift of wind in their favour, escaped into Frejus bay, while the English were becalmed in the offing; and the admiral was forced to recall some of his ships, which in the eagerness of pursuit had approached too near the shore. Half an hour after she had surrendered, the captured ship took fire in the fore-top; the boats of the British fleet flew to the assistance of the unfortunate crew, enemies no longer, but they could only succeed in rescuing about three hundred of them from the flames or a watery grave; and, while our boats and seamen were resolutely engaged in this work of humanity, her magazine exploded, and between three and four hundred men were blown into the air. Thus ended the affair of the 13th of July.

It must needs appear to the most cursory observer that the French fleet should have been attacked by a general chase as soon as discovered: the bending new topsails, when the enemy was dead to leeward, might have been done in running down;

and it is much to be regretted that time was lost in forming a line of bearing, which could not be preserved with any effect, as the admiral observes in his despatches, "the calms and shifts of wind in that country rendering all naval operations peculiarly uncertain." With this knowledge it was incumbent on him to have dashed upon his enemy, who he knew would not wait for him, and who must have been in a great measure unprepared. I have been assured by many very experienced officers who were present that nothing on that day was wanting to ensure the capture or destruction of the French fleet but the signal to engage at daylight, as soon as they were seen. The delay of making the signal gave them time to recover from their confusion; and when, after a lapse of four hours, the British admiral made sail in chase, the wind failed, and the opportunity was irrecoverably lost. The ships most engaged in this affair were the Victory, Rear-admiral Mann; the Captain, Captain Reeve; the Culloden, Captain Trowbridge; the Blenheim, Captain Frederick; and the Defence, Captain Peyton. Of the merits of this action, and of that of the 14th of March, I shall not presume to offer any further opinion; the conduct of the admiral was approved by the Government, and on his return to England he was created an Irish Peer by the title of Lord Hotham. The reader, however, will not fail to compare the treatment which Sir Robert Calder received in 1805 with the favours shown to Admiral Hotham only ten years before. The spirit of the murdered Byng might be expected to rise up in judgment against such inconsistency.

Nelson was soon after detached in the Agamemnon, having under his orders the Inconstant, Meleager, Tartar, Southampton, and Ariadne frigates, and the Speedy sloop: he boarded and cut out of Alessio and Oneglia, places in the neighbourhood of Vado, in the territory of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, nine gun-vessels and traders, without any loss.

The French finding that in their grand fleets they had no prospect of success against the superior valour, discipline, and seamanship, of our navy, sent their ships of the line to sea in squadrons of five and six sail, under the command of some of their most active officers; and it must be owned that they displayed great knowledge, and did considerable injury to our trade. Of all the French admirals Richery was the most successful, and to the day of his death eluded the vigilance of our squadrons, and never returned into port without a long list of captures or of depredations committed on our colonies.

In the month of September a large convoy was collected in the bay of Gibraltar, proceeding to England under the protection of the Fortitude and Bedford, of 74 guns, the Censeur,

which had been taken in March, and armed *en flute* with part of her complement, the Argo, of 44 guns, the Juno and the Lutine, of 32 guns, which sailed on the 24th, and ran through the Gut in the night. The Argo and Juno, with about thirty sail, very fortunately, although by accident, parted company from the Commodore and the rest of the fleet, who on the 27th, being forty-eight leagues west of Cape St. Vincent, fell in with Richery's squadron, consisting of six sail of the line and three frigates. Captain Taylor, the senior officer, made every disposition for battle, and for dispersing the convoy, but his signals were either not understood or very ill obeyed by the captains of some of the merchant vessels. The three ships of war formed in line with the intention of engaging the enemy, and diverting their attention from the trade. Just as this arrangement was completed the Censeur rolled away her fore-topmast, and, having only the mainmast of a frigate, she was rendered useless.

Captain Taylor then concurring in opinion with Captain Montgomery, that it would be better to leave the Censeur to her fate, both ships bore up together, keeping off the wind, and preparing their sterns for a running fight. The Lutine was directed to take the Censeur in tow, but the heavy fire kept upon them by the enemy rendered this impracticable; Captain Gore, of the Censeur, now left to himself, made a gallant defence: his means were, however, too scanty to admit of that display of courage and talent of which he was so capable. Overpowered by numbers, short of powder and of men, without his lower tier of guns, resistance was vain, and he surrendered at last to the united force of the six ships of the line. The Bedford and Fortitude kept up a good running fight with their stern chasers, and about half past two the enemy hauled to the wind in pursuit of the convoy, among which during the action the frigates had been making great havoc. The Argo and Juno with their division arrived safe at Spithead.

From the activity of the same squadron, and the numerous frigates and privateers sent out by the enemy during the winter, our West-India and North-American trade suffered severely.

It has been observed that Lord Hood was succeeded in the temporary command of the Mediterranean fleet by Vice-admiral Hotham, who had most earnestly and honourably requested to be relieved from a responsibility to which he owned his health was unequal. Earl Spencer had succeeded Lord Chatham as first lord of the Admiralty, and the name of Lord Hood was excluded from the new patent, it being intended that he should resume the chief command. His lordship hoisted his flag on board the Victory, at Spithead, in the

month of May, and was about to sail to his station, when a correspondence ensued between the admiral and the new Board of Admiralty, on the necessity of sending more ships to the Mediterranean. Lord Spencer thought that the force employed, if not sufficient, was as great as could be spared under the existing difficulties of the country, and the urgent demands of other parts of the empire. The admiral, not deeming his professional character safe with so small a force, expressed a very decided opinion upon the subject, and received permission to strike his flag, which he immediately did, and was never afterward actively employed; but as a reward for his long and meritorious services, and as a mark of his Majesty's approbation, he was appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital, which situation he held till his death, in 1816, at the great age of ninety-four years, beloved and lamented by all who had the honour of his acquaintance. He was considered to unite in his own person, and in a very eminent degree, the character of a seaman, an officer, and a gentleman: his conduct in the American war entitles him to be considered as one of the brightest naval ornaments of the state; he displayed matchless presence of mind at St. Kitt's, where he dispossessed a superior enemy of his anchorage. He was warmly engaged in the battle of the 12th April, and late in the day the Ville de Paris struck to his flag-ship the Barfleur. At Toulon, misled by cunning and hypocrisy, he was induced to promise more than he could perform; but the honour of England was always safe in his hands, and, however he may have been deceived by the arts of an intriguing enemy or a pretended friend, he never departed from the dignity of a British admiral. As an ample justification of his demand, the ships which were refused to his application were granted to his successor, who, even with that augmentation, found himself unable to cope with the maritime power of France and Spain in the Mediterranean.

The naval command in the Mediterranean was the most important, in point of extent and responsibility, of any under the British Government. The enemy had a very large fleet at their disposal; and the armies of the republic having entered Spain on the side of Roussillon, her weak and corrupt Government was induced to abandon the coalesced Powers, and at first secretly, and afterwards openly, to join itself to the murderers of Louis the Sixteenth and his unfortunate family. This disregard of her political interests and engagements was punished in the sequel both by France and England. A war with Spain was, on account of her wealth, always popular with our sailors, who despised her for her want of skill. The exclusion of our ships from her ports was compensated by the

capture of her valuable South-American and West-India trade; but, when her fleets came to be *united to those of France,* they formed a mass before which even the courage and talent of Sir John Jervis were compelled to retire. This state of things, however, did not long continue; and if for a short period we quitted the Mediterranean, it was only to return with redoubled force, and to add fresh laurels to the maritime fame of Great Britain.

Corsica was held only by the power of the sword, and the French were hourly on the alert to wrest it from us. The armies or the influence of the republic now covered Italy from the Alps to Otranto; the King of Sardinia trembled for his throne; Naples was at their command; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany had no alternative but submission. There was no port in the Mediterranean which the English might safely enter but Gibraltar, the distance from which, and the difficulty of procuring supplies for a fleet, combined with the selfish and mercenary cunning of the Barbary Powers, rendered the situation of commander-in-chief in those seas one of great difficulty and anxiety.

Government, however, had no hesitation in selecting Vice-admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B., for this important service. Never had the station of an admiral required a greater display of talent, and never perhaps were the King and country more ably, zealously, or honourably, served and defended.

Sir John Jervis hoisted his flag on board the Lively of 32 guns, commanded by the Right Honourable Lord Garlies, (the late Earl of Galloway,) and sailed in the month of December, 1795. The Rear-admirals the Honourable William Waldegrave and John Mann sailed about the same time to put themselves under his command; their flags were in the Barfleur and Windsor Castle, of 98 guns each: the commander-in-chief reached the island of Corsica early in January, and the duties and anxieties of his situation commenced before the Lively had let go her anchor in Martello bay.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Political retrospect and reflections in 1797—Acquisitions of France—Destruction of the balance of power—Success of General Bonaparte—Depression of the allies—Threats of invasion—Losses of France by sea—Stability of British Government—Failure of negotiations—Causes assigned—French and Dutch discontented—Dutch deceived by French Directory—Russia and England—Treaty of commerce—Politics of Rome—Battle of Arcola—Successes and battles on the Rhine—Neutrality of Prussia—Surrender of Mantua—Austria compelled to make peace, and resign Belgium—Observations on the state of England—Summary of British naval force in 1797—Farther negotiations for peace—Lord Malmsbury at Lisle—Proposals—Rejected—Farther successes of the British navy—Capture and loss of the Dorade, &c.

We are now arrived at an important period in the war of the revolution: the commencement of the year 1797 was an era which afforded a boundless field for political speculation. Great Britain had by her arms and her councils attained an eminence whence the politician and the philosopher might take a view of the effects produced and likely to follow from the contest in which we were unfortunately engaged.

That the power, the resources, and the courage of the French nation had baffled all calculation has been shown; her aggrandizement, and the proportional depression of her neighbours, had become matter of serious alarm. If the acquisitions of France, after the successful campaigns of 1794 and 1795, could not be contemplated without dismay, what shall we say of the rapid progress of the French armies on the Rhine and in Italy during the two succeeding years? What had become of the balance of power which, from the reign of Elizabeth, had been the leading object of European policy? That wise political system was now annihilated, without much prospect of its restoration, and, while France acquired fresh vigour and resources from the very war in which she was engaged, the energy of the Continental powers gradually subsided; and Britain, left alone, was loading herself with a debt which was likely to produce the most serious evils to posterity. General Bonaparte, at the head of his victorious legions, had gained for France in the course of one year no less than 84 battles, 14 of which were on a large scale. To pass by the

slain, he had taken 100,000 prisoners, and between 2,000 and 3,000 pieces of artillery; he had compelled five sovereign Princes, two of them Kings, to submit to his own terms, and had chased five imperial armies out of Italy.

The following is an outline of the territory acquired by the republic of France from the commencement of the war to the end of 1795: the Austrian Netherlands, the whole of Holland, the bishopricks of Liege, Worms, and Spires; the electorates of Treves, Cologne, and Metz; the duchies of Deux Ponts, Juliers, and Cleves; the little republic of Geneva; the duchy of Savoy; the principalities of Nice and Monaco, in Italy, and the Spanish provinces of Biscay and Catalonia. These countries together were supposed to contain a population of 13,000,000, and the whole of the people were generally well affected to the French republic.

From the repeated victories of their armies the French were considered to be invincible by land, and the disasters of the British troops in Holland had rendered it doubtful whether our soldiers had not degenerated since the days of Marlborough.

In 1796 and 1797 the superiority of France in Europe became still more apparent: she had an overwhelming force, and the population of the country was generally in favour of the strongest side. Prussia had withdrawn from the coalition; Russia, under Paul the First, was indifferent; and Austria, though still engaged in the war, was impeded in her operations by the cumbrous deliberations of the German Diet. The Princes of the league were immoveable until touched by the golden wand of Britain. Mantua had surrendered; Italy was overrun; the power of the Catholic Church was no more, and the Sovereign Pontiff was reduced to a mere magistrate of Rome. The hopes of the house of Bourbon and of the English ministers, from the rebellion of La Vendée, had been crushed by an amnesty, which for a time disarmed the loyal peasants of the west.

After our retreat from Holland, and the disasters of Quiberon bay, all idea of Continental invasion seems to have vanished, and we for a time were kept in dread of a reaction. France either pretended or was determined to land an army in England, whatever might be the fate of the soldiers of which it was composed.

We are now to see what we had gained by the prosecution of the war. If France had been successful on the Continent, she had lost every thing in a commercial and maritime point of view; her colonies in every part of the world were reduced, and her fleets had suffered four defeats, one in a pitched battle,

besides the capture of innumerable vessels by the British cruisers, which in every instance evinced a vast superiority of skill and valour; and while the trade of our enemies was either annihilated, or driven to shelter itself under a neutral flag, the commerce of Britain, notwithstanding the numerous captures made by the enemy, appears from the most authentic documents to have exceeded all precedent.

Confidence in the stability of the national resources increased with the demands made upon them, and the sums levied by Great Britain to meet the expenses of the current year astonished all Europe, amounting to between 40 and 50 millions sterling, while a redundant population afforded a plentiful supply of men to our army and navy.

The negotiations for peace at Paris had entirely failed. The Executive Directory, while pretending to be desirous of peace, threw every obstacle in its way. Afraid of their own victorious armies, they foresaw that the most fortunate general would seize the reins of government, unless kept at a distance by constant employment. Peace would have brought him to the capital, and they were too sensible of their own weakness to suppose that the civil authority could resist the influence of his vast military power and splendour, so flattering to the pride and vanity of the French nation.

That the rupture of this negotiation was entirely owing to these considerations, based on the inordinate ambition and selfishness of the Directory, can no longer be doubted. Great Britain offered to resign all the conquests she had made from France and Holland in the East and West Indies, requiring in return that the armies of the republic should evacuate the territories of our German allies, and restore Belgium to the Emperor. In declining this offer the Directory saw that they had taken a responsibility upon themselves which required an explanation to the nation, and accordingly they put forth a laboured production, which, though it might have satisfied the military and the Jacobins, appears to have been very far from convincing the people. The French and the Dutch both expressed much discontent at the rupture of the negotiation, particularly the latter, who had been reduced by their losses in the war and the stagnation of their commerce to the utmost distress. France had also drained Holland of her money by means of loans and rescripts; and under pretence of equipping an armament, to act in conjunction with Admiral Lucas at the Cape of Good Hope, they had received a very large sum, which they had most dishonestly converted to other uses, and had allowed the unfortunate Dutch admiral and his fleet to fall into the hands of Sir George Elphinstone. This cir-

cumstance turned the public opinion in Holland still more strongly against France, and produced results highly favourable to the cause of real freedom.

France and England prepared to continue the eventful struggle; Great Britain had in the year 1795 concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia and Austria; but the Empress, Catherine II., died, and left her son and successor, Paul I., to prosecute her plans of policy. Catherine, hating alike the French republic and the Austrian empire, was willing to allow those Powers the liberty of mutually destroying each other, while she remained a tranquil but not an indifferent spectator—determined, at all events, not to allow the French to acquire any ascendency in Germany.

The conduct of the court of Rome was at this crisis marked with bigotry, folly, and superstition. The Pope, without a soldier who deserved the name, expected a miraculous deliverance from the armies of his enemies, and set them at defiance: the battle of Arcola established the triumph of France in Italy, and completed the defeat of four armies by that of the republic under Bonaparte. Jourdain and Moreau were in the mean time actively employed against the troops of the German confederacy on the Rhine. These, under the command of the Archduke Charles, after many severe conflicts, compelled the French to fall back on Dusseldorf, and to raise the siege of Ehrenbritstein, next to Gibraltar the strongest fortress in Europe, standing opposite to the city of Coblentz, on the right bank of the Rhine, and at the junction of that river and the Moselle.

While Jourdain was defeated on the Lower Rhine, Moreau was more successful on the Upper; he made a masterly movement on Strasburgh, crossed the river, surprised the important fort of Khel, and secured a passage for the French armies into the fruitful and extensive country of Suabia. The Archduke, hearing of the success of Moreau, sought a junction with Wurmser, who commanded the troops of the Brisgau; while he turned to the south, he was again pursued by Jourdain and Kleber; these prevented his advancing, while Moreau defeated Wurmser at Renchen before the latter could receive assistance. Prussia, expecting a share in the spoils of the house of Austria, its ancient and inveterate enemy, quietly waited the event, and observed the most profound neutrality.

In the mean time the victorious Bonaparte reduced Mantua, and, marching to Rome, compelled the Pope to sue for peace. The continued reverses of the Austrians on the Rhine, from Strasburgh to Dusseldorf, produced at length the celebrated treaty of Campo Formio, by which Austria for ever resigned

her dominion over the country of Belgium, and received the republic of Venice as a compensation. With these untoward events on the Continent, our prospects at home were in no degree more cheering. Treason and sedition either openly stalked, or secretly lurked, in many parts of the kingdom; a general mutiny in the navy, and partial suspicions entertained of the firmness of the army; the public funds so low as to threaten a national bankruptcy; a Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line sailing from Carthagena with a determination of driving Sir John Jervis from the blockade of Cadiz; a Dutch fleet, under De Winter, daring to meet the good and gallant Duncan in the North Seas; and a French fleet, with a powerful army, preparing to invade Ireland, where the discontents of the people promised them ample support. Such were the dangers that threatened us at this awful crisis. All these dangers, however, were overcome by the united efforts of a virtuous monarch and a brave and loyal people; invasion was repelled, and foreign armies defeated in the heart of Ireland; treason punished; the fleets of our enemies were captured or destroyed; public credit was restored, and with it prosperity and confidence to the British empire.

The following is a statement of the British naval force in commission in the year 1797:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ships of the line . . . . . | 124 |
| Fifties . . . . . | 18 |
| Frigates . . . . . | 180 |
| Sloops . . . . . | 184 |

exclusive of prison-ships and hulks; besides which we had building 22 of the line, three fifties, and nine frigates.

The course of victory, after the glorious battle of Valentine's day, was interrupted for a short time by the events at Spithead and the Nore, but in October the genius of Britain resumed her trident, and Batavia felt the weight of her avenging arm; the elements disposed of the western invaders, and the Continental Powers began to awaken from the delusion of French protection. Even Naples, the effeminate descendant of mighty Rome, was roused to assert her independence; and though her army, under Mack, was defeated, and the Pope became a vassal of France, the attempt was useful to the cause of the allies and to the liberty of Europe.

Although the negotiations had been so abruptly broken off by the Directory in the preceding year, the British Government was still desirous of peace, if it could be obtained on fair and honourable terms. Lord Malmsbury was again named to conduct the negotiation, and Lisle the place to which the pleni-

potentiaries were to repair; but, as the Directory were never sincere in their desire for peace, the negotiations ended in nothing, and Lord Malmsbury returned to England. There can be no doubt that the mutiny of the British fleet, and the prospect of a speedy rebellion in Ireland, encouraged the French Government to hope for greater advantages by protracting the war. After this failure to bring about a peace, England renewed the war with increased alacrity.

January 13th, Sir Edward Pellew, in the Indefatigable, with Captain Reynolds in the Amazon, of 38 guns, discovered at noon a ship of war running in for Brest under easy sail. By six o'clock the Indefatigable was alongside of the enemy, a ship of 74 guns. A severe action commenced; the Amazon came up, and both ships engaged her in a running fight with a heavy sea until four o'clock in the morning, when land was discovered, and the Indefatigable, with masts and rigging cut to pieces, and four feet water in the hold, had only time to haul to the southward and clear the breakers, but soon saw them again. Daylight was now looked for with a solicitude which can never be described, and known only to those who have had charge of ships in similar situations. At length it came, and showed them their own danger, and the melancholy fate of their gallant and unfortunate enemy; the ships were in Hodierne bay, the Penmarks were without them, and their opponent lay on her beam-ends upon the rocks near the main land, with a tremendous sea beating over her. "The miserable fate of her brave but unhappy crew (says Sir Edward) was perhaps the more severely lamented by us, from the apprehension of suffering a similar misfortune." After ten hours' fighting, exhausted by fatigue, every exertion was made, every nerve strained, to save the ship, which providentially weathered the Penmark-rocks by the distance of only half a mile. The Amazon had hauled her wind to the northward when the Indefatigable stood to the southward, and the latter did not know for some time what had been the fate of her consort. The enemy's ship, which proved to be the Droits de l'Homme, was totally lost, with 800 of her people. The Amazon was also lost, but fortunately the lives of her crew were saved, who, with the true spirit of the British bull-dog, pursued their enemy, and held him even in the pangs of death. The brave Captain Reynolds was soon after exchanged, tried by a court-martial, most honourably acquitted, and appointed to another ship.

In the month of October the Amphion, of 32 guns, Captain Israel Pellew, lying lashed alongside the sheer hulk in the harbour of Hamoaze to refit, took fire between three and four o'clock

in the afternoon, and instantly blew up. The captain, Captain Swaffield, of the royal navy, Mr. Muir, the first lieutenant, and another person, were dining in the cabin at the time. Captain Pellew jumped or was blown out of the quarter-gallery window. Mr. Muir informed me that he threw himself out of the stern window, and fell much bruised into the jolly-boat. Captain Swaffield perished, as did the other person, and most of the crew. The ship instantly went down, leaving part of the wreck hanging by the lashing to the sheer hulk: the number of lives lost I never ascertained. In consequence of this accident it was ordered that no ship should come into harbour with her powder on board. The catastrophe was supposed to have been occasioned by the gunner or some of his crew selling powder out of the magazine. The Ardent, the Resistance, and the Cormorant, are the only British ships in the course of the long war I know of having been lost by sudden explosion.

Never did the political atmosphere lower in more threatening clouds upon the British islands than at the commencement of this year. The war, which had now been carried on since January, 1793, was getting unpopular in England: France, Spain, and Holland, were united against us; and, though each of these Powers had seen the destruction of their commerce and marine, yet they had sufficient strength to give us constant uneasiness, and to require all the forces of the empire to guard our foreign conquests and settlements, as well as to watch over a much more vital part. Austria, by the treaty of Campo Formio, had made her peace with France, and left us to contend alone against the overgrown republic and her allies. By this treaty the Emperor ceded to France in full sovereignty the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and consented to their keeping possession of the Venetian islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and Corfu, and all other islands in the Adriatic, together with the settlements in Albania, south-east of the gulf of Lodrino: he acknowledged the Cisalpine republic, ceding at the same time the sovereignty of the countries that had belonged to Austria in Lombardy, gave up Bergamo, Brescia, the duchies of Mantua and Modena, the principalities of Massa and Carrara, and the cities and territories of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, lately belonging to the Pope. In return for these benefits France ceded to Austria the countries of Istria and Dalmatia, with the Venetian islands in the Adriatic lying southward of the gulf of Lodrino; the city of Venice, with a large portion of the dominions of that republic, chiefly those between the Tyrol, the lake of Guarda, and the Adriatic; and, in order to define the neutrality of the two

Powers, it was stipulated that neither party should assist the enemies of the other, and that no more than six ships of war of any belligerent should be permitted to enter the ports of France and Austria during the present war: by this treaty the Rhine became the boundary between France and Germany. All this was the work of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Ireland, from causes which it is not in my power nor consistent with my plan to state, was at this time on the eve of a rebellion, and the landing of a French army was to have been the signal of an extensive revolt.

The National Convention, as remarkable for hatred to this country as for the secrecy and determination with which it carried on its foreign expeditions, had equipped a strong fleet in Brest, and had embarked 20,000 men under the command of General Hoche. The time they chose for putting to sea was late in December, 1796, when the greatest part of the Channel fleet was in port refitting, and we had nothing at sea but our flying squadrons. Eight sail of the line and nine smaller ships had anchored in Bantry bay on the 24th of December, and remained there without any attempt to land until the 27th, when they quitted that place with a strong gale at S.S.E.; they returned to it again in the course of two or three days, and again put to sea without attempting to land. The whole country was up in arms to receive them, but in a very different manner from what they had been led to expect. Their fleet, badly equipped, and never well conducted in point of practical seamanship, was dispersed and dismasted; some came on shore on the west coast of Ireland, where the crews perished or were taken prisoners; some foundered at sea, and many were brought into British ports. In the month of February three French frigates landed a body of 1,500 men at Fisgard, in Wales, not far from Haverfordwest; the militia of the country, under Lord Cawdor, were quickly assembled, and these invaders, without firing a shot, were all surrounded and taken prisoners. Upon investigation they turned out to be convicts, who had been landed with a promise of freedom if they performed any important service. They were put on shore without any cannon, and on the approach of our militia the second officer in command of this respectable corps came up with a letter, and begged to capitulate. The frigates from which they had disembarked never waited to see the result of their expedition. Upon the whole this was an inhuman attempt to disturb the internal tranquillity of a country by means the most atrocious, by turning into its bosom the most abandoned miscreants, the outcasts of civilized society, familiarized to blood and rapine, and strangers to every moral feeling of humanity.

These men were all re-embarked, and landed on the coast of France, to the southward of L'Orient.

Whatever hopes the Directory might have entertained from these malignant schemes, they reaped no advantage from them; they served only to produce the highest expression of loyalty and attachment to our beloved Sovereign and our invaluable constitution. The throne was the rallying point, and those who were before desponding or wavering now became firm and animated in their tone and actions.

This French fleet being at sea was, until certain accounts were received of its destination and fate, a subject on which the mind of the nation was fixed with anxious suspense. As soon as it was known that the armament had sailed from Brest, the greatest exertion was made to forward the fleet from Spithead, under the command of Lord Bridport. The Almighty seems peculiarly to have favoured the British empire during this eventful period; and I shall now recount the particulars of the defeat and destruction of the invaders. The first of their ships taken was by Captain Stirling, in the Jason. She was a transport loaded with troops and warlike stores, and called the Suffrein. The prisoners stated that the fleet with which they sailed from Brest on the 16th of December consisted of 16 sail of the line, with transports having on board 20,000 troops.

By a letter from Sir G. K. Elphinstone we find it stated that the French frigate Impatiente had been driven on shore at Crookhaven, in Ireland, in a gale of wind, at one o'clock in the morning of the 30th of December, 1796, and that, out of 320 seamen and 250 soldiers, only seven men were saved. She was a frigate of the largest class, carrying 24-pounders, and one of Hoche's division.

January 5th, Captain Lumsdaine, in the Polyphemus, captured La Tortue, a ship of the same size, with 625 men on board. He also captured a transport full of troops; but being leaky, and night coming on, she was given up, and is supposed to have foundered with all hands. La Scævola, another French frigate, had foundered in the same manner.

The Unicorn, Doris, and Druid, captured La Ville de L'Orient, having on board 400 of the enemy's hussars, with complete equipments, besides cannon, mortars, muskets, powder, clothing, &c.

Captain Barlow, in the Phœbe, took the Atalante, of 16 guns, and 112 men.

The Spitfire captured La Légére, a brig of 200 tons, loaded with ammunition and intrenching tools. Sir Thomas Williams, in the Unicorn, captured L'Eclair, a French brig of war, of 18 guns and 120 men.

The Directory, undismayed by the failure of their expedition against Ireland, and the disasters of their fleet, issued a proclamation to the troops embarked, and acquainted them that another attempt would be made as soon as the return of fine weather would admit.

Lord Bridport, with the fleet under his command, from the causes already stated, was unable to reach his station off Brest till early in January, when he detached the St. Fiorenzo, of 40 guns, commanded by Captain Sir Harry Neale, and the Nymph, of 36 guns, by Captain John Cook, to reconnoitre the enemy's port. The wind being to the northward, these two ships stood close in, and, returning to join the fleet, met with and captured, after a very short but spirited action, La Resistance and La Constance, two French frigates; the former the largest out of France, mounting 28 24-pounders on her main deck, and having a complement of 343 men. These were two of the three ships which had landed the convicts in Wales, and were on their way back to Brest from that dishonourable duty. The British frigates fell upon them with irresistible skill and valour, which carried all before them. The name of La Resistance was changed to that of Fisgard, in commemoration of their disgraceful attempt on that town. The enemy had 18 killed and 14 wounded; on our side none were hurt. From their fleet and batteries the French beheld the transaction, while the British fleet in the offing were witnesses to the valour of their companions in arms.

The squadrons under Sir John Warren, and other active officers, pursued their enemy into every port and creek, from one extreme of their coast to the other; and it might be said that from the Ems to Trieste they were kept in a state of constant alarm, and saw with regret the triumph of the British navy, and the destruction or capture of their "ships, commerce, and colonies."

Sir John Warren, cruising off Ushant, in the month of July, fell in at daylight, off the west end of the Saints, with a frigate, a ship-corvette, and a brig, with 14 sail of vessels under convoy; eight of these latter he captured; the frigate, and a brig laden with ordnance and naval stores, he sunk; the rest escaped. The frigate was called La Calliope, mounting 36 guns, and 300 men. Captain John Chambers White, of the Sylph, anchored his brig within pistol-shot of the enemy's frigate, as she lay on shore, and completely destroyed her.

Sir John soon after drove on shore, near the Sable d'Olonne, an enemy's convoy, and destroyed a gun-boat, and a cutter of 18 guns and 100 men.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Affairs of Italy—Blockade of the enemy's coast—Evacuation of Leghorn —Capture of Elba—Difficult situation of the Admiral—Neutral trade —Evacuation of Corsica—Retreat to Gibraltar—Loss of the Courageux, and escape of the Gibraltar—Sir John Jervis arrives at Lisbon—Loss of the Bombay Castle—Evacuation of Elba—Capture of the Mahonesa—Capture of the Nemesis and Sardine—Siege of Mantua raised—Mediterranean Passes—Action of Terpsichore and Vestal—Conduct of the court of Portugal—Sir William Parker joins Sir John Jervis with six sail of the line—The St. George gets on shore, and is rendered for the time unserviceable—The admiral proceeds off Cape St. Vincent—Nelson and Cockburn at Larma Bay—Their action with the Spanish frigates, and escape from the Spanish fleet—Sir John Jervis gains intelligence of the enemy—Battle of the 14th February, 1797—Dispute between Lord Nelson and Sir William Parker—Coolness between Lord Nelson and Sir James Saumarez—Remarks on the public letter of Sir John Jervis; he is created Earl of St. Vincent—Honours bestowed on other officers — Collingwood's two medals——Anecdote of Nelson—Disgrace of the Spanish Admiral, Don Josef de Cordova—Official despatch—List of ships, and killed and wounded.

While Sir John Jervis was watching the progress of the French arms in the south of Europe, the British fleet of 15 sail of the line, under his command, lay at anchor for a short time in Fiorenzo bay, whence the admiral kept up a constant correspondence with the viceroy, Sir Gilbert Elliot; and it required every exertion of these skilful men to guard the honour and support the interests of Great Britain and her allies in the Mediterranean.

The French general, Bonaparte, in the month of April, had entered the territory of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and, after pretending to respect the neutrality of that state, assumed the civil and military government, and fired on British vessels approaching Leghorn. In the mean time a rigorous blockade of that port, and the whole of the French, Genoese, and Tuscan coast, was commenced by the admiral, who selected Nelson and Trowbridge for that service, and gave to each a small squadron, with which they kept the coast in a constant state of alarm. Trowbridge, in the Culloden, was stationed off Toulon, and Nelson, in the Captain, off Leghorn, where he was pursuing

that career of glory which shone with increasing brightness until "he expired in the arms of victory*."

In the month of June, while Sir John Jervis was cruising with his fleet before Toulon, he ordered Captain M'Namara, of the Southampton, to go in chase of a French corvette, which took refuge from her pursuers late at night under the batteries of Hieres bay. Captain M'Namara ran alongside, when Mr. Lydiard, his first lieutenant, at the head of the boarders, sprang upon her deck, and after a desperate conflict of 10 minutes, in which the French captain and 25 of his men were killed and wounded, the vessel was captured and brought out.

Nelson, during this active blockade of Genoa, cut out from Oneglia a convoy of seven or eight vessels, loaded with brass ordnance and other valuable stores. Captain Fremantle, who commanded a squadron of his Majesty's ships off the port of Leghorn, was summoned to attend a council, consisting of the consul and all the merchants of the British factory, when it was decided that the factory and property belonging to English merchants should be withdrawn: this was speedily done with the assistance of the ships of war; 23 sail were loaded and moved out of the mole in a very short time, and the last of them was scarcely clear when the French entered the town, and began to fire on the Inconstant. Everything, however, had been so well arranged that no damage was sustained, and none who wished to come away were left behind. Nelson, who might be said never to sleep, heard of the state of things at Leghorn, and hastened to its relief, but found on his arrival that Captain Fremantle had done all that could be required.

This invasion of a neutral territory by land compelled us in self-defence to do the same by sea. We instantly took possession of the island of Elba, belonging to the Grand Duke. By this fortunate acquisition we obtained plentiful supplies of provisions, and had the advantage of the fine harbour of Porto Ferrajo, which, during the preparation for and after the evacuation of Corsica, was of great importance to us.

The squadron under the command of Nelson at the attack of this place consisted of the following ships: viz.—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Captain | 74 | Commodore Nelson. |
| Inconstant | 36 | Captain Fremantle. |
| Flora | 36 | ——— Middleton. |
| Southampton | 32 | ——— M'Namara. |
| Peterel | 18 | ——— Stewart. |
| Vaneau brig | | Lieutenant Gourlay. |
| Rose cutter | | ——— Walker. |

* Collingwood's Letters.

With a small body of troops, under the command of Major Duncan, of the engineers.

Early in October, 1796, Rear-admiral Mann was detached with a squadron of six sail of the line in pursuit of Richery. This very much reduced the fleet in the Mediterranean, and accounts for the small force left with Sir John Jervis off Toulon, where, notwithstanding the conflagration of 1793, a fleet, superior in number at least, beheld him, but without attempting to move or to interrupt his rigorous blockade. By the judicious management of his ships he guarded the most important posts, and by a skilful combination preserved that communication with the whole of his cruisers which would at a short notice have enabled them to support each other. Thus at the same time he protected Corsica, blockaded Leghorn, Nice, Genoa, and Toulon, and watched the movements of the Spanish fleet in the port of Carthagena.

While this able officer maintained the honour of the British flag, the safety of her Mediterranean commerce, and her connexion with the Princes of the houses of Bourbon and Austria, the Government at home was not unmindful of his situation; but an unfortunate prevalence of westerly winds kept his supplies and his reinforcements alarmingly deficient, both in the number of his ships and the quantity of naval stores. These misfortunes were aggravated by the unaccountable conduct of Rear-admiral Mann, whom we have seen detached with six sail of the line in quest of Richery; but, apprehensive of not being able to rejoin his commander-in-chief, he returned with his squadron to England, at a time when every reinforcement he could have carried with him would not have placed Sir John Jervis on an equality with his enemies. From a situation so embarrassing nothing but his own genius and energy could have extricated him. After receiving off Toulon the long-expected orders for the evacuation of Corsica, he repaired to Fiorenzo bay, where he instantly began, in concert with the viceroy, to plan and to execute the laborious task. Nelson was sent to Bastia to manage the embarkation of every thing at the seat of government. Towry in the Diadem, and M'Namara in the Southampton, had charge of Calvi and Ajaccio, with orders to embark all the naval stores at the latter place, where we had established a dock-yard, to which Captain Isaac Coffin had been appointed commissioner. Captain (the late Sir Charles) Tyler, in the Aigle, was in the Adriatic, and kept up a communication with the Austrian armies under Marshal Wurmser, from Ancona to the Po. Cockburn, in the Minerve, blockaded Leghorn and the coast of Genoa; and Fremantle was sent with letters of conciliation and well-timed

presents to the African Princes. Captain Richard Bowen, of the Terpsichore, was stationed at Gibraltar to cover the supplies of the Rock, and protect the convoys between that port and the coast of Barbary. In the mean time the armies of France had penetrated into Roussillon, and compelled the weak and timid Charles IV. of Spain to declare war against us. His soldiers fled from those of the republic; and the Spanish fleet was now to meet ours upon the ocean as enemies, either under their own colours, or those of France. The Austrian armies were advancing into Italy, and for a time held the French in check; but, like the Dutch, they were rarely to be depended on, nor was it until their existence as a nation was threatened that they could be roused to proper exertions.

The flag of a belligerent was now rarely seen in a merchant vessel, and the Danes and Swedes began to protect the property of our enemies under the cover of neutrality. This practice being detected numerous captures were made; and a Court of Vice-Admiralty being established at Ajaccio, vessels of this description were speedily brought to trial, and condemned or liberated by an impartial judgment.

The capture of the Nemesis, Sardine, and Unité, though not in the dominions of the Dey of Algiers, had enabled the enemy to misrepresent our policy to that court; and Sir John Jervis had great difficulty in keeping the Barbary Powers on terms of amity with Great Britain. The Genoese were now so completely in the power of France, that they were compelled to submit as subjects to the Directory, or rather to General Bonaparte, who commanded the armies of the republic in Italy, and was now fast rising to that eminence to which he soon after attained. His conduct in Genoa to the British subjects and their flag gave the war in the Mediterranean an entire new character.

Sir John Jervis was obliged to quit the Mediterranean with his fleet, taking down with him all the convoys he could collect, and leaving Nelson to bring up the rear, and arrange every thing at Elba. This was our last place of refuge, after the final evacuation of Corsica, which was given up to the inhabitants about the end of October, when the British troops were speedily replaced in all parts of the island by the French. By the letters which we have seen it would appear that his Majesty's Government was long undecided as to the steps it should pursue with respect to this island, and, at the very last, sent orders to retain it when the garrisons had been withdrawn and the fortifications demolished. Nor can it be well reconciled with the vigorous and daring administration of Mr. Pitt

that a spot so central for affording protection to our Levant trade, for the annoyance of our enemies, and for the assistance of our allies in the south of Europe, should have been so hastily abandoned, and the Kings of Naples and Sardinia, and the Austrian army, left entirely to their fate, while we were sacrificing thousands in the pestilential plains of St. Domingo. We now begin to perceive the full force of our mistaken lenity to the Toulonese, whose half-burnt fleet was, in conjunction with that of Spain, greatly outnumbering that of Britain, under the command of Sir John Jervis. The retreat of the English admiral with his fleet, down the Mediterranean, was justified by orders from home, and was found necessary under the then existing state of affairs. The abandonment of Corsica having been once decided upon, there was no port of retreat or repair, but Gibraltar; and to that place all the resources of the navy, and all our convoys, were ordered to be sent.

While he yielded to circumstances, the admiral, with that judgment and patriotism which should ever be held up as an example to our service, forgot not the interests of the British merchants; the Smyrna fleet had been brought down by his wise and prudent management as far as Fiorenzo bay; and, when every thing was completed for the evacuation of Corsica, he directed each ship of war to take one of those valuable vessels in tow, and thus, with the momentary expectation of falling in with the combined fleets, he retreated to Gibraltar, where he arrived in December; and here he was doomed to experience great mortification, and to witness the farther diminution of the fleet by accidents and misfortunes.

Soon after his arrival a gale of wind came on, which drove the Courageux and Gibraltar to sea; unfortunately for the former, Captain Hallowell was detained at a court-martial, from which he was not permitted to depart until it was impossible for him to get on board. The ship, under the orders of the first lieutenant, stood over towards the Barbary coast and kept her wind, the gale blowing from the eastward with great violence. The commanding officer, unwilling to run through the Gut, lest he should fall in with the combined fleet, stood over to the southward, and about eight o'clock in the evening his people, who had been harassed the whole day, were permitted to go to their dinners, the lieutenant of the watch, a very young man, being left in charge of the deck. Shortly after the land was discovered a-head, and very close to them. Mr. Burroughs, the first lieutenant, was called up, but only in time to witness the catastrophe. As he ascended the ladder the ship struck on the rocks under Apes-hill, on the coast of

Barbary, and very soon went to pieces: of 600 of the crew only 160 escaped by jumping from the side of the ship to the rugged shore; many fell into the sea and were lost; a few escaped in the launch, which was towing astern; those who reached the land had yet much to endure, from cold and hunger, among barbarians who afforded them no relief.

The loss of the ship was owing entirely to the want of the captain's presence. That officer should have had permission to retire from the court-martial, which, on such an occasion, should have been adjourned by the president. What could it have signified to postpone a question of merely individual interest compared with allowing an officer of well-known experience and judgment to repair to his post when his presence was indispensable?

The Gibraltar, commanded by Captain John Pakenham, narrowly escaped a worse fate: driven by the violence of the gale down upon Cabrita point, the topgallant-yard, stowed in the main rigging, caught the lee clew of the mainsail, and prevented their setting that sail, in consequence of which she struck upon the Pearl rock, which lies about three quarters of a mile from the shore, off the western point of the bay: here, in a dark night, with a tremendous sea breaking over her, the crew assembled on the deck, and testified by their cries and actions every symptom of despair, and madly proposed, as a last resource, cutting away the masts, and saving themselves on the wreck. The axes were brought, and preparations made for this purpose, but strongly opposed by the first lieutenant, who, moving the wheel, assured the captain that the rudder was free and uninjured; a wave at the same time struck the ship forward with such force as to upset a forecastle gun, and the shock carried away the foretopmast; the next sea lifted her off the rock: being fortunately one of the strongest-built ships in the service, she made no water. Sufficient sail was set to enable her to weather Cabrita point, and in the morning she got into Tangier bay, and soon after rejoined the fleet; she was, however, considered to have sustained so much injury, that it was judged necessary to send her to England in order to have her taken into dock: here it was discovered that a very large fragment of the rock had pierced her bottom, and remained there: had it disengaged itself the consequences might have been fatal to all on board. These accidents reduced the number of ships under the command of Sir John Jervis to 10 sail of the line; with these he pursued his way to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 21st of December, 1796, and where he had the farther mortification of losing the Bombay Castle, of 74 guns, which grounded on the South Catchup,

going into the Tagus, leaving only nine sail of the line to contend against the French and Spanish fleets, while the services expected of him were greatly augmented. He was directed by instructions from England to guard at once against the union of the French and Spanish fleets, to defend the coast of Portugal, prevent an attack on Lisbon and Gibraltar, and counteract any design to invade England or Ireland.

The evacuation of Elba, for which orders had been sent out from England, was left to the care of Nelson, to whom, in that early stage of the war, Sir John Jervis, with his usual penetration, concludes his letter in these words:—

"Having experienced the most important effects from your enterprise and ability, I leave to your judgment the time and manner of carrying this service into execution." It was about this time that Nelson's acquaintance with Lady Hamilton commenced, and which led to the only blot among the bright deeds of Britain's favourite hero.

The first Spanish ship captured after the declaration of war was the Mahonesa, of 36 guns, by Captain Richard Bowen, of the Terpsichore. The action took place off Malaga. The Mahonesa had between 50 and 60 of her people killed and wounded; the Terpsichore had three or four wounded. Captain Bowen is the officer who boarded the French frigate in Fort Royal bay, Martinique, when lieutenant of the Boyne, and under the command of Sir John Jervis, who never lost sight of him till the affair of Teneriffe ended his glorious career.

The violation of neutrality in so many instances on the part of France led to similar acts on the part of Great Britain; and the neutrality of the Barbary States was little respected after the invasion of Lombardy.

The Nemesis, of 28 guns, which had been recently taken in the neutral port of Smyrna by three French frigates, was lying in the bay of Tunis, in company with La Sardine and Le Postilion, of 20 guns each: the Barfleur and Egmont were ordered in, and took them out. The Government remonstrated, and showed much disposition to resent the affront; but Sir John Jervis found means to pacify his Highness the Bey, and the affair passed over.

It will be readily perceived that, after the unfavourable turn affairs had taken in Italy, the management of the Barbary Powers, from Tunis to Tangier, became a matter of vast importance, not only with reference to our Levant trade, but also with regard to the fortress of Gibraltar. This garrison, consisting of 5,000 men, besides the inhabitants, was frequently reduced to the common rations of salt provisions, all intercourse with Spain being prohibited, and the scanty imports

from Barbary, in addition to the caprices of the Princes governing these States, being impeded by a long and rigid quarantine.

These Powers never had a naval force of any real strength, their largest ships not exceeding the size of a frigate of 32 guns; but, in the event of a war, they covered the Mediterranean with swarms of row-boats and galleys, and committed great depredations, seldom restrained by any scruples about neutrality. The restitution of a vessel never indemnified the owners for their loss of time and property: remonstrances were not only unavailing, but frequently productive of a stoppage of supplies to Gibraltar.

The Mediterranean pass is an indispensable document for every vessel trading to that part of the world. Of the stipulations and agreements of the other Powers of Europe with the States of Barbary it is not my intention to speak at present: I shall confine myself to the conventions between those States and Great Britain.

In the fourth year of King George II. an Act was passed to make it felony for any person counterfeiting a Mediterranean pass—a practice which it appears had been carried to a great extent, to the manifest injury of his Majesty's subjects.

These passes were issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in pursuance of conventions and treaties between the British Government and the States of Barbary for preserving and establishing a firm and inviolable peace with those States. By these treaties it is stipulated that all ships and vessels belonging to his Majesty or any of his subjects may freely pass the seas, and safely enter any of the respective ports and harbours of the Barbary States, upon producing letters of a certain form, under the hand and seal of the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, or the Commissioners for executing that office. The forging of these passes by the same Act was made cognizable before any court of oyer and terminer in Great Britain, or any court of justiciary in Scotland; and the loss of one by any captain of a merchantman was an offence severely punishable, it being necessary to guard against their being forged or sold to other Powers*.

While lying in Rosier bay on the 10th of December, a French squadron from Toulon, consisting of five sail of the line, was observed to pass the Straits: the admiral was prevented putting to sea by a heavy gale of wind blowing into the bay. On the following morning he despatched a sloop of war to Sir Henry Harvey, at Barbadoes, and to Vice-admiral Sir

* See Admiralty Statutes.

Hyde Parker at Cape Nicholas mole. On the 16th he left Gibraltar, and looked into Cadiz, where he saw five sail of the line, but they were Spaniards. A French frigate was lying there with the loss of her mainmast: this the admiral was informed was the Vestale, which a few days previously had been taken by the Terpsichore in an action so creditable to Bowen, whom we have just seen capture the Mahonesa, that we cannot help giving it more than usual attention. The Terpsichore, a small 32, fell in with her off Cadiz on the 12th of December in a gale of wind, chased her under courses, and sprung her lower masts in the pursuit; the following day a shift of wind brought the enemy to leeward, and the Terpsichore ran alongside her, and commenced an action, which continued one hour and a quarter, when, having her captain and 40 men killed, with a great number wounded, the French ship surrendered, and proved to be La Vestale, of 36 guns, and 300 men. The Terpsichore had 4 killed, and 18 wounded; among the latter Lieutenant G. Bowen, brother to the captain, and the only lieutenant on board; two lieutenants, three midshipmen, the boatswain, and 40 seamen, being absent in prizes.

No sooner had Captain Bowen secured his prize, and put the master on board, with eight seamen to take charge of her, than a gale of wind came on, and she drifted into four fathoms water. The Frenchmen being all drunk, the master let go an anchor, and rode out the night very near the shore off Cape Trafalgar. On the following morning the Terpsichore ran in and took the prize in tow, but, the halser getting foul of some rocks, they were forced to cut away, and in the succeeding night, when they had lost sight of each other, the Frenchmen rose upon the Englishmen, and took the ship into Cadiz.

For this action the Patriotic Fund voted Captain Bowen a piece of plate, valued at 100 guineas.

In the beginning of 1797 the fleet under the command of Sir John Jervis was lying in the Tagus, where the admiral found the court more cautious of giving offence to Spain than desirous of coalescing with us. At the same time the Prince Regent of Portugal caused a very bountiful supply of fruits, vegetables, and cattle, with other refreshments, to be sent off to our ships by way of present.

Early in February Rear-admiral Sir William Parker joined Sir John Jervis with six sail of the line, which enabled him to go immediately in search of the Spanish fleet. On his way out of the Tagus the St. George, of 98 guns, ran on shore, and was so damaged as to be compelled to return into port,—a very serious loss at that time, when the enemy was supposed to have two ships to our one. The admiral, however, with

only 15 sail of the line, proceeded without loss of time off Cape St. Vincent, which he reached on the 5th of February. In the mean while Lord Garlies in the Lively, 32 guns, had been left with a squadron of frigates under his orders for the purpose of blockading Cadiz and the neighbouring ports; Commodore Nelson, as before stated, had his broad pendant on the Agamemnon, of 64 guns, and, with Cockburn in the Meleager, of 32 guns, was employed in the blockade of the ports on the coast of Genoa. While they were here a French convoy, loaded with stores for the siege of Mantua, had taken refuge under some batteries in Larma-bay. Nelson ordered Cockburn, in the Meleager, to lead in, as being best acquainted, and drawing the least water. Cockburn ran in as close to the batteries as the depth of water would permit, and commenced action with the armed vessels and forts. Nelson, never happy if any one was nearer to the enemy than himself, wished to get between the Meleager and the shore. For this purpose he luffed in, but Cockburn had left no room for him, and the Agamemnon grounded under the stern of the Meleager. The enterprise still went on exactly the same, and every thing succeeded; the forts were silenced, all the vessels brought out, and the Agamemnon got off without damage. Cockburn, while the ship was aground, went on board to offer his services: he found the commodore in his cabin writing letters,—a singular trait in the character of that great man. Few officers would have had either the nerve or the inclination to be so employed while their ship lay aground under an enemy's battery, and whence it was not quite certain that she could be got off.

Nelson, among his other good qualities, always bestowed praise where it was due, and on this occasion spoke of Cockburn in terms at once flattering and grateful. This affair took place on the 1st of June, 1796, and in July following Sir John Jervis gave Captain Cockburn the command of the Minerve, a frigate of 38 guns, still keeping him attached to Nelson. The Minerve being left to blockade Leghorn, Nelson was sent to conduct the evacuation of Bastia. On the arrival of Sir John Jervis at Gibraltar with his fleet, he sent Cockburn to convey Nelson, with a broad pendant, to superintend the evacuation of Elba. They left Gibraltar on the 14th of December, 1796, with the Blanche of 32 guns in company. On the night of the 19th, being off Carthagena, they fell in with two Spanish frigates, the largest of which was brought to action by the Minerve; the Blanche went after the other, which kept up a running fight with her pursuer. The Minerve, more fortunate, soon subdued her antagonist, which, on being boarded, proved to be the Santa Sabina, an 18-pound frigate of 40 guns, commanded

by Don Jacobo Steuart. During the action the contending and chasing ships had run close into Carthagena, with the wind dead upon the land. The Spanish captain was, therefore, no sooner on board the Minerve, than the Sabina was taken in tow. This was scarcely accomplished, when the Minerve was brought to action by another Spanish frigate. The Sabina was instantly cast off, and the Minerve, left to herself, engaged her fresh antagonist for nearly an hour, when the Spaniard, being perfectly silenced, endeavoured to make his escape. The Minerve followed with all sail; but as the day broke they found themselves surrounded by the Spanish fleet, of which these frigates were the advance! The last engaged was called La Perla, of 36 guns. Nelson and his brave companions now felt themselves in a very different situation from that in which they had been during the night. Their prize, but not their honour, was soon in the power of the enemy, who endeavoured to capture the Minerve; and the most strenuous union of coolness and seamanship was required and exerted to save her from falling into their hands. With masts badly wounded, and rigging cut to pieces, every stitch of canvas was crowded on her before the Spaniards were well awake, and, passing under the very guns of a three-decker, (which fortunately hove-to, to secure the Sabina,) she got outside of them and ran. Lieutenants Culverhouse and Hardy, (afterwards flag-captain with Nelson, at Trafalgar, and now Sir Thomas Hardy, Bart., Governor of Greenwich Hospital,) first and second of the Minerve, had been sent to conduct the prize into port. These officers were happy to see their vessel, by becoming the object of attraction, afford the Minerve a chance of escape. Two sail of the line and two frigates continued the chase, and for four hours were nearly within gun-shot; but, as the breeze freshened, the British frigate outsailed them, and though one of the Spanish frigates rather gained ground, she occasionally lowered her studding-sails, to give time to her consorts to come up, in consequence of which, by sun-set, the Minerve was clear of them, having in one night captured one frigate and beat another in the presence of the Spanish fleet, and outsailed every ship that attempted to pursue her. She left the Sabina without a foot of mast standing above her decks. The Minerve had 7 men killed, 44 wounded, and 22 taken in the prize, and was short of complement before the action began. The Spanish frigate had 14 killed, and more than 40 wounded. Nelson in his public letter speaks of himself with his usual modesty, and of his captain, officers, and men, as they deserved. To Cockburn he presented an elegant gold-hilted sword in commemoration of the action.

The Ceres escaped from the Blanche in spite of every exer-

tion of Captain Darcy Preston, and got into Carthagena. On his way to Elba, the commodore captured a large French privateer of 18 guns, and carried her into Porto Ferrajo. Here the damages sustained by the Minerve were repaired, while Nelson was occupied, in conjunction with Lieutenant-general De Burgh, in preparing for the evacuation of the island. Every thing being in readiness, the General refused to embark without orders from England. Nelson having, therefore, despatched his convoy before him, took on board Sir Gilbert Elliot, the late viceroy of Corsica, and running down the coast of France and Spain, reconnoitred Toulon, Barcelona, and Carthagena, and arrived at Gibraltar, on the 9th of February, 1797. Sailing thence on the 12th to join Sir John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent, he was followed by two Spanish line-of-battle ships, which had been lying at anchor off the Orange-grove, between the Devil's Tongue battery and Algesiras; but, fortunately for the hero of the Nile, these ships gave up the chase and returned to the Straits, while Nelson pursued his way to the admiral, whom he joined at ten o'clock on the night of the 13th; and, having again stumbled upon the Spanish fleet, he corroborated the account of its near approach. As soon as he joined the fleet Nelson hoisted his broad pendant on board the Captain of 74 guns.

On the 13th Captain Foote, of the Niger, informed Sir John Jervis that he had been for some days in company with the Spanish fleet.

On the night of the 13th their signal-guns were heard by our fleet, and the admiral made the signal to prepare for battle.

At the dawn of day, on the 14th of February, 1797, the British fleet was on the starboard tack, standing to the southward, the wind west by south, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north, distant eight leagues, the weather hazy, when the Spanish fleet was discovered extending from south-west to south. At forty-nine minutes past ten, it was ascertained by the Bonne Citoyenne, sloop of war, that the enemy had 27 ships of the line, and Sir John Jervis soon after communicated to the fleet his intention of cutting through them. Trowbridge, in the Culloden, was ordered to lead the van. This gallant officer opened his fire on the Spanish ships to windward, which effectually separated the sternmost and leewardmost from the main body, then tacked, and thus prevented their rejunction. The British admiral having his fleet in two lines of sailing in very close order, readily formed it into one to complete the intended movement; as soon as Trowbridge had succeeded in passing through the enemy's fleet, he gave his

starboard broadside to the nearest of the ships as he threw in stays: his example was followed by the van of our fleet, and thus the action became nearly general by the British ships coming on the same tack with those of Spain. The action began about noon, and lasted till near five o'clock P. M., when four sail of the line, two of them first-rates, one of 84 guns, and one of 74, remained in our possession. The particular details of this memorable day deserve our serious attention; first, from the superior numbers of the enemy; secondly, from the peculiarly unfavourable aspect of political events at the time; and, lastly, as affording some of the finest instances of the superiority of British officers and seamen over their enemy on the ocean.

From this day the old fashion of counting the ships of an enemy's fleet, and calculating the disparity of force, was entirely laid aside, and a new era may be said to have commenced in the art of war at sea. Sir John Jervis observes in his public letter, "that he knew the skill and valour he had to depend upon, and also that the honour of his Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in those seas, required a considerable degree of energy:" no time was therefore lost in deliberation; his enemy was in sight, and was to be beaten. To the gallant chief immortal honour is due for not despairing of his country; the expectations formed of him were as fully realized as those he had himself formed of his companions in arms. Looking at the list of his fleet, we perceive that he had with him some of our most effective ships.

Nelson, after having performed prodigies of valour, lost his fore-topmast, and in this situation passed close under the lee of the Spanish ship San Nicolas, of 84 guns, which was at the time foul of the San Josef, of 112 guns, both of which ships had been severely beaten by their opponents, particularly by Sir William Parker in the Prince George. As the San Nicolas took the wind out of the Captain's head sails, that ship consequently flew up in the wind. Nelson, with a presence of mind which he seems to have possessed beyond all other men, ordered the helm to be put a-lee, and, with what little way he had, ran on board the Spaniard. A party of the 69th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Pearson, was doing duty as marines on board the Captain; Nelson called them and his boarders, with Berry, the first lieutenant, and the whole of them rushed on board the San Nicolas, carried her with some loss, and from her proceeded with the same determination to the San Josef, where the astonished Spaniards called for quarter, and the captain of that ship presented on his knee the sword of his admiral, who having been desperately wounded could not do it in person.

I have learned with regret, that a dispute took place between Lord Nelson and the late Vice-admiral Sir William Parker, relative to this action; the latter contending that he in the Prince George engaged the San Josef, and contributed to her surrender as also to that of the San Nicolas. Sir Edward Berry, with whom I conversed on the subject, never mentioned this incident. The reader will find Nelson's short answer to Sir William Parker in the 'Naval Chronicle,' vol. xxi. p. 304. If we were to deprive Nelson of the whole credit of this action, which I could never consent to do, still he would be richer in deeds of valour than any of his contemporaries. I am also bound to say, that the character of Sir William Parker was above suspicion, either for veracity or bravery.

There is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich Hospital a picture representing the Hero of the Nile in the act of boarding the Spanish ships. Nelson is in drawing-room costume, and I believe it was a custom with him always to appear before his enemies in the same dress with which he would have waited on her Majesty the Queen.

There was a coolness between Lord Nelson and Sir James (now Lord De) Saumarez, respecting the Santissima Trinidad, which undoubtedly struck to the Orion. This Lord Nelson affected not to think certain, until it was subsequently confirmed to him by a Spanish officer in the bay of Naples after the battle of the Nile. Lord Nelson then spoke of it to Sir James as a matter of congratulation, but Sir James drew up, and said very gravely, "Pray, sir, who ever doubted it?" Nelson at that time had not received his peerage. Sir James never thought himself fairly treated by Nelson at the battle of the Nile, where he was second in command; of this I shall speak when we come to that action.

In the mean time Sir John Jervis in the Victory, followed by the Barfleur, the Honourable Vice-admiral Waldegrave, passed close under the stern of the Salvador del Mundo, of 112 guns, and gave her two or three broadsides, which effectually silenced and disabled her, when she surrendered. The Santissima Trinidad was engaged by many ships of the fleet in succession, and finally struck to the Orion, Captain Sir James (now Lord De) Saumarez: that officer was too intently fixed upon the pursuit of the more effective ships of the enemy, and would not heave to to take possession of her, although she had hoisted a white flag on her quarter, and not thinking that a sufficient indication of submission, a British union-jack was displayed over it; the ship astern, which Sir James naturally supposed would have taken possession of the Santissima, did not do so, and she ultimately escaped, but as she was known to be dismasted, a

squadron of frigates under the command of Captain Velters Cornwall Berkeley in the Emerald, was sent in pursuit, and in the course of three days fell in with her; she had rigged her jury-masts, and was under a snug sail making good way: Captain Berkeley did not think it right to attack her, and recalled Cockburn in the Minerve, and Foote of the Niger, just as the former of these officers was about to bring her to close action. Captain Berkeley was much censured for his apparent want of resolution, but Cockburn gave the Commander-in-chief so fair and impartial an account of the whole transaction, as to convince him that Captain Berkeley had acted with no more than becoming prudence. We may, however, be permitted to regret that the circumstance ever happened. This ship had four complete decks of guns, besides her poop.

The Admiral in his letter makes no particular mention of any officer except Captain Calder, his first captain; in this he sought to avoid those jealousies, injurious to the service, produced by Lord Howe's letter, which, while it contained the names of some who did little, omitted those of others who had done much. A large list of killed and wounded is not always to be received as a proof that a ship has been effectively engaged; nor, on the contrary, is it to be inferred that she has behaved ill if she has not a man hurt; the first condition being sometimes the effect of mismanagement, and the second that of consummate knowledge of the profession, united with the most undaunted presence of mind. If it be wrong, according to these principles, to estimate the services of a ship in action by what used to be ludicrously termed the "Butcher's Bill," yet, on this occasion, none will dispute the claims of Collingwood, Trowbridge, Murray, Parker, Nelson, Frederick, Martin, or De Saumarez. The two latter are all that remain alive. A medal was struck by his Majesty's order to commemorate the victory, and presented to each admiral and captain without distinction; when offered to Collingwood he refused it, until he should receive one for the 1st of June, in which action he declared he had equally done his duty; it was accordingly sent to him, with an apology for its having been delayed.

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the fleet; the commander-in-chief was created a peer by the title of Earl St. Vincent; vice-admirals Thompson and Parker and Captain Calder, baronets; and Nelson was honoured with the Order of the Bath. After the battle Sir John Jervis received him on the quarter-deck of the Victory, took him in his arms, said he could not sufficiently thank him, and insisted on his keeping the sword of the Spanish rear-admiral which he had so bravely won; and this trophy Nelson presented to the

city of Norwich. Vice-Admiral the Hon. William Waldegrave was offered to be created a baronet, but this he declined, and was soon after honoured with the Order of the Bath, and in 1800 with an Irish peerage, by the title of Baron Radstock. His lordship was a most gentlemanly and highly polished man. I served with him for two years, as junior lieutenant, on the Newfoundland station; and when, in 1800, he was appointed to the East India command, I joined the Theseus as third lieutenant of that ship, being ordered for his flag; but we never sailed for the station, and his lordship certainly thought he had not been fairly treated. I never knew the real history of the transaction, but believe there was some private pique between him and one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

If we estimate the merits of this action only by the numerical loss of the enemy, we shall form a very inadequate notion of its importance. The French from this period no longer relied on the assistance of Spain, jealousy was sown between them, and the Spaniards became the friends of Britain, and the secret enemies of the French Republic. This battle may be said to have paralyzed the power of Spain, and to have reduced its marine to a mere nonentity.

Sir John Jervis being in politics what was called a Whig, and consequently differing with the Ministers of the day, his victory, though it resounded from one end of Europe to the other, was not so highly appreciated by all the friends of Mr. Pitt, the learned author of whose life has not mentioned it in such terms as it deserved.

The public letter of Sir John Jervis has been severely criticised for its brevity, as if it were required of an admiral to extol the feats of himself and his companions in arms. An enemy to pompous verbosity, he sought to tell his story in few words, and to leave his deeds to speak for themselves. This example of modesty in public writing is so far from being reprehensible, that it is in the highest degree praiseworthy, and ought to be encouraged. His lordship's letter contains a distinct and concise narrative of the facts, the particulars being ever supplied by supplementary information. If the reader will turn to Nelson's account of the battle of the Nile, he will find the whole description of that stupendous event contained in the first seven lines of his letter, the rest is all eulogium.

Don Joseph de Cordova, the Spanish commander-in-chief in this action, was broke, and rendered incapable of holding any office under the government, forbidden to appear at court, or in any of the chief towns on the coast. Morales was also broke, with many other captains, and a long list of inferior officers. The Minerve being present in the action, Cockburn saw the

Colossus lose her fore-yard, and instantly made sail to offer his assistance, which Captain Murray declined. Cockburn next went in search of his friend Nelson, who by this time had taken the San Josef and the San Nicolas. The Captain (his proper ship) being disabled, Nelson again shifted his broad pendant to the Minerve, and desired to be carried to any ship in the van, at that time the only part of our line engaged; but the signal being made by the commander-in-chief to discontinue the action, Nelson's intentions were not executed. From these and similar instances we may fairly infer that Nelson really loved fighting; and yet he was seldom in action that he did not receive a wound.

## LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Admiralty Office, March* 3, 1797.

Robert Calder, Esq., first captain to Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B., arrived this morning with dispatches from him to Mr. Nepean, of which the following are copies:—

*Victory, Lagos Bay, Feb.* 16, 1797.

Sir,

The hopes of falling in with the Spanish fleet, expressed in my letter to you of the 13th instant, were confirmed last night by our distinctly hearing the report of their signal-guns, and by intelligence received from Captain Foote, of his Majesty's ship the Niger, who had, with equal judgment and perseverance, kept company with them for several days, on my prescribed rendezvous (which from the strong south-east winds I had never been able to reach), and that they were not more than the distance of three or four leagues from us. I anxiously awaited the dawn of day, when being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight leagues, I had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extending from south-west to south, the wind then at west by south. At 49 minutes past 10, the weather being extremely hazy, La Bonne Citoyenne made the signal that the ships seen were of the line, 27 in number. His Majesty's squadron under my command, consisting of 15 ships of the line, named in the margin,* happily formed in the most compact order of sailing in two lines. By carrying a press of sail I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half-past 11 o'clock, before it had time to connect and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be lost; and, confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of the officers and men I had the happiness

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Victory | 100 | Namur | 90 | Colossus | 74 |
| Britannia | 100 | Captain | 74 | Egmont | 74 |
| Barfleur | 98 | Goliath | 74 | Culloden | 74 |
| Prince George | 98 | Excellent | 74 | Irresistible | 74 |
| Blenheim | 90 | Orion | 74 | Diadem | 64 |

to command, and judging that the honour of his Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprise, I felt myself justified in departing from the regular system; and, passing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby separated one-third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the ships named in the margin* were captured, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening.

I enclose the most correct list I have been able to obtain of the Spanish fleet opposed to me, amounting to 27 sail of the line, and an account of the killed and wounded in his Majesty's ships, as well as in those taken from the enemy. The moment the latter (almost totally dismasted), and his Majesty's ships, the Captain and Culloden, are in a state to put to sea, I shall avail myself of the first favourable wind to proceed off Cape St. Vincent in my way to Lisbon.

Captain Calder, whose able assistance has greatly contributed to the public service during my command, is the bearer of this, and will more particularly describe to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the movements of the squadron on the 14th, and the present state of it.

I am, Sir, &c.

J. Jervis.

*List of the Spanish Fleet opposed to the British, the 14th February 1797.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Santissima Trinidad | 130 | — | — |
| Mexicana | 112 | — | — |
| Principe de Asturias | 112 | — | — |
| Conception | 112 | — | — |
| Conde de Regla | 112 | — | — |
| Salvador del Mundo | 112 (taken) | 42 | 124 |
| San Josef | 112 (taken) | 46 | 96 |
| San Nicolas | 84 (taken) | 144 | 59 |
| Oriente | 74 | — | — |
| Glorioso | 74 | — | — |
| Atalante | 74 | — | — |
| Conquestador | 74 | — | — |
| Soberano | 74 | — | — |
| Firme | 74 | — | — |
| Pelayo | 74 | — | — |
| San Genaro | 74 | — | — |
| San Juan Nepomuceno | 74 | — | — |
| San Francisco de Paula | 74 | — | — |
| San Ysidro | 74 (taken) | 29 | 63 |

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| * Salvador del Mundo | 112 | San Nicolas | 80 |
| San Josef | 112 | San Ysidro | 74 |

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| San Antonio | 74 | — | — |
| San Pablo | 74 | — | — |
| San Firmin | 74 | — | — |
| Neptuna | 74 | — | — |
| Bahama | 74 | — | — |
| St. Domingo | 74 | — | — |
| Terrible | 74 | — | — |
| Il Defenso | 74 | — | — |

N.B. Among the killed is General Don Francisco Xavier Winthuysen, chef d'escadre.

*List of the British Fleet opposed to the Spanish, the 14th February 1797.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Victory | 100 | Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B.<br>1st Capt. Robert Calder, Esq.<br>2d —— George Grey, Esq. | 1 | 5 |
| Britannia | 100 | Vice-admiral Thompson<br>Capt. T. Foley | — | 1 |
| Barfleur | 98 | Vice-adm. Hon. W. Waldegrave<br>Capt. James Richard Dacres | — | 7 |
| Prince George | 98 | Rear-admiral William Parker<br>Capt. John Irvin | 8 | 7 |
| Blenheim | 90 | —— Thomas Lenox Frederick | 12 | 49 |
| Namur | 90 | —— J. H. Whitshed | 2 | 5 |
| Captain | 74 | Commodore Nelson<br>Capt. R. W. Miller | 24 | 56 |
| Goliath | 74 | —— Sir C. H. Knowles | — | 8 |
| Excellent | 74 | —— C. Collingwood | 11 | 12 |
| Orion | 74 | —— Sir James Saumarez | — | 9 |
| Colossus | 74 | —— George Murray | — | 5 |
| Egmont | 74 | —— John Sutton | — | — |
| Culloden | 74 | —— Thomas Trowbridge | 10 | 47 |
| Irresistible | 74 | —— George Martin | 5 | 14 |
| Diadem | 64 | —— G. H. Towry | — | 2 |
| | | | 73 | 227 |

Between the battle of Valentine's day and that of Camperdown in the autumn following, the unhappy mutiny occurred. How well the seamen in the North-sea fleet redeemed their character, will be shown in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### Battle of Camperdown.

The French Government, having now the entire command of the Dutch marine, ordered Admiral de Winter to put to sea, which he did much against his own opinion and inclination; but as the invasion of Ireland was decided on by the Directory, they considered this as an indispensable preliminary. Accordingly, on the 6th of October, the Dutch fleet quitted the Texel, and, on the 8th, the fact was communicated to Mr. Hamilton, master of the Active cutter, by a Dutch fishing-boat.

This officer lost not a moment in conveying the news to Captain Trollope, of the Russel, who commanded the squadron off the Texel during the temporary absence of the commander-in-chief with the fleet, which was at Yarmouth receiving supplies of provisions and water. Mr. Hamilton was sent to him, and on the 10th made the signal from the back of Yarmouth-sands to the flag-ship, that the enemy was at sea: not a moment was lost in preparing to meet them. On the morning of the 11th the admiral arrived upon his old cruising ground, and saw the Russel to leeward with the signal flying for an enemy's fleet. He instantly bore up, and at 11 o'clock got sight of the object of his anxious wishes, which for two years he had watched, and never expected to see outside of the Neiu Deep. Here was no delay, no unnecessary manœuvres in forming lines or making dispositions. The British admiral, to use a sea phrase, "dashed at them," and at half-past 12 at noon cut through their line, and got between them and their own coast. No means of retreat were allowed; a general action ensued, and, by the greater part of the Dutch fleet, was bravely maintained. A wish on their part was, however, early shown to withdraw from their antagonists, and they kept constantly edging away for their own shore, until their progress was arrested in 9 fathoms water, off the heights or sand-hills of Camperdown, about three leagues from the land. Vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down in the most undaunted style on the enemy's rear, broke through his line, and engaged his opponent to leeward, the wind being dead on the

land at W.N.W. Admiral Duncan selected the Dutch admiral, who had his flag in the Vryheid, of 74 guns, as his opponent. In running down to her he was opposed by the States General, a Dutch ship of 76 guns, bearing a rear-admiral's flag, whose fire the Venerable soon silenced, forced him to quit the line, and then proceeded to the Vryheid, which he engaged for two hours and a half until that ship was completely dismasted. The action was general between the fleets, with the exception of two or three ships on either side, whose captains preserved a very cautious distance. The Dutch admiral displayed, in his own person, the most undaunted valour, and was well supported by some of his countrymen, but was compelled at length to yield to superior *skill*, it would be untrue to say superior bravery. About the same time that Vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, silenced his opponent, the Dutch vice-admiral and the whole of his fleet were thrown into confusion, 12 sail struck their colours and surrendered; but owing to the bad weather which succeeded, and the disabled state of our ships, only nine were secured. The Delft, of 64 guns, with a valuable cargo and 200 men, went down the second day after the action.

This was one of the severest, and certainly the most decisive, engagements that ever were fought between the two nations, and produced an effect upon the maritime powers of Europe highly advantageous to the character and interests of the British empire. Had the event been different, the northern powers would not have hesitated to join France for the purpose of our subjugation, and to their blind revenge would have sacrificed their own existence. By the defeat of the Dutch fleet on the eastern coast, the designs of the French Directory were completely disconcerted on the western side of the kingdom.

The loss sustained of killed and wounded in the British fleet was upwards of 700; that of the Dutch was never correctly given, but in each of their two flag-ships there were 250 killed or wounded.

I conclude this chapter with the official letters and returns relative to this action, and some observations on its political effects in Europe.

## LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Admiralty Office, October* 16, 1797.

Captain Fairfax, of the Venerable, arrived this morning, with despatches from Adam Duncan, Esq., admiral of the blue, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships, &c. employed in the North

Sea, to Evan Nepean, Esq., secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies:—

*Venerable, at Sea, 13th October* 1797,
*off the Coast of Holland.*

Sir,

Be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that judging it of consequence their lordships should have as early information as possible of the defeat of the Dutch fleet under the command of Admiral de Winter, I despatched the Rose cutter, at three P.M., on the 12th (11th) instant, with a short letter to you, immediately after the action was ended: I have now farther to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that in the night of the 10th instant, after I had sent away my letter to you of that date, I placed my squadron in such a situation as to prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel, without my falling in with them. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 11th, I got sight of Captain Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward; I immediately bore up, and made the signal for a general chase, and soon got sight of them, forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive us, the wind at N.W. As we approached near, I made the signal for the squadron to shorten sail, in order to connect them; soon after I saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to the leeward of the enemy. Finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, I made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which I got between them and the land, whither they were fast approaching. My signals were obeyed with great promptitude, and Vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about 40 minutes past 12 o'clock. The Venerable soon got through the enemy's line, and I began a close action, with my division on their van, which lasted near two hours and a half, when I observed all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship to go by the board: she was, however, defended for some time in a most gallant manner, but being overpressed by numbers, her colours were struck, and Admiral de Winter was soon brought on board the Venerable. On looking around me I observed the ship bearing the Vice-admiral's flag was also dismasted, and had surrendered to Vice-admiral Onslow, and that many others had likewise struck. Finding we were in nine fathoms water, and not farther than five miles from the land, my attention was so much taken up in getting the heads of the disabled ships off shore, that I was not able to distinguish the number of ships captured, and the wind having been constantly on the land since, we have unavoidably been much dispersed, so that I have not been able to gain an exact account of them, but we have taken possession of eight or nine; more of them had struck, but taking advantage of the night, and being so near their own coast, they succeeded in getting off, and some of them were seen going into the Texel the next morning.

It is with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction I make known to their lordships the very gallant behaviour of Vice-admiral Onslow, the captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron, who all appeared actuated with the truly British spirit, at least those that I had an opportunity of seeing.

One of the enemy's ships caught fire in the action, and drove very near the Venerable, but I have the pleasure to say it was extinguished, and she is one of the ships in our possession. The squadron has suffered much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of them have lost a number of men; however, in no proportion to that of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships that bore the admirals' flags has been beyond all description; they have had no less than 250 men killed and wounded on board of each ship. And here I have to lament the loss of Captain Burgess, of his Majesty's ship the Ardent, who brought that ship into action in the most gallant and masterly manner, but was unfortunately killed soon after. However, the ship continued the action close, until quite disabled. The public have lost a good and gallant officer in Captain Burgess, and I, with others, a sincere friend.

Captain Trollope's exertions and active good conduct, in keeping sight of the enemy's fleet until I came up, have been truly meritorious, and, I trust, will meet a just reward.

I send this by Captain Fairfax, by whose able advice I profited much during the action, and who will give their lordships any farther particulars they may wish to know.

As most of the ships of the squadron are much disabled, and several of the prizes dismasted, I shall make the best of my way with them to the Nore.

I herewith transmit you a list of killed and wounded, on board such of the squadron as I have been able to collect, a list of the enemy's fleet opposed to my squadron, and my line of battle on the day of action.

I am Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
ADAM DUNCAN.

*List and disposition of the Dutch Fleet on the 11th October* 1797.

Van.

Vice-admiral Reyntjes, commander.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cerberus . . | Capt. Jacobson . . . . | 68 | 450 |
| Delft . . . | —— Verdoorn . . . . | 56 | 375 (taken.) |
| Jupiter . . | Vice-admiral Reyntjes / Rear-admiral Meurer . . | 74 | 550 (taken.) |
| Alkmaar . . | Capt. Kraft . . . . | 56 | 350 (taken.) |
| Haerlem . . | —— Wiggerts . . . . | 68 | 450 (taken.) |
| Munnikkendam | —— Lancaster . . . . | 44 | 270 (taken.) |
| Heldin . . . | —— Dumisnilde L'Eestrille | 32 | 230 |
| Daphne (brig) | Lieut. Fredericks . . . | 18 | 98 |

Centre.

Admiral De Winter, commander-in-chief.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wassanaer | Capt. Holland | 64 | 450 | (taken.) |
| Batavier | —— Souters | 56 | 350 | |
| Vryheid (the Liberty) | Adm. De Winter Van Rossem | 74 | 550 | (taken.) |
| States General | Rear-admiral Story | 74 | 550 | |
| Leyden | Capt. Musquetier | 68 | 450 | |
| Mars | —— Kolff | 44 | 400 | |
| Waaksaamheid | —— Lieut. Nicrop | 24 | 150 | |
| Minerva | —— Eilbracht | 24 | 150 | |
| Galatea (brig) | Lieut. Riverg | 18 | 98 | |
| Atalanta (brig) | —— Plets | 18 | 98 | |

Rear.

Rear-admiral Bloys, commander.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Admiral Derries | Capt. Zegers | 68 | 450 | (taken.) |
| Hercules | —— Van Rysoort | 64 | 450 | (taken.) |
| Brutus | Rear-admiral Bloys | 74 | 550 | |
| Beschermer | Capt. Hinxtt | 56 | 350 | |
| Gelykheid (the Equality) | —— Ruysen | 68 | 450 | (taken.) |
| Ambuscade | —— Lieut. Huys | 32 | 270 | (taken.) |
| Ajax (brig) | Lieut. Arkenbout | 18 | 98 | |
| Haasje (Aviso) | —— Hartenfeld | 6 | 35 | |

N.B. Another line-of-battle ship, reported to be taken, name unknown.

*Disposition of the Squadron, in order of Battle, the 11th October* 1797.

Larboard or Lee Division.

Richard Onslow, Esq., vice-admiral of the red, commander.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Russel | Capt. Hen. Trollope | 74 | 590 | — | — |
| Director | —— Wm. Bligh | 64 | 491 | — | — |
| Montagu | —— John Knight | 74 | 590 | — | — |
| Veteran | —— George Gregory | 64 | 491 | — | — |
| Monarch | Vice-admiral Onslow / Capt. Edward O'Bryen | 74 | 599 | 36 | 100 |
| Powerful | —— W. O'Brien Drury | 74 | 590 | 10 | 78 |
| Monmouth | —— J. Walker | 64 | 491 | 5 | 22 |
| Agincourt | —— John Williamson | 64 | 491 | — | — |

*Repeaters.*

Beaulieu, frigate, 40 guns, Captain Francis Fayerman.
Cutters—Rose, King George, Active, Diligent; Speculator, lugger.

Starboard or Weather Division.

Adam Duncan, Esq., admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Triumph | Capt. W. H. Essington | 74 | 640 | 29 | 55 |
| Venerable | Admiral Duncan<br>Capt. George Fairfax | 74 | 593 | 15 | 62 |
| Ardent | —— Rich. R. Burgess | 64 | 491 | 41 | 107 |
| Bedford | —— Sir Thomas Byard | 74 | 590 | 30 | 41 |
| Lancaster | —— John Wells | 64 | 491 | 3 | 18 |
| Belliqueux | —— John Inglis | 64 | 491 | 25 | 78 |
| Adamant | —— William Hotham | 50 | 343 | — | — |
| Isis | —— William Mitchell | 50 | 343 | 3 | 22 |

*Repeaters.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beaulieu | 40 | 280 | Capt. F. Fayerman. |
| Circe | 28 | 200 | —— Peter Halket. |
| Martin (sloop) | 16 | 125 | —— Hon. Charles Paget. |
| Rose (cutter) | — | — | Lieut. Brodie. |
| King George | — | — | —— Rains. |
| Active | — | — | Mr. Hamilton. |
| Diligent | — | — | Mr. Dawson. |
| Speculator | — | — | Mr. Hales. |

*Venerable, off Orfordness, October* 15, 1797.

Sir,

In addition to my letter of the 13th instant, containing the particulars of the action of the 11th, and which I have not been able to send away until this day, I have to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that from the wind continuing to blow on the Dutch coast, the ships have had great difficulty in keeping off the shore, and that we have unavoidably been separated. On Friday last the wind blew strong from the W.S.W. to W.N.W. and continued so to do until Saturday morning; it then shifted to the north, when I made the signal to wear, stood to the westward, and fortunately anchored here last evening; the Venerable being so leaky, that, with all her pumps going, we could but just keep her free. This morning I observed the undermentioned ships* at anchor near us, three near the Kentish Knock, and three in Hosley bay. The wind is at N.W. and much against the disabled ships; I have therefore sent the Lancaster and Beaulieu out to render them assistance.

Sir Thomas Williams, in the Endymion, who joined me the day after the action, I also sent in shore to keep by and assist the dis-

* Monarch, Powerful, Lancaster, Beaulieu.

abled ships; and I am informed that, in the course of the night, he fell in with a Dutch ship of the line off the Texel, and had engaged her, but I have not heard the particulars.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
ADAM DUNCAN.

*Evan Nepean, Esq.*

By comparing the lists, the seaman will perceive that, in point of effective force, the advantage was rather on the side of the English; not, however, in so great a degree as to ensure a complete victory. The Dutch, in all their former wars, had been among our bravest and most successful rivals. In many actions we had met with obstinate resistance; and in the last general engagement on the Dogger-bank, in the year 1781, fought between Sir Hyde Parker and Admiral Zoutman, both sides claimed the victory, though, after a very hard-fought action, neither side had taken a ship.

In the action of the 11th of October, 1797, the superiority of Britain over the Dutch was unequivocally acknowledged and established; but while we justly claim the pre-eminence, let us do justice to the valour of our opponents. Under all the disadvantages of inactivity and consequent want of practice, the resistance made by the Batavian fleet was very respectable, and the number of killed and wounded in the British fleet, though of very inferior force to that of Sir John Jervis, and little more than half of that under the command of Earl Howe, was more than double that of the first, and nearly equal to that of the second: this proves what the Dutch would have done if left to their own energies. But the power of France had overwhelmed the United Provinces; their spirit was crushed, their property confiscated to supply the rapacity of a "liberating army," their youth marched away to fight, in distant climates, battles in which their country had no interest. The Dutch, in fact, were slaves, and had ingloriously sunk under that power to whom, in the preceding century, they had dictated a peace in the capital of France.* Of this melancholy truth they were sensible in the battle of Camperdown; they knew the victory, if obtained, was not for them, and defeat would render them no worse than they had been. De Winter behaved nobly, and is said to have been the only person on his quarter-deck that was not either killed or wounded. When conducted a prisoner on board the Venerable, he presented his sword to Admiral Duncan, who courteously returned it to him

* Treaty of Aix La Chapelle, the terms of which, according to Voltaire, were arranged by Vanbenning at St. Germain, not far from Paris. See Histoire Générale de la Belgique, tome vi. p. 19.

with an appropriate compliment. De Winter and Duncan were two of the tallest and finest men of their fleets. Admiral Duncan had been reckoned the handsomest man of his time in the reign of George the Second; and, even at his advanced age, had a noble and commanding appearance. De Winter is said to have lamented with bitterness, that in the midst of the carnage, which literally floated the decks of the Vryheid in blood, he alone should have been spared. If this be true, it was similar to the regret expressed by De Ruyter after the great battle in which he was defeated by the Duke of Albemarle, 1666. Towards the conclusion of the action, the Hercules, one of the Dutch ships, took fire in her poop and burnt furiously; it was, however, soon got under and extinguished by the exertions of the officers and seamen of the Triumph.*

Two days of bad weather succeeded the action: the fleet being close to the land off Camperdown in a very crippled state, and the wind blowing on the shore, it was with the utmost difficulty the disabled ships were preserved; and one or two of the prizes, taking advantage of these circumstances, escaped into the Texel; the Delft went down astern of the ship which had her in tow. They had been taken possession of, but the number of English put on board was too limited to preserve the command of the vessels against the Dutch officers and crews. Sir Thomas Williams, in the Endymion frigate, of 40 guns, engaged a Dutch ship of the line, and endeavoured to prevent her entering the passage of the Haeks, but in vain. It was not till the 14th that Admiral Duncan was enabled to reach the anchorage of Hosely Bay; the Venerable had, at that time, four feet water in her hold.

Vice-admiral Onslow greatly distinguished himself in this action; he thought it was his duty to engage the Dutch vice-admiral, and was about to pass under his stern for that purpose, when Captain O'Brien observed to him that the Dutch admiral's second had closed up with him so near as to prevent any ship passing between them through the line: "The Monarch will *make* a passage," replied Onslow, as he kept on his course. The second to the Dutch admiral, fearing to be laid on board by his resolute enemy, opened his distance so as to admit him, and, as a reward for his want of determination, received the broadside of the Monarch into his bows, while the other broadside was poured, with equal effect, into the stern of

* The two admirals, after the duties of the day were arranged, dined together on board the Venerable in the most amicable manner, and concluded the evening with a rubber of whist.

the Dutch vice-admiral, whom he compelled to surrender. The ships which bore the brunt of the action were the Venerable, Monarch, Bedford, Isis, Powerful, Ardent, Belliqueux, Lancaster, Triumph, and Monmouth; of these the Monarch and Ardent suffered the most, the former having 136, and the latter 148, killed and wounded. Captain Burgess, of the Ardent, was the only officer of his rank who fell on this occasion. The ships which we have not named in the British fleet had none killed or wounded. The conduct of one or two captains elicited the severest censure. Captain Williamson, of the Agincourt of 64 guns, was, under this imputation, brought to a court-martial soon after the ship arrived at Sheerness, and it was fully proved that he had taken no part whatever in the action; he was sentenced to be dismissed from the command of his ship, and placed at the bottom of the list of post-captains. His death was reported shortly after, but it was generally believed that he changed his name, and received his half-pay many years longer. I joined the Agincourt as junior lieutenant soon after the action, I remember. Wass, the boatswain's mate, was one of the finest sailors I ever knew. There was a story well known in the ship at that time, that during the action one shot, and one only, came over the quarter-deck; an officer *dipped* his head at it. Wass, who was on the main-deck, called out very loud, "There is no danger yet, Sir."

The gallant Duncan arrived at the Nore on the 16th of October: on the 17th he was created a baron of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron Duncan of Lundie, and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown; Vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet. Gold medals were struck to commemorate the victory, and presented to the admirals and captains in the same manner as after the 1st of June and 14th of February. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the admirals, captains, officers, seamen, and marines. Lord Duncan was presented with the freedom of the city of London, and a sword valued at 200 guineas; and the vice-admiral, Sir Richard Onslow, was also presented with the freedom of the city, and a sword of 100 guineas value.

On the 30th of October his Majesty embarked at Greenwich on board one of the royal yachts, in order to pay a visit to the commander-in-chief of the North Sea fleet, on board of his own ship in Sheerness harbour, and thank him in person, as he had done to Earl Howe on a former occasion. Captain Henry Trollope commanded the yacht in which his Majesty had embarked, but a constant succession of bad weather prevented the royal squadron making any progress, and business of the utmost importance requiring his Majesty's return to his capital,

he disembarked on the 1st of November and went to London. It was during this little excursion that his Majesty was graciously pleased to pardon 180 seamen, confined for mutiny on board the Eagle prison-ship in the river Medway.

On the 14th of December his Majesty, with all the royal family, attended by both Houses of Parliament, and all the officers of state, went in procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks to the Almighty for the mercies shown to the nation, particularly for the great naval victories obtained over our enemies. The colours taken on these occasions were borne by the senior officers in England who happened to have been present in the actions. Those taken on the 1st of June by Vice-admiral Sir Thomas Pasley; those in the Mediterranean, on the 14th of March, 1795, by Vice-admiral Goodall; those of the 14th of February, by Vice-admiral Sir Charles Thomson; the Dutch flag taken on the 14th of October, by Lord Duncan in person; and those taken from the Dutch in Saldanha Bay, by Captain Billy Douglas. Thus terminated one of the most eventful years that England had ever seen. The victory of Valentine's day, off Cape St. Vincent, was succeeded by the mutiny of the whole British navy. That being happily subdued, the Dutch fleet was defeated by Admiral Duncan. The attempt of the enemy to invade Ireland was thus happily frustrated; and when, in the following year, they renewed their efforts, we were prepared for them, and defeated them both by sea and land with signal disgrace.

Captains Trollope, and William George Fairfax of the Venerable, were created, by the King, knights bannerets. After the victory of Camperdown, the Dutch ceased to be considered a maritime power, although a squadron of observation constantly remained off the Texel, and the mouths of the Meuse and the Scheldt. Vice-admiral Rentjies, who was taken prisoner in the action, died shortly after in England of the wounds which he received. His remains were sent to Holland with every mark of respect which the civilized nations of Europe delight in paying to the memory of a brave and fallen enemy. Admiral Storey, in the States General, a Dutch ship of 76 guns, who had escaped from the scene of action, followed by five other ships, contrived to make his peace with the Gallo-Batavian Government, by proving that his only means of safety was in flight.

On the death of Captain Burgess, in the battle of Camperdown, it is but justice to say that the command of the Ardent devolved on Lieutenant Philips, who continued to fight her nobly till the end of the action. I am sorry I do not see his name on the list of naval officers.

## CHAPTER XX.

Expedition from St. Helena to attack the Cape—Puts back—Captain Essington takes seven Dutch East-Indiamen—Capture of all the Dutch settlements in the island of Ceylon, and on the peninsula of Malacca—Attack on Manilla by the Fox and Sibylle—Loss of the Resistance—Captain Spranger takes Foul Point in Madagascar—Mutiny on board the Tremendous at the Cape—Suppressed—Anecdote of a ship in India connected with this subject—Death of Sir Hugh Christian—Gallant conduct of Lieutenant Fothergill—Capture of the Prudente—Naval force in India—Earl of Mornington goes to Calcutta—Capture of La Forte, and death of Captain Cooke—Capture of Seringapatam—French intrigues detected—Capture of La Concorde and La Medée, by Belliqueux and convoy—Singular instance of a ship of war being taken by merchantmen—Loss of the Trincomalee sloop of war—Success of our cruisers—Capture of Ternate—Gallant attack of Captain Adam upon French frigate and battery at the Sechelle islands.

The misfortunes of Holland in the year 1795 were only beginning: the capture of the Cape of Good Hope would itself have nearly precluded any communication between the mother-country and her colonies in the East Indies; but these colonies were very soon wrested from her by her irresistible adversary.

Governor Brooke, of the island of St. Helena, before he knew of the intentions of the British Government, had conceived the project of taking the Cape of Good Hope; and for this purpose had, in conjunction with Captain Essington of the Sceptre, planned an expedition. The Sceptre had just arrived at the island to bring away the East India convoy, and gave the first intelligence of Holland being overrun by the French. The East Indiamen having received some troops on board, and the preparations being complete, the armament had actually sailed, with Governor Brooke as commander-in-chief of the land forces; but soon after quitting the island they fell in with the Arniston East Indiaman, by which ship the governor received letters from Admiral Elphinstone, informing him of the force and destination of the squadron which he commanded. In consequence of this intelligence Governor Brooke returned to St. Helena, having detached the Orpheus, a country ship, to cruise off the Cape in hopes of meeting the admiral, and offer-

ing the services of the force embarked. Before the governor had reached the island, he obtained information by the Swallow packet that 21 sail of Dutch Indiamen were on their passage home. Through the activity of Captain Money, of the General Goddard, seven of these were captured. Captain Money perceived them in the night, and ran into the midst of them; they fired at him, but he never returned a shot, keeping close to them until daylight, when the Sceptre and the other ships coming up, they secured these valuable prizes, and with the Julia, another vessel richly laden, which one of our ships had taken a few days before, returned in triumph to St. Helena. The ships of the East India Company are generally so well found, and their officers such thorough seamen, that they have frequently rendered great services to the State; this was one instance of their zeal and success. It is necessary to observe, that the whole of the above captures being made before the declaration of war, became droits to the Crown. One of the ships on her passage to England was so leaky, that they abandoned and set her on fire. I am at a loss to account for this last precaution. Admitting that she might have fallen into the hands of an enemy, it could have done no injury, and might, by being left on the ocean, have afforded relief and comfort to some distressed navigators. When the laws of war have been complied with, soldiers and seamen should never forget what is due to humanity.

The Dutch settlements in the island of Ceylon appear to have been summoned to surrender to the Crown of Great Britain on the part of the Stadtholder. Columbo, the seat of government, was accordingly given up to the English without opposition; but Trincomalee and other places on the island waited for an attack.

The armament commenced operations against Trincomalee as soon as the negotiations were broken off. This settlement, which might have been held in trust for the Stadtholder, became ours by right of conquest, and has remained with us ever since. Indeed it is impossible, consistently with common prudence, that Great Britain can ever resign Ceylon as long as she retains her vast empire on the peninsula of India. In the capture of Trincomalee, Commodore Rainier displayed much judgment and vigour, but he had the mortification to lose one of his ships (the Diomede, of 44 guns), as she was entering the bay with a transport in tow; she struck with such violence on a sunken, and till then unknown rock, between Pigeon Island and the bay, that she filled immediately, and it was with the utmost difficulty the lives of the people were saved; not an article was brought out of her. This was a serious loss; but

the commodore, by a careful management of his resources, compensated for the deficiency; and the fortunate and timely surrender of the principal fort prevented his feeling the consequences so severely as he would otherwise have done.

The land forces having embarked on the 30th of July, 1796, in the ships of war and transports at Madras arrived in Back Bay, Trincomalee, on the 1st of August. The admiral carried with him a requisition from the Governor of Columbo, Mr. Van Angelbeck, to deliver up the fort of Ostenburgh, or Osnaburgh, to a detachment of British troops; but the governor of the fort having refused to comply with the order, the troops were landed without opposition on the 3d, about four miles to the northward of the fort of Trincomalee. It would appear that the governor merely required the formation of a camp, and the firing of a few shot, as a justification of his conduct in surrendering the place intrusted to his command. The fire from our trenches had no sooner commenced than a flag of truce was sent out from the fort of Trincomalee, with a form of capitulation signed by the governor, which was immediately countersigned by the British officers, and returned to him; two Dutch captains being left in our camp as hostages for the fulfilment of these conditions.

The fort of Osnaburgh, standing on a hill, and commanding the entrance both to the harbour and Back Bay, surrendered on the 31st of August to the same forces without firing a shot; the garrison became prisoners of war.

On the 18th of September Baticalao surrendered to Major Frazer, of the 72d regiment; and on the 25th the settlement of Jaffnapatam submitted to General Stewart.

On the 1st of October Captain Benjamin William Page, in the Hobart, with the 52d regiment, under the command of Major Monson, took possession of the factory and military post of Molletivo; and on the 5th the fort and island of Manar surrendered to Captain Barbutt, whom General Stewart had detached with a strong party of sepoys for that purpose. This completed the reduction of the Dutch settlements in the island of Ceylon.

In the mean time Chinsura and its dependencies had surrendered to the British army, and the Dutch garrison became prisoners of war. After this last surrender the Dutch, as well as the French, had no longer a footing on the peninsula of India.

It is not unworthy of remark, that on these captures being completed, Commodore Rainier directed salutes to be fired by all his Majesty's ships; and on the death of the Nabob Walizul Omrah, an old and faithful ally of England, he caused

78 funeral guns to be fired by the flag-ship, being the number of years to which the deceased had attained.

The particulars of the surrender of Malacca and its dependencies to the British forces, under the command of Captain Newcome, of the Orpheus, and Major Brown, of the East India Company's service, are contained in a short letter from the former to Commodore Rainier, dated at that place August the 25th, 1795. The terms of capitulation were nearly the same, but with greater indulgence than those granted to the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope. As the British squadron entered the port, a Dutch ship which had run aground, fired at the Resistance, of 44 guns, Captain Edward Pakenham; this was returned, and the ship struck her colours; the fort also fired a few shot at the troops on their landing, and surrendered on the opening of our fire: for which acts of hostility the settlement, as well as the ships in the harbour, were taken possession of as the property of the captors, subject to the decision of his Britannic Majesty. In the capitulation it was agreed that the commanding officer of the British troops was to command the fort, and in consequence of the expenses incurred by the King of Great Britain in equipping the armament, the British garrison was to be maintained at the expense of the Dutch, who were to raise a sum in the settlement for that purpose. The British commandant was also to have the keys of the garrison, and to give the parole; all military stores of every description were to be placed under his control; the armed vessels belonging to the Government of Malacca to be put likewise under the orders of the British Government; the English and Dutch flags were to be displayed on proper occasions on two flag-staves in the fort. The settlements of Riou and Peru, being dependencies of Malacca, were ordered to put themselves under the protection of the British Government.

Captain Edward Cooke, in La Sibylle, of 44 guns, in company with the Fox, Captain Malcolm, sailed from Macao in January, and on the 11th made Luconia, the largest of the Philippine islands. On the 13th, in the evening, they entered the Bay of Manilla, and so completely disguised their ships that the Spaniards, conceiving them to be French frigates, sent off several boats to them with officers of rank, and offers of assistance. The Spaniards were detained on board, and treated with the greatest hospitality, while our people were employed in boarding and bringing out the gun-boats and feluccas which lay in the bay. They took 230 prisoners, and came out without the loss of a man, having first released every one of the Spaniards, whom they left in wonder and admiration at the generosity and courage of a people whom they had been taught

to hate and despise as heretics and barbarians without honour or bravery.

Captain Spranger, of his Majesty's ship Braave, with the Sphynx, had been ordered by Rear-admiral Pringle, who had now succeeded to the chief command at the Cape, to proceed to Foul Point, in the island of Madagascar, and to make himself master of that settlement. This service he executed, taking possession of the fort and factory, destroying the establishment and all the stores and merchandise which he could not bring away. This colony, while in possession of the French, had been in the habit of supplying the Mauritius with provisions. Some light merchant ships were taken in the harbour.

The squadron at the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Rear-admiral Pringle, in the month of October 1797, broke into acts of mutiny while lying at anchor in Table Bay. It originated on board the Tremendous, of 74 guns, the flagship. The crew rose upon the officers, and confined them, and threatened to try Captain Stephens by a court-martial, composed of seamen as delegates, on charges of cruelty and misconduct as their captain!

In the first instance this mutiny was quickly suppressed, and a free pardon very unwisely granted. This act of clemency, like that shown to the North Sea fleet, produced far more fatal effects than if it had been visited with becoming and wholesome severity.

Captain Stephens, conceiving that his character had suffered by the imputation of his ship's company, demanded of the admiral and obtained a court-martial to inquire into his conduct. The trial took place on board the Tremendous, and he was honourably acquitted: but during the examination of witnesses one of them came drunk into court; he was sent out and examined on the following day, when he was ordered to be confined for one month. The crew showed great indignation at this sentence, and rose again in open mutiny. A council was held on shore, at which the governor, Lord Macartney, General Dundas, and Admiral Pringle were present, and it was resolved to use the most decisive measures in order to reduce the mutineers to obedience, and punish the ringleaders. All the batteries were manned, and furnaces prepared for firing hot shot. One hundred pieces of cannon were pointed at the Tremendous, and everything being perfectly ready to begin the attack, a proclamation was issued at seven o'clock in the morning, and two hours allowed to the crew to determine whether they would submit. Ten minutes before the expiration of the time, finding they had no alternative but to be sunk or to surrender, they hoisted the signal of submission. The delegates

were given up; some of them were hanged, others flogged through the fleet, and perfect good order speedily restored.

The contagion unhappily spread until it reached the East India station, when one of the largest ships, which was not in what was technically called bright order, began to show the same symptoms; and perhaps the most fatal consequences were prevented by the fortunate wit of an old seaman. The ship's company were deliberating upon the expediency of taking the command of the ship, and consulted among others the captain of the forecastle. "What object do you propose to gain by it?" said the honest fellow. "Why, we want to have our own way," replied the mutineers. "Then you may save yourselves any farther trouble," said the veteran, "for to my certain knowledge you have had it this three years." The men returned to their duty, but the fact, though undoubted, does not convey a very high compliment to the discipline of the ship.

In July 1798 the Resistance, Captain Edward Pakenham, was blown up in the Straits of Banca. Only four of her men were saved, none of whom could account for the accident. One of them stated that it took place about four o'clock in the morning, without any previous alarm of fire, except the instantaneous blaze of light that preceded the explosion. He was sleeping on the quarter-deck, the ship being at anchor; but as there was at the time much thunder and lightning, I suspect that the electric fluid must have struck the foremast and passed through the magazine.

Rear-admiral Sir Hugh Christian, after his distinguished conduct in the capture of St. Lucia, was removed from the West-India command to that of the Cape of Good Hope, where he died, deeply regretted, in November 1798.

September the 20th, the Rattlesnake sloop of war, and Camel store-ship, were lying in Algoa bay, a little to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, with stores for the use of the army under General Dundas, who had marched into the interior to repel an attack of the Caffres. While in this situation they were attacked by La Prenеuse, a French frigate of 44 guns. The captains of the two British vessels were on shore with a party of their men serving with the army, and the command devolved on Lieutenant William Fothergill, of the Rattlesnake, who defended his ship with great bravery and success. The frigate engaged both the vessels successively, but the Camel, being only a store-ship, was soon silenced; she then approached the Rattlesnake, a sloop of 18 guns, and after an action which had lasted six hours and a half, was obliged to put to sea with great damage. She was afterwards chased and driven on shore on the island of Mauritius, and entirely

destroyed by the Tremendous, Captain John Osborn, and the Adamant, Captain William Hotham.

In February 1799 Captain Henry Ledgebeid Ball, in the Dædalus, of 32 guns, captured La Prudente, of 32 guns, 297 men, 27 of whom were killed in the action. The loss of the English frigate was 2 killed and 12 wounded. Lat. 31° South. Long. 33° East.

About the same time Commodore Blanket sailed from Bombay with a detachment of troops under General Craig, for the purpose of co-operating with Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Egypt.

The Earl of Mornington, now Marquis Wellesley, was at this time Governor-general of India. His lordship embarked, on the 6th of September, from Madras, on board the Earl Howe, East Indiaman, for Calcutta.

In June Vice-admiral Rainier arrived at Trincomalee, but immediately sailed again, and did not return till September, the intervening three months being always unhealthy at that place.

The ships which composed his squadron were as follows:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Suffolk (flag) | 74 | Intrepid | 64 |
| Victorious | 74 | Centurion | 50 |
| Arrogant | 74 | Sibylle | 44 |
| Sceptre | 64 | Dédaigneuse | 36 |
| Trident | 64 | Fox | 32 |

La Forte, a French frigate of the largest class, was captured on the 28th of February by his Majesty's ship La Sibylle, of 44 guns (the same ship which had been captured by Captain Paget, in the Romney, as before related), commanded by Captain Edward Cooke. The action took place off the sand-heads in Ballasore-roads, and lasted 1 hour and 40 minutes, when the French frigate being entirely dismasted, M. de Sircé her captain, and all her officers, with many of her crew, killed, she was compelled to surrender. Captain Cooke was mortally wounded, and died at Calcutta, where a monument was erected to his memory by the East India Company, who generously presented his brother (now General Sir George Cooke) with a service of plate, as a mark of gratitude and respect for the merits of his deceased relative. Another beautiful monument is also erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

On the 13th of September Government received despatches from the Earl of Mornington announcing the capture of Seringapatam, the death of Tippoo Saib, and the subversion of the Mysore power.

After the capture of Seringapatam, it was discovered by some papers which fell into our hands that Tippoo had been intriguing

with the French to send him out succours, at the very time he was negotiating with the Earl of Mornington for an adjustment of the subjects of dispute. The objects proposed were, that the French were to supply him with naval officers, who were to receive a large pay; that Mangalore was to be his principal sea-port; Bombay and Goa to be attacked. The first was to be given up to the French, the latter was to be retained by Tippoo.

Captain Bulteel, of his Majesty's ship Belliqueux, having six or seven sail of East Indiamen under his convoy, fell in with a squadron of French frigates, three in number, to which he immediately gave chase, and captured La Concorde, of 44 guns (18-pounders) and 444 men. While he was employed in securing his prize, Captains Meriton in the Exeter, and Hamilton in the Bombay Castle, came up with La Medée, of 36 guns (12-pounders) and 315 men, and captured her. La Franchise, of 40 guns, escaped by superior sailing, or she would in all probability have fallen to the other Indiamen who were in pursuit of her. This is another instance of the gallantry and public spirit of the captains and crews of the East India Company's ships, and a singular instance of a ship of war being taken by merchantmen. The prizes were carried to Rio Janeiro. The particulars of the capture of La Medée are very amusing. The chase was long, and at midnight Captain Meriton, finding himself coming fast up with the enemy, while the Bombay Castle was far astern, with great presence of mind placed lights in all his ports. Having two tier of guns, and running alongside the frigate, he commanded her to surrender. With this summons the French captain immediately complied, supposing himself under the guns of a ship of the line. He was instantly, with his officers, brought on board the Exeter, and delivered his sword to Captain Meriton. The Bombay Castle coming up, the prisoners were divided between the ships, and secured below. The French captain, after a short time, began to recollect himself, and, looking very attentively at the little guns on the quarter-deck, asked what ship it was he had struck to; to which Meriton sarcastically answered, "To a merchant ship!" The Frenchman begged to have his sword, and to be allowed to return with his men to his ship and fight the battle over again. This modest request was, of course, civilly declined.

On the 11th of December, the Trincomalee sloop of war, in the gulf of Persia, fell in with L'Iphigénie, of 22 guns, and 200 men. After a severe action the Trincomalee caught fire and blew up, when all on board perished except two seamen; and the French vessel was so much shaken by the explosion that she sank shortly after, and 115 of her crew perished.

In November 1800 the Honourable Company's ship the Phœnix, when in lat. 20° 15′ South, fell in with a French privateer; she immediately cleared for action, and as they approached within pistol-shot, the Frenchman manned his rigging and prepared to board. The Phœnix, however, gave him no time to carry his plans into execution, for, pouring in only half a broadside, the privateer struck her colours and called loudly for quarter: she proved to be the General Martillac, of 16 guns, two of which were 36-pounders, and 120 men. The conduct of the captain of the Phœnix was deserving of great praise, and we trust he was amply rewarded.

In 1800 the blockade of the city and harbour of Batavia was maintained by a squadron under the command of Captain Henry L. Ball, in the Dædalus, of 32 guns, having with him the Centurion, Braave, and Sybille. An attack on the island of Java was in contemplation at that time, but the state of affairs in India having prevented it, the squadron was employed in cutting off all the trade of the Dutch settlements: it took the arsenal at Onrust, and compelled the Dutch to burn 30 sail of vessels to prevent their falling into our hands. A favourable negotiation was entered into with the native princes of Java, and by the utmost vigilance the squadron was kept from the contagion of the endemic fever of the island. At length the soldiers of the 12th regiment, breaking into a store at Onrust, and obtaining liquor, the disorder commenced with such destructive violence, that the squadron had scarcely strength to weigh their anchors, and the ships were recalled at the request of the Governor-general, who had undertaken the Mahratta war. It was with great reluctance that Admiral Rainier relinquished this enterprise, on which he had been ordered by the Admiralty.

The cruisers in the East Indies, at this period, were very active and successful. Captain William Hill, of the Orpheus, in the Straits of Banca, captured two Dutch merchant vessels, of 22 guns each, with their cargoes.

Captain Astle, in La Virginie, on her passage to Amboyna, made many similar captures of vessels loaded with supplies for the island of Ternate, and a considerable quantity of specie in dollars.

Captain E. O. Osborn, in the Arrogant, of 74 guns, on the coast of Java, captured a large Dutch merchantman, mounting 28 guns, with a crew of between 200 and 300 men, and a brig of 14 guns and 65 men, and took several other small armed vessels. On the 4th of August Captain Osborn captured L'Uni, French privateer, of 30 guns and 250 men.

In July 1801 the island of Ternate, after a siege and close

blockade of 52 days, was taken possession of by the Honourable Company's forces. A considerable treasure was found there, and our loss on the occasion was too trifling to mention; but the enemy suffered severely by famine.

The last naval action which we shall record in India before the peace of Amiens is the capture of the French frigate La Chiffone, of 36 guns, by Captain Charles Adam, in the Sibylle, of 44 guns. This action was fought at the Sechelle islands, where the frigate had gone for the purpose of conveying 26 persons from France, who were or had been suspected of plotting against the life of Napoleon. If the French frigate was inferior to La Sibylle in point of size and number of guns, she had the advantages of position, which more than counterbalanced this deficiency. Captain Adam was forced to work his way through a very intricate narrow channel, while he was exposed not only to the fire of his opponent, but also to that of a battery on shore, composed of her forecastle guns, which fired hot shot. Captain Adam, in defiance of every obstacle, steered steadily for his opponent, and after a short action silenced and took her and the battery. The Sibylle had two men killed and one wounded; the Chiffone 20 killed and 30 wounded.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Political relations between France and America—The President's speech to Congress—Insolence of the Directory—Extraordinary declaration of the President, and shameful conduct of the American privateers—The Americans increase their land and sea forces—Spain in treaty for the cession of Louisiana to America—President's remarks on the detention of their trade by France—The Carnatic stops and searches an American vessel of war for British seamen—Consequences—Meeting of Congress in 1799—Trade revived between America and St. Domingo—Difference of opinion between British and American commissioners on subjects relative to detention of American traders—Action between Constellation and Insurgente—Attempt to set fire to Halifax dock-yard—Newfoundland station—Farther disputes between France and America—Action between Constellation and Vengeance—Rear-admiral Pole goes to Newfoundland.

We must now revert to the eventful year 1797. At the opening of the session of Congress in America, on the 16th of May, the President gave a clear and able statement of the differences subsisting between France and that country.

In the course of a speech, remarkable for manliness and perspicuity, he gave us a piece of information which we should not have expected. He says, "that the greater part of the cruisers whose depredations have been most injurious have been built, and some of them partially equipped, in the United States;" and farther, he adds, "that some of our citizens resident abroad have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command of them, and committed spoliations on the commerce of the United States."

This is an important confession, and should convince the enemies of our country, both foreign and domestic, that the acts of justice committed by Great Britain in self-defence, served as a cloak to the most iniquitous practices adopted by Americans themselves against their own country.

The President recommended, and congress decided on, a farther increase of their land and sea forces. It is due to the Government of the United States to observe, that its conduct on this occasion was marked with justice towards foreign powers. The lower orders in America still clung to France; the higher, particularly in the eastern states, to Great Britain. The former obtained the name of Democrats; the latter of Federalists.

In 1798 the ill humour of the Americans, which had begun to subside, was again excited by the unavoidable repetition of the act of searching their ships for our seamen: this act, which nothing but necessity could justify, we have already observed was practised towards their merchantmen as a matter to which they reluctantly submitted; but when a ship of war bearing their flag was subjected to the same indignity, it became an object of state inquiry, and the cause of national animosity.

Captain Loring, of the Carnatic, of 74 guns, boarded an American vessel of war off the Havannah, for the purpose above related; in consequence of which an order was issued by the American Government to their captains, never on any account to submit to a search when they had the means of resistance,—they were never to part with their men unless their ship was taken.

On the meeting of Congress in December 1799, the President in his speech, referring to the political situation of the United States, observed that he had thought he might safely renew a commercial intercourse with the island of St. Domingo; and that in consequence he had taken off the prohibitions, and had found that the persecutions of American citizens, and the practices of privateering by the blacks, had entirely ceased.

He farther observed, that a slight disagreement had unfortunately occurred between the commissioners appointed by both the Governments to examine the claims of British subjects on the United States; but that as a mutual wish existed for an adjustment, he had no doubt they would come to a satisfactory conclusion. These discussions related to the detention of American vessels by British cruisers. The result of his mission to France still remained uncertain.—Meanwhile the depredations of the French cruisers in the West Indies were carried to so great an excess, that the President deemed it prudent to assert the honour of his flag, and sent thither Commodore Truxton, in the Constellation, a frigate of 36 guns, 18-pounders, and well manned. The commodore, on the 9th of February, fell in with the Insurgente, a French frigate of the large class, having 44 guns, 18-pounders, and 410 men, commanded by Captain Buroe: an action immediately commenced, and continued with so much spirit on the side of the American, that his enemy was compelled to surrender, with the loss of 29 men killed and as many wounded; the American had one killed and two wounded.

The affair happened off Nevis, and the prize was carried into St. Christopher's. General des Fourneaux, governor of

Guadaloupe, sent a requisition to Commodore Truxton to deliver up his capture; but to this the Commodore very properly replied, that, having hitherto acted by the orders of his Government, he should still continue to do so, and that no threats would induce him to alter his conduct. This act, however, did not produce a war between the two countries. France being sensible that she deserved the chastisement, and not being in a situation to revenge it, attempted to gain by negotiation what she had found unattainable by force.

The Americans were no better satisfied with the conduct of France, after Bonaparte had become Chief Consul, than they were when it was governed by the Directory; and a drawn battle between a French and an American frigate in the West Indies shows the feeling that existed between the two nations. Their partiality to France was on the wane, and they were seriously out of humour with the Chief Consul, whose arbitrary power so shocked their ideas of republican liberty and national independence, that they made remonstrances, through their minister at Paris, on the seizure of some of their merchant vessels, and of their final condemnation in the ports of France, without a shadow of complaint against them for the non-performance of any stipulated agreement or illegal traffic. Little acts of hostility were committed by both parties, but no specific declaration of war took place. France had too much on her hands at the time, and America well knew that a maritime war with that country would endanger, if not destroy, her commerce; both sides were therefore equally adverse to the last appeal. The heartburnings between France and America were occasioned by the rapacity and injustice of the former, who had no solid excuse for their acts of aggression; while on the other hand the Americans could allege nothing against us, except that we took our own seamen wherever we could find them, and this was on our part no more than an act of self-defence; but in the opinion of the Government of America at that time, and of a large majority of the people, particularly in the southern States, England could never do right, and France could hardly do wrong.

The Americans were constantly in the practice of seducing our seamen to desert; their consuls and agents in foreign ports were accustomed to furnish them with certificates of citizenship. These were sold for a dollar each, and the Earl of St. Vincent said that masters of American ships had been known to carry off soldiers from Gibraltar in their regimentals.

In 1800 Vice-admiral the Honourable William Waldegrave was governor and commander-in-chief in and over the island of Newfoundland: this post was held for three years. The

governor usually hoisted his flag about July, and sailed with convoy in war time about the latter end of that month, or the beginning of August: I have known them sail as late as the 5th of September, but this ought not to be allowed. The period for the governor quitting the island was fixed at the 25th of October, with convoy, and at that season of the year the gales were so heavy that these little frail vessels were frequently overwhelmed, and one year, I think 19 sail of our convoy foundered on their passage home in November—many of them never reached their port of destination.

The appointment of governor and commander-in-chief was taken from the Admiralty in the year 1828, and assigned to the Treasury, who have ever since appointed a naval captain to fill that station. The first they sent out was Sir Thomas Cochrane, who held it for six years; the next was Captain Isaac Prescott, the present governor.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Gallant enterprise of Lieutenant (now Sir Thomas M. Hardy,) at Teneriffe —Promotion of flag officers—Blockade of Cadiz—Contest between Nelson and Spanish gun-boats—Expedition against Teneriffe—Disastrous result—Nelson wounded—Bowen killed—Generosity of the Spaniards —Nelson's Letter to Sir John Jervis—Mutiny breaks out in the British fleet before Cadiz—Determined conduct of the admiral, of Captain Peard, and Lieutenant Hatley—Mutiny on board the Defence—Resolute and decided order of Earl St. Vincent to Sir William Parker —Suppression of the mutiny, and excellent state of the fleet—Spanish fleet puts to sea, and chases Sir William Parker from before Cadiz—The French fleet, with an army, sails from Toulon to Egypt, under the command of Bonaparte and Admiral Bruies.

The boats of the Lively, Captain Hallowell, and the Minerve, Captain Cockburn, cut out, from the bay of Santa Cruz, La Mutine, of 18 guns, and 140 men: the boats were commanded by Lieutenant (now Sir Thomas M.) Hardy of La Minerve, and the whole affair did him, and those employed under him, the highest honour. The vessel lay lashed alongside of the mole, under the protection of the batteries, and sustained for near an hour a heavy fire of great guns and small arms from the shore, as well as from a large ship which lay in the bay, the Spaniards being perfectly regardless of their friends, so long as they could destroy their enemies. There was little wind, and the boats were obliged to tow her out: she was bound from Brest to the Isle of France, and had put in there for water; the captain and 20 of her men were on shore when she was cut out. Lieutenant Hardy was promoted to the rank of commander, and placed in this vessel, in which we shall soon hear of him again.

A promotion of flag officers succeeded the battle of Valentine's day, and Nelson became a rear-admiral of the blue. He was cruising off Cadiz with a small squadron, having his broad pendant in the Irresistible, Captain George Martin, when he was joined on the 1st of April by the admiral, who gave him this intelligence, and conveyed to him at the same time, as a further reward from his sovereign, the order of the Bath.

In the course of the summer, to employ the minds of the seamen, and divert them from following the mischievous example of the ships in England, particularly at the Nore, Sir John Jervis undertook the bombardment of Cadiz, which he now held under a rigorous blockade. For this purpose he wrote to England for a bomb-vessel, which was sent out; and Sir Horatio Nelson, who had charge of the in-shore squadron, planned the attacks on the town, to which he gave the greatest annoyance. On the 3d of July the rear-admiral had made his disposition. The Thunder bomb, covered by the launches and barges of the fleet, was placed near the tower of St. Sebastian, and fired some shells into the town, when an attempt was made to carry her by the gun-boats and the launches of the enemy. The rear-admiral, who was present in person with his boats, boarded and took two of the enemy's gun-boats, and one of the launches of their ships of war, with the commandant of the flotilla. In this action 18 or 20 Spaniards were killed, and the commandant with many others wounded and made prisoners; others swam on shore. The launch of the Ville de Paris was sunk by a shot from one of the enemy's gun-boats; but by the activity of Captain Trowbridge, of the Culloden, she was weighed and repaired.

The bomb was placed within 2,500 yards of the town of Cadiz, but the action with the boats ended close under the walls. Captains Fremantle and Miller distinguished themselves on this occasion; and Nelson's coxswain, John Sykes, who purposely threw himself in the way, received a blow on his head from a sabre which was aimed at his admiral, for which the brave fellow was deservedly rewarded. The admiral and those with him were personally engaged hand to hand with the Spaniards; and Don Miguel Tyrason, the commander of the flotilla, in his barge, laid himself alongside of that of Nelson, who says "that his resistance was such as did honour to a brave man;" and that, out of 26 men in his boat, 18 were killed, and himself, with all the rest, wounded.

On the 5th of July Nelson attacked them again with an additional force, consisting of the Thunderer, Terror, and Strombolo bombs, covered by Captain Miller, in the Theseus, Captain Bowen, in the Terpsichore, and Captain Waller, in the Emerald. The bombardment seemed to have a considerable effect upon the town, and amongst the shipping; and ten sail of the line, with the flags of Gravina and Mazarado, were forced to warp up the harbour out of the reach of the shells.

The Spaniards in Cadiz not appearing very desirous of again trying the fortune of war, the admiral made use of the leisure allowed him to send a small expedition against Tene-

riffe, one of the Canary Islands: the command of this was intrusted to Nelson.

The following is a list of his squadron: viz.

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Theseus . . . . | 74 | Capt. Miller, Nelson's flag-ship. |
| Zealous . . . . | 74 | —— Hood. |
| Culloden . . . . | 74 | —— Trowbridge. |
| Seahorse . . . . | 38 | —— Fremantle. |
| Emerald . . . . | 36 | —— Waller. |
| Terpsichore . . . | 32 | —— Bowen. |
| Fox (1st) cutter . . | — | Lieut. Gibson. |
| Leander . . . . | 50 | (added.) Capt. Thomson. |

This squadron parted company with the fleet off Cadiz on the 15th of July, and arrived at Teneriffe about the 19th.

Of all the places which ever came under my inspection, none, I conceive, is more invulnerable to attack from a naval force, or more easily defended, than Teneriffe. The island, like most of its neighbours, is a volcanic production, consisting of mountains, ravines, rocks, and precipices. The bay of Santa Cruz affords no shelter for shipping; the shore is nearly a right line, and the bank so steep that no anchorage can be found, beyond the distance of half a mile, but in 45 fathoms water; the beach, from north to south, is one continued series of broken masses of loose rock and round smooth stones, rendered so by friction, and slippery from sea-weed; on this a perpetual surf breaks, rendering the landing at all times difficult, except at the mole or pier of Santa Cruz. To these obstacles there is another, which Nelson experienced in its fullest force. Teneriffe, like all other mountainous countries, is liable to calms, sudden squalls, and violent gusts of wind, which, rushing down the ravines, frequently take a ship's topmasts over the side without a moment's warning. Such was the place which Nelson was going to attack with 1,000 men: the plan was, however, laid under a supposition that the Spaniards would have conducted themselves on this as they had done on other occasions. It is to me unaccountable that Nelson should not have laid his ships alongside of the town, as was done by Blake, in the time of the Protectorate, who succeeded to his utmost wish. It is true that the uncertainty of winds renders the approach to Santa Cruz difficult; but still many opportunities occur for laying a squadron within point-blank shot of the forts and town, and no one knew better than Nelson that the Spaniards would not have stood to their guns, that every shot must have told from the ships, while those from the forts in the night-time could only have been fired at random. This plan could, however, only have been carried

into effect under certain concurring circumstances, and probably Nelson had good reasons for the mode which he adopted.

Nelson proposed, by landing to the northward, to make themselves masters of a fort within gun-shot of the town, and then send a summons to the governor. This plan was rendered abortive by the frigates meeting with a gale of wind in the offing, and with a calm, and a strong and contrary current, in-shore, and day-break surprised them before they could effect their purpose.

Trowbridge and Bowen, with Captain Oldfield, of the marines, were intrusted with this part of the enterprise; we may therefore be assured that it failed only from insurmountable causes.

Consulting again with Nelson, it was determined to obtain possession of the heights above the fort, in which, had they succeeded, little advantage would have been gained without artillery, which they could not have carried with them, and would not have found there. The men, however, were landed, and the ships of the line stood in to batter the forts; but calms prevented their gaining a position nearer than three miles, and the men were re-embarked.

On the 24th of July another attack was made. Nelson anchored his ships about two miles north of the town, as if intending to land there, but this was a feint: the whole force had assembled alongside of the Seahorse, where Nelson made his final arrangements, and at 11 at night pulled in for the shore in six divisions, conducted by the respective captains of the squadron; Fremantle and Bowen remained with Nelson.

The mole-head was the great rendezvous; here they were to land, and proceed to the Prado, or parade. At half-past one, being close in-shore, they were discovered by the enemy, when Nelson directed the boats to separate to their respective points of attack, and, giving a hearty cheer, they pushed in for the landing-place.

The Spaniards were prepared, and received them with a heavy fire of great guns and musketry. The night was dark, the surf high, and the beach so rough that in the clearest day no boat could have landed with dry ammunition. The current swept many of them to leeward of the mole, and, unable to find it, they landed where they could, their boats were stove, and their powder destroyed.

Nelson's, Thompson's, Bowen's, and some other boats, found the mole-head, landed, and took it: but here their work had only begun; a high wall and palisade impeded their advance, while a heavy battery plied them with round, grape, and musketry: here was the great slaughter of our men. As Nelson

stepped out of his boat a shot struck the steps, but whether that or a splinter of the stone struck his arm seems doubtful; at Teneriffe I was assured it was the latter. The wounded hero was supported by his son-in-law, the late Captain Josiah Nisbet, and to his attention probably owed his life; a boat's crew was instantly collected, and they pulled off to the nearest ship of war. As they rowed mournfully along in the dark and squally night, a horrid shriek proceeded from the Fox cutter, which, having received a shot in her side, instantly sunk, and with her 97 seamen and marines. The boat in which Nelson lay flew to their assistance, and was instrumental in saving many. Coming at length alongside the Seahorse, Nelson refused to be taken on board, lest, as he said, he should alarm Mrs. Fremantle, whose husband was still on shore, and his fate unknown: bleeding, and suffering that agony of pain which in half an hour succeeds the infliction of a gun-shot wound, the hero was taken to the Theseus, where he walked up the side without assistance, and immediately ordered the surgeon to prepare his instruments, and perform the amputation.

In the mean while Trowbridge, with his party, having missed the mole, landed to leeward, and was more fortunate than his brethren: he got immediately under the battery on the south side of the town; Waller, of the Emerald, was with him; some of the boats put back, others instantly filled, and were stove against the rocks. Trowbridge and his few followers pushed in towards the square, hoping to find the admiral and their companions, but, having lost their ladders, they could advance no farther: a serjeant, being sent to summon the citadel, was detained, and Trowbridge, uncertain what steps to take, sought a junction with Hood and Miller, who had landed still farther to the southward. At daylight they had collected about 300 seamen and marines, all the survivors of those who had landed; and, having taken a little ammunition from some Spaniards, they boldly marched on to the citadel. The streets were all well guarded with field-pieces, and the Spaniards appeared determined to defend themselves. Never was an assailing enemy in a more forlorn condition: they had a fortress before them whose walls were to them insurmountable, defended by a numerous garrison with heavy cannon; against these he had nothing to oppose but the daring countenances of himself and his brave followers; he had neither artillery, scaling ladders, ammunition, nor provisions; and, most of the boats being stove, he could neither retreat nor receive reinforcements from the ships.

Trowbridge, second only to Nelson in presence of mind and resources, resolved to make the best terms in his power. He

therefore sent Hood with a flag of truce to the governor, to say that, if the Spaniards attempted to advance, he would set fire to the town: this threat perhaps the governor well knew he could not execute, the houses being built of stone, and, in the Spanish or Moorish custom, secured with iron bars, like those of Cadiz or Buenos Ayres. However, the Spanish proverb says, "Make a bridge of gold for a flying enemy;" and this policy he seems to have adopted. The terms were accepted, and the British troops were allowed to re-embark with all their arms, and their own boats, if they could be saved; if not, boats were to be furnished by the Spaniards, the British engaging not to molest the town, or any of the Canary Islands; all prisoners on both sides to be given up.

The Spanish governor generously received the wounded English into the hospital, presented all the people with as much food as they could require, and permitted the ships to have free intercourse with the shore, and purchase whatever they chose in the markets. In all our intercourse with the Spaniards, either in Europe or in their colonies, we have experienced both in peace and war the kindest treatment from them. They are certainly great admirers of the English character. Whenever they are the enemies of Great Britain, it is not from national ill-will, but from the ambition or covetousness of a few individuals. "It is the interest of Spain," says the Earl of St. Vincent, "to be the ally of England." The name of the Spanish governor of Teneriffe was Don Juan Antonio Gutierrez. Mr. Bernardo Callagon, a youth born in Spain, of Irish parents, stripped himself of his shirt to make bandages for the wounded Englishmen. Our loss amounted to 250 killed, wounded, and drowned; but the national loss was Bowen. This is the officer whom I introduced to my readers in the History of the West Indies, when lieutenant of the Boyne, boarding a French frigate in the carénage of Martinique, and who, when captain of the Terpsichore, took a Spanish and a French frigate in separate actions off Malaga and Cape St. Vincent. He was brother to the late Rear-admiral Bowen, who was master of the Queen Charlotte with Lord Howe.

Nelson returned to England in the Seahorse, and in November was perfectly cured of his wound; he had now lost an arm and an eye in the service of his country.

The following is the official letter which he addressed to the Earl of St. Vincent, of whose advancement to the Peerage Nelson was at that time ignorant.

*Theseus, Santa Cruz, July* 27, 1797.

SIR,

In obedience to your orders to make a vigorous attack on the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, I directed 1,000 men, seamen and marines, to be prepared for landing, under the command of Captain Trowbridge, of the Culloden, and Captains Hood, Thompson, Fremantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller, who very handsomely volunteered their services; and, although I am under the painful necessity of acquainting you that we have not been able to succeed in the attack, yet it is my duty to state that I believe more daring intrepidity was never shown than by the captains, officers, and men you did me the honour to place under my command. Enclosed I transmit a list of killed and wounded, and among the first it is with the deepest sorrow I have to place the name of Captain Richard Bowen, of the Terpsichore, than whom a more enterprising, able, and gallant officer does not grace his Majesty's naval service.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

*To Sir John Jervis, K.B., Admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-chief, &c. &c.*

The officers wounded were, besides Nelson, the Captains Thompson and Fremantle, but neither of them severely.

The squadron under the command of Trowbridge rejoined the fleet before Cadiz. This place the admiral held in the strictest blockade: his fleet was anchored before the port at the distance of about five miles from the light-house, in sandy bottom. In this situation he rode out many a heavy gale of wind from the westward, with a tremendous sea running in upon the coast: this I believe to have been the first instance of the kind ever attempted. The new school of naval science seems to have discovered that three cables an end on one anchor, or about 300 fathoms of cable, will ride a ship longer than three cables, of 100 fathoms each, on three anchors; the chain cables, of modern invention, promise more security to shipping than any discovery since that of the anchor in its present form: hemp cables I have seen to part, and have often witnessed the distress of a British fleet in Torbay, in Basque roads, or off the Texel. Rocky ground by means of chain cables is rendered harmless, if the anchor can be lowered into its bed; but in any event there is more safety in the chain than the hemp, though much greater difficulty attends lifting the anchor with the former than the latter, particularly if the water be deep. The next question to consider is, how far the bits and hooden ends of the ship will sustain the weight and pressure which would be occasioned by the resistance of an iron cable.

When the first account of the mutiny at the Nore reached the fleet off Cadiz, numbers of letters, all written in a fair hand, and by the same person, were discovered in the letter-bags of the ships, addressed to the captains of forecastles and other leading seamen. Captain Dacres, of the Barfleur, caused one of them to be opened, and, perceiving its intent, stopped their delivery until he had orders from the commander-in-chief, to whom the circumstance was immediately reported. Lord St. Vincent took it up in a way peculiarly his own: he made the signal for all lieutenants, and gave out in public orders that "certain letters of a seditious and mutinous tendency having been sent to the fleet, some of the captains had thought proper to detain them; it was the commander-in-chief's direction that they were immediately to be delivered out, and, should any disturbance arise, he knew very well how to repress it." In giving this order, the commander-in-chief did not disapprove of the conduct pursued by Captain Dacres, but was resolved to let the men see he was not afraid of them.

When, therefore, the mutiny, which had in the spring of 1797 begun at Spithead, and had blazed with so much fury during the month of June in the North Seas, reached the fleet off Cadiz in July, the sailors, knowing the character of their chief, were extremely cautious in their first movements. These began on board the St. George, of 98 guns, but here their progress was arrested by a skill and determination which saved the fleet.

When strong discontent lurks in the popular mind, the smallest spark is sufficient to produce explosion. Two seamen belonging to the St. George had been then recently condemned to suffer death for a breach of the 29th article of war, and, being ordered for execution on board of their own ship, the crew drew up a memorial to their captain, rather, it would appear, demanding than soliciting the pardon of the culprits, and they requested Captain Peard would present this paper to the commander-in-chief, which was done without loss of time.

The answer of the admiral was, that he considered the sentence to be founded on solid justice and imperious necessity, and was resolved that it should be carried into execution. This being made known to the crew of the St. George, strong symptoms of discontent were observed among them; but their motions were so well watched by the captain and officers, that their plan to seize the ship, depose their officers, and liberate the criminals, was very soon discovered. The period of their rising was fixed for the night previous to the intended execution.

Captain Peard, seeing the people assemble in a tumultuous

manner on the main deck, informed them that he was aware of their intentions, and commanded them to disperse; but, finding they were not disposed to obey, he boldly seized one of the leaders, and Mr. Hatley, the first lieutenant, took another, dragged them out from among their companions, and confined them in irons. This decisive measure immediately restored order, and brought the mutinous crew to a sense of their duty. The two men before condemned were hanged the next morning at the fore yard-arm of the St. George. A general order the night before commanded the attendance of two boats from each ship of the fleet, well manned and armed, with two marines in each; the crew of the St. George alone to man the yard-ropes, and none of the people from other ships to assist, as is customary on ordinary occasions. This was done to mark the opinion the commander-in-chief entertained of the loyalty of the fleet, and of the infamous conduct of the crew of the St. George. On the 7th and 8th of July the two mutineers just alluded to, belonging to that ship, were tried, and sentenced to suffer death, and were executed on the 9th on board of her. Mr. Hatley, the first lieutenant, was promoted to the rank of commander for his good conduct. A remarkable circumstance occurred on this memorable occasion, which I relate with the more pleasure, as it tends to establish, in the clearest manner, the superior firmness of the mind of the commander-in-chief. The court-martial which tried the mutineers of the St. George sat on Saturday; it was late in the evening before the sentence was given. Sir Charles Thomson, the president, informed the criminals, that they should have all Sunday to prepare themselves. After this he waited on Lord St. Vincent with the sentence, who was much displeased with the vice-admiral for the promise he had given; adding, "You, Sir, have done your duty in passing the sentence: I will do mine in seeing it carried into execution." His lordship knew that every thing depended on the promptness and energy with which he acted on this occasion. He, therefore, commanded the prisoners to prepare for death on the following day, Sunday, at eight o'clock in the morning. The Spanish gun-boats came out of Cadiz, and attacked our in-shore squadron. The launches and barges of the ships were sent in to repel them, and, while thus employed, the fatal signal gun was fired, and the culprits were launched into eternity; none but the crew of the St. George were allowed to man the yard-rope. While the bodies were suspended from the yard-arm, the signal was made for the ships of the fleet to perform divine service, the in-shore squadron still being in action.

This prompt and well-timed severity, though productive of

the most salutary effects, did not entirely subdue the contagion which had infected the seamen before Cadiz. The Defence, of 74 guns, and the Emerald frigate, were particularly distinguished for daring acts of insubordination: the boatswain of the latter is said to have recommended the crew to take the ship into Cadiz; for which he was tried, condemned, and executed, on board his own ship. The mutineers of the Defence were also brought to a court-martial, and received sentence of death. The energy displayed by the Earl of St. Vincent on this occasion did him great honour, and his order to Sir William Parker will best show the determination with which he met the danger. It was as follows:—

[Secret, not to be revealed now or hereafter.*]

Sir,

It being necessary to take every precaution against any attempt to delay or defeat the carrying of the sentence of the court-martial into execution on board the Defence this morning, I have ordered all the launches in the fleet fitted with carronades to have them mounted, and to hold them in readiness at a moment's warning; and should any resistance be made to carry the sentence of the law into execution (of which immediate notice will be given to you), it is my directions that you assume the command of them, taking the captains of your division in their barges to your assistance, and that you fire into that part of his Majesty's ship Defence where the persons resisting or opposing obedience to lawful commands may dispose of themselves, and continue your fire until they submit.

St. Vincent.

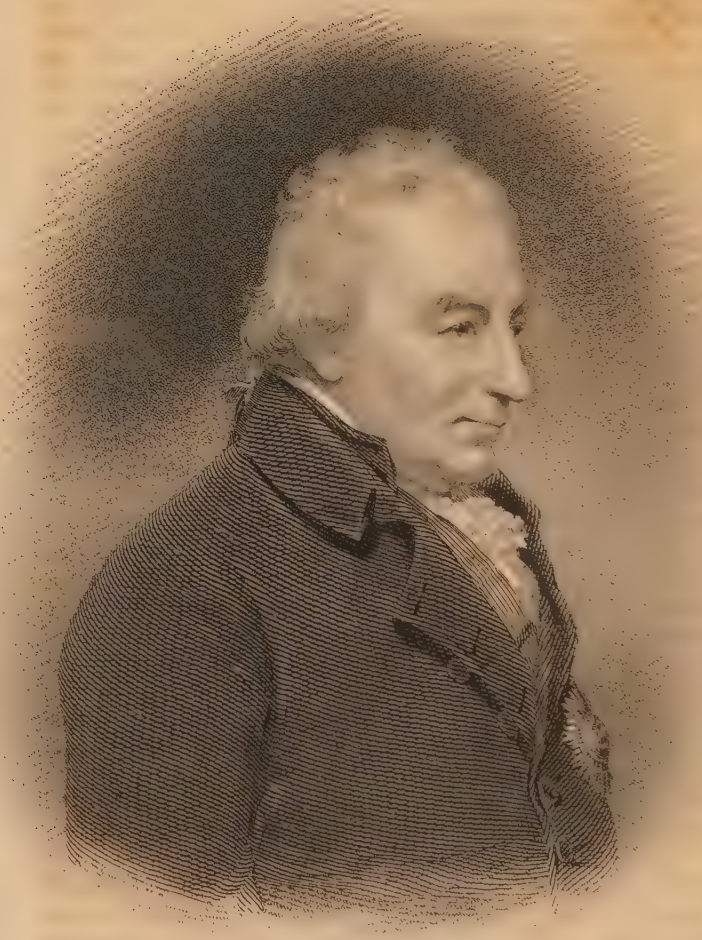
*To Sir William Parker, Bart.,*
*Rear-admiral, &c.*

With these precautions the execution took place very quietly, and the whole fleet was restored to a state of sound discipline. The firmness and temper of the admiral gave him the most perfect command of his ships at a time when the discipline of other divisions was extremely doubtful: in less masterly hands than his the fleet before Cadiz might have been induced to relieve itself from the rigour of a long blockade by running

* This note was shown to Lord St. Vincent before it was sent to press. "I know it," said his lordship; "it was proper then, but now may be revealed as an historical document.

The editor of Lord Collingwood's Memoirs has taken offence at a quotation in my first edition, vol. ii. p. 329. I am always sorry when I offend, and ever ready to atone for it; but here no offence was conceived possible, and the learned gentleman himself is the only person who ever applied that passage, beginning with "I pride myself," to Lord Collingwood. (See Memoir, 4th edition, 8vo. pp. 70, 71.)

If Lord Collingwood felt himself "degraded," the 22d article of war, referred to in this work, p. 277, would have shown him where to obtain redress, and admonished him of the impropriety of that expression, (particularly at such a time.) "I do not conceal what I think."



The Earl of St. Vincent K.B.
First Lord of the Admiralty.

From a picture by Sir Wm. Beechey.
Engraved by R. Cooper for Capt. Brenton's Naval History.

into an enemy's port, or returning to England to "redress its grievances," giving an advantage to our adversary which we should in all probability never have recovered. Instead, however, of allowing his country to be disgraced and ruined by such proceedings, the undaunted chief turned the ardour of his men to the honour of England and the discomfiture of her foes. He saw that, while the ships lay inactively at anchor before the port, the sailors, for want of some object to employ their attention, would brood over the late acts of severity, and, if compelled to perform their ordinary duty, would do it without heart or cheerfulness. He therefore caused the boats from all the ships of the fleet, well manned and armed, to be divided in three parts, each taking its turn, under the command of a lieutenant of the flag-ship, to row guard during the night under the walls of the garrison; while the bomb-vessel, mortar-boats, and launches, with heavy carronades, kept up a constant fire on the place, and the unhappy Spaniards were made to feel the effects and deplore the consequences of a mutiny in the British fleet. On one of these occasions the launch of the Princess Royal was boarded and taken by the Spanish gun-boats, who made a spirited sortie from the harbour, and bore away their prize in triumph; this happened when only one division of guard-boats was in-shore, under the command of a lieutenant of the Ville de Paris. It led to very unpleasant consequences in the fleet, and occasioned a severe rebuke in public orders to the officers, by whose neglect it was supposed to have been occasioned.

Nor did Lord St. Vincent, when supporting his own authority, and the discipline of the navy, forget the real interests or comforts of the seamen committed to his care. He was always mindful to obtain for the officers and men every indulgence compatible with the great object in view. While the fleet lay before Cadiz, fresh beef, vegetables, and fruit, were procured at any expense from the coast of Barbary; letters were forwarded with the least possible delay; the cleanliness of the ships was never carried to a greater degree of nicety; a regular sick berth was first established, and proper apartments in each ship were appropriated to the reception of the sick, who received the utmost care and attention that medical aid and kind treatment could afford; and the surprising fact that the sick list in the whole fleet, after being ten months at sea, did not amount to more than 50 men, sufficiently proves the good effect of his system.

Every encouragement was given to merit; none were preferred from any class but such as could bring the most undeniable testimonies of good conduct; never by any admiral were

powerful recommendations from home less regarded; and whether we look at his fleet at an anchor, under sail, in the line, or in action with double his force, we are filled alike with surprise and admiration. Wherever the admiral had the smallest reason to think that a ship's crew was discontented, he quickly inquired into the circumstances; removed the cause, if any existed; and not unfrequently, at an hour's notice, draughted the whole crew into different ships, and thus, by separating a set of men who had combined together for mischievous purposes, disconcerted their plans before they were ripe for execution. This latter decisive measure he adopted in the case of the * * * of 32 guns.

When the mutiny took place on board this ship she was ordered to Lisbon, and on her arrival Lord St. Vincent sent the boats of the fleet alongside, with an order to the captain to send one half of his ship's company to one ship, and the other half to another; after which she was filled up by a sort of subscription from the fleet, and certainly not of the best men,—a proper rebuke for an officer who cannot keep his ship in order without external aid.

Generally speaking, the spirit of mutiny was on the decline throughout the navy; but partial disturbances continually occurred both at home and abroad: these were met with that firmness and resolution of which we have already shown the salutary effects; and the example set before the port of Cadiz was approved and followed by every good officer in the British navy.

On the 31st of October Sir John Orde was sent with a squadron of six sail of the line to relieve Commodore Collingwood, off Cadiz. At this time we had no trade passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and very little communication with the eastern part of the Mediterranean.

On the 14th of December Sir William Parker was sent off Cadiz, with three sail of the line, to relieve such ships of Sir John Orde's squadron as might require to return into port. Sir John Orde went to Lisbon, and returned to Cadiz on the 28th of February, 1798.

On the 23d of March Sir William Parker was again off Cadiz.

On the 2d of May we find Nelson ordered to take the Vanguard, Orion, and Alexander, seventy-fours; Caroline, Flora, Emerald, Terpsichore, frigates; and Bonne Citoyenne sloop, under his orders, and proceed with convoy to Gibraltar; after having left that place to open his sealed orders: these were to watch the French fleet in Toulon.

A squadron was sent to watch Algiers, and another to the coasts of Catalonia and Valentia; the Portuguese squadron

being placed under Lord St. Vincent's command, who begged it might lie in Gibraltar bay till farther orders, or cruise in the Straits.

To Sir Horace Walpole he says, "The ways of the court of Portugal will be the death of me, if not relieved in my command, which I have prayed for. The councils of Spain are under the same baneful influence as before the resignation of the Prince of the Peace; for, though passive in war against us, they obey every other mandate of Truguet, the French admiral." Nelson, watching the French off Toulon, sends word, that they have embarked horses,—a sure indication that they are not going far.

On the 11th of May he sent orders to Nelson to rejoin him at Gibraltar, having received instructions from home to concentrate his whole force for some important movement.

On the 12th, 10 sail of the line in the fleet off Cadiz were ordered to be victualled for six months, and every care taken that no species of stores should be wanting.

The Portuguese Government, faithful to its treaties with Great Britain, ordered five sail of the line to join the Earl of St. Vincent, and requested his lordship would name the officer who should command them; Lord St. Vincent recommended the Marquis de Niza: this squadron joined and acted under Nelson's orders at the blockade of Malta. The Portuguese, notwithstanding this, concluded a treaty of peace with the French republic.

In a letter to Consul Gregory he says, "Since the Principe de la Paz (Godoy) has begun to scold, I am become doubtful of his sex: does his highness imagine that an unprovoked, impolitic, and monstrously unjust war on the part of Spain will be carried on by me in making unmeaning complaints? If he does he is very much mistaken." Notwithstanding this, his lordship never lost an opportunity of conciliating the good-will of the Spaniards. He had a very great esteem for Juan de Mazerado, the Spanish admiral, to whom he wrote as follows: "The new signature with which I subscribe myself, by the grace of my royal master, makes no alteration in the esteem and regard with which I have the honour to be, &c."

Austria, lately tranquillized by the treaty of Campo Formio, was at this time again roused to arms, and combined with England and Russia in the war of self-preservation. Portugal excited, by her partiality to Britain, the hatred and vengeance of France, who demanded of Spain a passage for an army into that country in order to drive out the "ferocious English." This demand Spain, if she felt the inclination, had not the power to refuse.

On the 11th of February, 1798, the Spanish fleet put to sea, and drove off Sir William Parker, with his squadron of six sail of the line. Lord St. Vincent followed them as soon as he heard of it, but they returned to Cadiz before he could get sight of them. Their object was to break up the blockade.

The affairs of the Mediterranean, in the spring of the year 1798, began to create the most intense and anxious curiosity throughout Europe.

Never in any former war did France embark an army of such magnitude as that she was now about to commit to sea from Toulon, for the invasion of Egypt,—never was an army led by such able chiefs, so well supplied with every article necessary for its final success,—never was an army so well supported by maritime aids,—and, excepting the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, scarcely ever was failure more complete than that of the fleets and the legions which constituted this most mysterious and extraordinary armament.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Unprincipled conduct of the Directory—Recall of Mr. Wickham—Loss of the Colossus in St. Mary's Sound—Proposals for making Scilly and Falmouth naval depôts—Capture and loss of La Chérie—Reflections on French corvettes—Various captures—Capture of the Hercule, by the Mars—Attack on islands of Marcou by French flotilla—Escape of Sir Sydney Smith—Success of Sir Francis Laforey—Capture of the Seine—Loss of the Pique—Lieutenant Shortland in boats of Melpomene—Butterfield, in the Hazard, takes the Neptune—French frigates land troops in Killala bay, and are defeated—Miscellaneous—United Irishmen—Shocking execution of a mutineer—Establishment of Sea-fencibles.

The French Directory had already circulated the grossest calumnies against the British Government, and insidiously endeavoured to sow dissensions between the King and his people. They openly avowed a determination to invade England and Ireland, and declared, in very confident terms, that they should find numerous supporters in both countries. The rupture of the negotiations with Lord Malmsbury may reasonably be referred to the hopes they entertained of being thus enabled seriously to injure the credit of England. Projects of the most extravagant description were spoken of, and believed by the simple, by which they were to cross the Channel; but the King was strong in the affections of his people, and, owing to the general manifestation of firmness and resolution, the enemy were deterred from the hazardous enterprise, if ever it was really entertained.

It was about this period that the Directory compelled the Swiss cantons to dismiss Mr. Wickham, the English envoy, from his official station. This event was followed in December, 1797, by the invasion of the cantons by the French armies, which finally subdued the country after a determined and sanguinary resistance on the part of the Swiss.

The chief defence of the nation in the event of invasion rested with the navy. This was reasonable; and, as far as winds would have permitted, there could be no doubt that the navy would not have disappointed the hopes of the country. But in naval warfare there are many adverse contingencies, which none

but the experienced mariner can foresee, and even then not always counteract. Fogs, calms, or easterly winds, might have retarded the progress of our fleets to the point of attack; the fleet in the Downs might have been driven from its station by bad weather, and the coasts of Kent and Sussex been left defenceless. In these cases much more would have devolved on the military. But the nation was hearty in the cause, and the result could not, therefore, have been doubtful.

In January, 1798, Captain G. Murray, in the Colossus, of 74 guns, returned from the Mediterranean station, and, meeting with contrary winds, put into Scilly with his convoy. While at anchor in St. Mary's Sound a gale came on, in which the ship drove from her anchors, and was totally lost: the crew, with all the stores, were saved. This accident would, probably, have been prevented, had his Majesty's ships in those days been supplied, as they now are, with chain cables.

In 1808 his late Majesty, then Prince of Wales, proposed to make St. Mary's Sound a secure harbour; but on the inspection of it by Mr. Rennie, and an estimate of the expense which was likely to be incurred, being made, it appeared that, to carry the plan into effect, it would cost the sum of £2,010,000 sterling, and, when complete, would have been of a very limited capacity: the intention was, therefore, abandoned. The plan had originated with Benjamin Tucker, Esq., the surveyor-general of the duchy of Cornwall, and who, while Earl St. Vincent was at the Admiralty, held the situation of second secretary. His arguments were, certainly, forcible, and founded on the prevalence of the westerly wind impeding the passage of our ships down the Channel, which, when the enemy's fleet escaped from Brest, gave them a manifest advantage in point of time. Falmouth became, for similar reasons, an object of the same kind of discussion; but there appeared so many objections that this was also relinquished, and it was at last decided to construct that solid monument to the glory of George the Fourth, the noble breakwater of Plymouth Sound.

Captain Reynolds, in La Pomone, captured La Chérie, from Nantes, a large ship carrying 26 long guns, of 12, 18, and 24-pounders, with 236 men, of whom 12 were killed, and 22 wounded. The Pomone had scarcely time to take out the prisoners before the prize sunk alongside of her: the French captain died of his wounds the following day. This ship and the Dorade, which we have seen upset in a squall of wind, were specimens of the sort of vessel which the French were in the habit of sending to sea, in the short space of two months from the time of laying the keels: they were flush-decked corvettes, sailing remarkably fast in smooth water. Many of them were

taken by our frigates and brought into his Majesty's service, for which, however, they were totally unfit, and hundreds of valuable British seamen perished in them. Such were the Trompeuse, the Railleur, Gentile, and many more, which foundered at sea, with all their crews. A prize purchased by the Government seldom answered their expectations; the expenses of repair, we have proved, have often exceeded the prime cost of an English-built ship of the same tonnage; and the captors were rarely satisfied with the price paid for them by the navy board.

Captain Durham, in the Anson, captured the Daphné, a frigate of 24 guns, not long before taken from us by the French.

Captain Graham Moore, in the Melampus, in company with the Seahorse, Captain Oakes, captured Le Belliqueux, a ship privateer, of 18 guns; and, a few days after, La Volage, of 20 guns, nine-pounders, and 218 men. The officers of this ship belonged to the French navy, but were serving in a privateer, with leave of absence from the minister of the marine.

The Honourable Captain Stopford, in the Phaeton, captured La Légère, of 18 guns, and 130 men. He also, at the same time, recaptured an American ship, called the Eliza, which had been taken by a French privateer. She was from Batavia, with a valuable cargo, and stopped at Boston for fresh papers, in order to proceed to Amsterdam. This was the constant practice of America during the war of the revolution.

A very brilliant action was fought, on the 21st of April, between his Majesty's ship the Mars, of 74 guns, and 650 men, and the French ship L'Hercule, of 74 guns, and 700 men.

Lord Bridport, with the Channel fleet, while off Brest, made the signal for the Mars to chase a strange ship in-shore of them. The enemy endeavoured to escape through the Passage du Raz; but the tide proving contrary, and the wind easterly, she was obliged to anchor at the mouth of that passage. This afforded Captain Hood an opportunity of bringing his ship to action, which he did by running her so close alongside as to unhang some of the lower-deck ports of his adversary. A bloody contest ensued, which lasted an hour and a half, when the enemy surrendered. The gallant Captain Hood, nephew to the commander-in-chief, received a musket-ball in the femoral artery towards the conclusion of the action, and scarcely lived to hear "the shout of victory." The prize was just out of L'Orient, on her way to Brest to join the fleet, and it was the first time of her being at sea. This, though a single action, was one of great importance. The meeting of two ships of the line is a circumstance of rare occurrence, and its decision in our favour a brilliant ornament to our naval history. The Bellona

and Courageux, the Foudroyant and Pegasse, the Mars and Hercule, the Victorious and the Rivoli, will be recorded as the finest memorials of naval prowess, and a decided proof of our superiority on the ocean. The loss on board the Mars amounted to about 90 killed and wounded; and that of the enemy, according to Schomberg, to between 300 and 400. The Hercule was taken into his Majesty's service.

The islands of Marcou, equidistant between Cape La Hogue and the river of Isigny, and about eight miles from the main land, had been some time in possession of Great Britain. Affording anchorage for our small cruisers, they commanded at the same time the trade going along shore between Cherbourg and Havre. Sir Richard Strachan, whilst cruising on that coast, first perceived the importance of these islands; and, in consequence of his suggestions, they were immediately taken and fortified. They are not more than one-fourth of a mile in length, and so low that the sea in a northerly gale throws its spray over the forts and dwellings of the inhabitants; nor is there space to have even the luxury of a garden. The moment we had gained them, the French perceived the advantage they would afford us, and became seriously alarmed when they saw their convoys intercepted. A great effort was, therefore, made to retake them, and a strong force, consisting of about 50 brigs and gun-boats, manned with a large body of seamen and soldiers, came out of Cherbourg in the night of the 6th of May to the attack. The little garrison, to which the defence of these rocks was intrusted, did not consist of more than 250 seamen and marines. The lieutenant commanding supposed the number of pieces of cannon brought against him at one time amounted to 80. They approached within musket-shot before daylight, and, having drawn up in front of the western redoubt, began the attack by a fire which lasted two hours and some minutes. Their gun-brigs remained close enough to batter in breach, while the gun-boats rowed up with great boldness, and were gallantly received with a discharge from 17 pieces of artillery, loaded with round, grape, and canister shot. Seven of these boats were sunk, one was towed into the island by the victors, and the others retreated in great disorder to La Hogue. The loss of the little garrison was only one killed and four wounded. Lieutenant Price was promoted to the rank of post-captain for his good conduct. At the peace of Amiens these islands were evacuated.

Captain Sir Sydney Smith, who had been two years a prisoner in France, made his escape about this time. There is a long account in Schomberg of the various adventures and dangers he encountered in his passage to the coast; but facts

have since come to my knowledge of the whole having been contrived by the French Government. Of this, perhaps, even Sir Sydney himself was at the time ignorant. The police of France was too vigilant and too avaricious to allow a victim to elude its grasp without a sufficient reason; and a bribe of £3,000, sent to Charles Delacroix by our own Government, unlocked the gates of the Temple, and removed all obstructions to the sea-coast. Lord St. Vincent assured me that he saw the Treasury order, and that the money was paid to Charles Delacroix for that service alone.

In the month of June Captain Sir Francis Laforey, in the Hydra, of 38 guns, chased and drove on shore a French frigate, a corvette, and a cutter. The frigate was called La Confiante, and had 36 guns and 300 men; the name of the corvette was La Vessuve. The vessels, it appears, had sailed from Havre, and at first engaged the Hydra; but very soon sought safety in flight. Endeavouring in vain to regain their port, they ran on shore near the Calvados rocks, where the two largest were set on fire by the British sailors: the cutter was wrecked, and totally destroyed.

Captain Sir Thomas Williams, in the Endymion, with the Phœnix, Glenmore, Melampus, and Unicorn, was employed in the melancholy duty of aiding the army in the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, and for this purpose was ordered to the bay of Wexford, where the rebels were in great force. The army besieged the town, which they entered, while the navy prevented the escape of the vessels, a considerable number of which were taken, and the rebels reduced to an unconditional surrender.

In the month of July the capture of La Seine, a French frigate, and the loss of La Pique, a British frigate, on the Saints, was attended with such peculiar circumstances, that they may be worthy of more ample detail than our limits can usually allow to the capture or loss of a single ship.

The Jason, Pique, and Mermaid, commanded by the Captains Sterling, Milne, and Newman, fell in with a French frigate, which they chased. The Pique soon left her consorts far astern; the enemy ran in for the Pertuis Breton. The night was dark, and the navigation difficult. The French pilot, as in all cases of danger, gave up the charge, which Captain Milne took on himself, determined to follow and not lose sight of his object. At 11 o'clock at night he came up with her; a running fight ensued; they were in four fathoms water, and at two A.M. both ships grounded alongside of each other. While in this situation the Jason came up. Captain Milne hailed to inform Captain Sterling that the Pique was aground. This was not

heard by Captain Sterling, and he ran the Jason aground between the two ships, which not only intercepted the fire of the Pique from the enemy, then nearly subdued, but at the same time exposed the Jason to her raking fire, by which she lost a lieutenant and eight men, killed by musketry through her cabin windows. While the Jason lay in this position between the Pique and the enemy, Captain Milne, unable to get a gun to bear, and finding his ship only aground abaft, ordered every man to take two shot with him, and go on the forecastle and bowsprit. By this means the Pique forged so far ahead as to open her fire clear of the Jason, and the enemy immediately called for quarter, being totally dismasted. She was called La Seine, was from the Mauritius, had on board part of two regiments, which with her crew made 600 men, of whom 150 were killed, besides a vast number wounded. She had 18-pounders on her main deck, and was what we now call a 44-gun frigate. The Pique was a 12-pound 38-gun frigate. The Jason was got off; but the Pique, being bilged, was set on fire. Captain Milne, with his officers and crew, took possession of the Seine, and, after great exertion, got her afloat, and carried her to Spithead. A court-martial honourably acquitted Captain Milne for the loss of the Pique, and he was appointed to command the Seine.

Captain Butterfield (late first lieutenant of the Mars), in the Hazard, of 18 guns, captured Le Neptune national corvette, pierced for 20 guns, having only 10 mounted, which she fought on the same side: she had 270 soldiers. After an unsuccessful attempt to board, she surrendered, with 30 killed and wounded. The Hazard had six wounded.

On the 22d of August three French frigates landed a body of 850 troops in Killala bay, on the north-west coast of Ireland, under the command of General Humbert, who marched to Castlebar, where, being joined by some rebels, he gave battle to a small force under the command of General Lake, who was forced to retreat with the loss of six pieces of cannon. This trifling success so elated the Frenchman, that he issued a proclamation appointing a governor to the province of Connaught, and invited the Irish to join his standard: but his reign was short. The Marquis Cornwallis overtook him near Tuam, and obliged him to surrender at discretion (although joined by a large body of rebels), before the promised reinforcements could arrive from Brest. General Lake gave another division an overthrow at Ballynamack, and made 900 prisoners, with all their baggage and artillery.

Captain de Courcey, in the Magnanime, captured, in September, La Colombe French privateer, of 12 guns and 60 men;

and on the 24th of August was present when the Naiad, Captain Pierrepoint, captured La Decade, a French frigate of 36 guns and 300 men. The Honourable Captain Stopford, in the Phaeton, and Captain Durham, in the Anson, captured La Flore, another French frigate, of the same size and number of men as the Decade. She had only been eight days at sea.

Although the general mutiny, which, in 1797, had shaken the empire to its foundation, and threatened the subversion of our maritime power, had subsided, various instances of insubordination continually occurred both on the home and foreign stations. They were always, however, happily subdued, though unfortunately not without the loss of some lives. The discontent originated with some "United Irishmen," who had, on one or two occasions, nearly succeeded in carrying the ships into Brest. The Pompée and the Neptune narrowly escaped this fate. Nineteen men belonging to the Defence were tried at Portsmouth; six were sentenced to suffer death, six flogged through the fleet, and the others recommended to mercy. Eleven more, belonging to the Glory, were tried at Plymouth for the same offence. Eight were sentenced to be hung at the yard-arm; the others to flogging, solitary confinement, and to be mulcted of their pay.

On board some of our ships they used to meet at night, and on these occasions have been heard to give, as a toast, "A dark night, a sharp knife, and a bloody blanket." The Queen Charlotte, the most deeply infected with this mutinous propensity, was then ordered to the Mediterranean station, under the eye of one who well knew how to direct the energies of her crew to a proper object. Many executions took place in the different sea-ports of the kingdom, and a vast number even of our best seamen fell a sacrifice to the offended laws of their country. The resolute and indifferent manner in which some of them met their fate was truly astonishing. A man on board the Haughty gun-brig mounted the scaffold with alacrity, and, striking his foot against one of the oars or sweeps of the brig, he observed calmly, that "it was much in the way."

A Dutchman was executed on board the Ranger sloop, at Sheerness, for having cut the cable with a view to let the ship drift on shore. He was hung in the usual manner at the yard-arm, but the master-at-arms, or provost-marshal, whose duty it is to affix the fatal knot, had done it in so careless a manner, that the unhappy man remained a long time suspended, and perfectly in his senses. Struggling to end his wretched existence, he got his hands loose, and pulled himself up to the yard-arm, on which he stood erect, with the cap off his face. While he adjusted the halter, he uttered, with a ferocious counte-

nance, some horrid ejaculations on the manner of the execution, and, throwing himself off, was dead in an instant; thus committing, as it were, an act of self-execution and legal suicide.

The British navy never can be entirely free from the crime and danger of mutiny until a better and more efficient mode of training up boys for the sea service, generally, is adopted; until expulsion from the navy shall be considered a sufficient punishment for minor offences; until rewards shall be more amply distributed for good conduct, and character alone made the road to preferment. In one respect the navy has greatly gained by the Reform in Parliament. There was a class of freeholders in our sea ports, particularly about Queenborough, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Deal, who by their borough influence commanded and obtained promotion to which their merits by no means entitled them. This evil is now much abated, but not entirely removed.

On the 13th of September, 1798, a cartel, for the exchange of prisoners, was agreed on between France and England. There were, at that time, above 30,000 French prisoners in England, and between 3,000 and 4,000 English prisoners in France.

This year was the first of the establishment of the corps of the Sea-fencibles; the plan was proposed by Captain Sir Home Popham. As a mode of rendering a large body of men effective to the public service, in case of invasion, it had some claim to the consideration of the Government; but when we reflect that, by entering this corps, seamen were protected from active service, while the nation was put to a vast expense for their equipment and maintenance, we shall not wish to see it renewed. Let it be observed, as a warning to officers in accepting of quiet places on shore, that it was generally considered afterwards as a bar to promotion or active employment. The command of the prison hulks was equally injurious to prospects of promotion.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Action between the Papillon and Speedy—French armament at Toulon—St. Vincent prepares to meet it—Nelson joins him—Proceeds to Toulon—His ship dismasted—Repaired, and returns to his station—French fleet quits Toulon, and takes Malta—Orders from St. Vincent to Nelson—Sir Roger Curtis joins the fleet off Cadiz—Trowbridge proceeds to join Nelson, who pursues the French fleet—Hears of it off Cape Passero—Goes to Alexandria—Disappointed—Returns to Syracuse—Obtains supplies through the influence of Lady Hamilton—Manner in which the British and French fleets passed each other—Nelson sails from Syracuse, and discovers the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir—Battle of the Nile—Observations and reflections—Plans of the French Government and Bonaparte—Distress of the French army—Capture of the Leander—Honourable acquittal and knighthood of Captain Thompson—Infamous statement of the French captain—Nelson's public letter—List of his fleet and prizes—Observations on the burning of the Artemise, and the grounding of the Culloden—Capture of the Sensible and Santa Dorothea—Of the Liguria—Letter of Hallowell to Nelson with a coffin—Nelson arrives at Naples—Honours paid to him—Letter from Admiral Gantheaume—Effects of the battle of the Nile in Europe—The French General, having made good his landing in Egypt, marches to Cairo—Description of harbour of Alexandria—Letter from Nelson to Governor of Bombay—State of Italy on his arrival at Naples—Imprudence of the Directory—Neapolitans with the King and General Mack advance to Rome—Beaten, and retreat—British squadron on coast of Italy—Sir James Saumarez summons Malta—Captain Capell arrives with duplicate despatches—Cruelty of Arabs to French, and murder of General Carrier—Capture of Minorca—Blockade of Malta—Capture of Goza.

Captain (now Rear-admiral) Hugh Downman, in the Speedy brig, of 14 4-pounders and 60 men, had a very severe action with a French privateer, called Le Papillon, of 18 guns, 12-pounders, and 160 men; the contest lasted nearly two days. The enemy, having the advantage in point of sailing, chose his own distance; and, coming down from to windward, shot away the Speedy's fore-topmast. The conduct of Captain Downman in this affair entitled him to the first rank in his class of officers, for bravery, perseverance, skill, and judgment. After having expended all his shot he substituted pieces of iron hoop, nails, and marlinspikes. Mr. Marshall, the master, who, with 12 men, was on board a prize then four leagues to leeward,

seeing his captain and shipmates overmatched, generously resolved to go to their assistance. Having secured his prisoners below to the number of 40, and put his people into a small boat, he quitted the vessel after dark, and fortunately got on board the Speedy in time to share in the honour of the day. The enemy escaped from superior sailing, and Captain Downman retook his prize, and conducted her safe into port. For this action he was soon after promoted to the rank of post-captain. It may be said with truth that every officer who commanded that little vessel obtained his promotion from her by hard fighting, and most successful conflicts against superior force.

The French republic having now conquered Italy, and subdued the armies of the empire, the Directory determined on a foreign enterprise upon a most extensive scale. The vast armament which had long been equipping at Toulon had not escaped the penetrating eye of the able and enlightened chief who commanded the fleet in the Mediterranean; he was in close and secret correspondence with men of keen discernment in the south of France; and, though the certain destination of this powerful fleet was not known, yet from various circumstances it was conjectured that the East was the quarter where the blow was intended to be struck; and thither the attention of the admiral was directed. A large British fleet at this time lay before Cadiz, watching one of superior force in that harbour. Lord St. Vincent, however, with a mind worthy of the high reputation he had acquired, disregarded every personal consideration, and, leaving himself with very few ships, prepared a strong detachment, which he held in readiness to follow the enemy to any part of the world.

The French fleet, under the command of Admiral Brueys, with 350 transports, and an army of 25,000 men, commanded by Bonaparte in person, sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May; they were seen by some of our ships, but their destination was unknown.

Nelson, having spent the winter in England, and perfectly regained his strength, hoisted his flag on board the Vanguard, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Edward Berry, and in April joined the Earl of St. Vincent off Cadiz, where he had no sooner arrived than he found that work was preparing for him. He was simultaneously nominated both by Earl Spencer and Earl St. Vincent for the command of the squadron selected to pursue the enemy. The alleged partiality produced remonstrances from Sir John Orde and Sir William Parker, both senior officers to Nelson. This was a point on which Lord St. Vincent always held himself perfectly independent. His laconic and memorable answer was—"that he considered

those who were responsible for measures had a right to *choose their men.*"

At first Nelson was sent up with

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| The Vanguard (flag) | 74 | Capt. Berry. |
| Orion | 74 | —— Sir J. Saumarez. |
| Alexander | 74 | —— A. I. Ball. |
| Caroline | 36 | —— Lake. |
| Alcmene | 36 | —— Brown. |
| Emerald | 36 | —— Waller. |
| Terpsichore | 36 | —— Gage. |

On the 20th he met with a gale of wind, in which the Vanguard lost her foremast, bowsprit, and main-topmast; but a still greater misfortune was the separation from his frigates, which never afterward rejoined him, and which he had much cause to regret. The Vanguard was taken in tow by the Alexander, and conducted safely into the harbour of St. Pietro, at the south-west extremity of Sardinia. Our implacable enemies had endeavoured to exclude British ships from every port in the Mediterranean, and the King of Sardinia, in whose dominions this island lay, had received his orders accordingly. This injunction Nelson treated with contempt, and, in defiance of threats, went in and refitted his ship, which, by great exertion, was performed in four days, and he immediately resumed his situation off Toulon.

While Nelson was repairing his ship, the French, arriving at Malta, took possession of the island, then held by the grand master and knights of the ancient and honourable order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Malta, possessing the finest harbour in the Mediterranean, and being an entrepôt for British and foreign merchandise for the surrounding markets of Europe and Africa, was highly valuable to Great Britain even in its neutral state. To occupy it was therefore a point of great importance to France, and one of which that Government seemed duly sensible. They thus deprived us of much commercial advantage; they were enabled to command the southern passage to the Levant, and to secure at the same time a large supply of seamen, the Maltese being remarkable for their nautical skill and bravery.

Unfortunately the French had not La Valette and his valiant troops to oppose them; add to this that the grand master was accused of having sold his important charge to the invaders. General Bonaparte, leaving a garrison of 4,000 men, departed, steering to the eastward. In the mean time Nelson pursued his way to Cape Sepet, near Toulon, and there

awaited the junction of his promised reinforcement under Trowbridge.

Nelson was directed by Lord St. Vincent to take the 13 sail of the line under his orders, and to go in pursuit of the enemy's fleet then preparing at Toulon. He was ordered to treat as enemies any ports in the Mediterranean, those of Sardinia excepted, where supplies should be refused him. He was directed to pursue the enemy into any ports of the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Archipelago, or even into the Black Sea. His last orders were dated on the 21st May, 1798.

On the 20th Lord St. Vincent despatched Hardy, in the Mutine, in search of Nelson, to apprize him of the approaching departure of Trowbridge.

The Lion, Captain M. Dixon, on the 9th of June, was ordered to Lagos bay, to join the Portuguese squadron,* and placed under the command of the Marquis de Niza. It was intended that the marquis, with his squadron and the Lion, should go in search of Nelson, and act under his orders, as it was stipulated in the treaty of 1703, between the two Powers, that the officer commanding the smallest number of ships should obey the other.

Captain Retallick, of the British navy, and two lieutenants, were appointed to act as signal officers to the Marquis de Niza.

June 11th, by a letter to Sir Horatio Nelson, it would appear that the King of Spain had made some overture to Lord St. Vincent, who orders Sir Horatio, in case of falling in with his holiness the Pope at sea, to treat him kindly, and do him homage in his lordship's name, with all the ceremony due to a crowned head.

The squadron under the command of Sir Roger Curtis came in sight of the fleet on the 24th of May, and had no sooner answered the private signal than Trowbridge weighed, with 10 ships of the line, and, proceeding through the Straits of Gibraltar, crowded all sail for Toulon, off which place, on the 7th of June, he joined the rear-admiral, and had the mortification to see that the Vanguard was under a jury foremast. Previously to this the Orion and Alexander had fallen in with 15 sail of Spanish merchantmen, two of which they captured, as

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* The ships were as follows :—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Principe Real (flag) | 74 | Marquis de Niza. Capt. Puysigur. |
| Rheina de Portugal | 74 | —— Stone. |
| St. Sebastian | 74 | —— Mitchell. |
| Alphonso Albuquerque | 74 | —— Campbell. |
| Incendiary, English (fire-ship) | — | —— Barker. |
| Falcao (brig) | — | —— Duncan. |

they might have done the whole, but were recalled by Nelson, who would allow nothing to divert him from his purpose.

Nelson now, with 13 sail of the line, a 50, and a brig (for he had no frigates), thought himself equal to anything he could meet with in the Mediterranean, and instantly went in search of his flying enemy.

The French, having sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May, with a strong breeze at north-west, had considerably the start of him. He was convinced they were bound to the eastward; sending Hardy, therefore, in the Mutine to Civita Vecchia and the Roman coast, he steered with the fleet for Corsica, which he made on the 12th, and, having rounded Cape Corse on the 13th, passed Elba and the small island of Planosa; then hauling more to the eastward, he made the Roman coast, and rejoined Hardy, who could give him no intelligence. He next steered for the bay of Naples, and sent Trowbridge in the Mutine to inquire of Sir William Hamilton, from whom he learnt that the enemy was gone to Malta, and Nelson made all sail for the Pharo of Messina, which he passed on the 20th, with a fair wind, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the Sicilians and Neapolitans, who came off in boats, and, as they rowed among the ships, loaded them with congratulations and blessings; fearing, when Malta was taken by the French, that they should be the next object of attack.

On the morning of the 22d, when about 12 leagues south-east of Cape Passero, in Sicily, Hardy spoke a Genoese brig, which gave him intelligence that the French, having taken Malta, had left it on the 18th, with a gale at north-west. This confirmed Nelson in his conjecture that they were gone to Egypt, and he instantly bore up for that coast. It was during the ensuing night that the hostile fleets must have crossed each other's track—the French steering east for Candia, and the English south-east for Alexandria. In his run he spoke but three vessels, two of them from Alexandria, but none could afford him any information.

On the 28th he made the Pharos of Alexandria, and ran in till he had a complete view of both the harbours, but the enemy was not there. Hardy was sent to the governor, who was as much surprised to see a British fleet as to hear that a French one was expected. Revolving in his anxious mind what could have become of the enemy, it never occurred to him that he had outrun, and first reached the port of their destination. He now shaped his course to the north-east, and, on the 4th of July, made the coast of Natolia; on the 9th he was in sight of Candia; gaining no information there, he beat with a press of sail and a foul wind along the south side of that island. On

the 18th of July he made Sicily again, and entering the port of Syracuse, with which none of his officers were acquainted, brought his fleet to an anchor without any accident.

Is it not wonderful that it should never have occurred to Nelson, that, with his fast-sailing and unencumbered ships, he should have outrun the French fleet, with a convoy of transports; and equally surprising that none of his captains should have suggested this idea to him? Had Nelson waited 48 hours off Alexandria he would have encountered the French fleet at sea; but I greatly doubt whether he could have gained so complete a victory as he was enabled to do in the sequel.

With the weak and contemptible Government of Sicily it became a question whether the British fleet should receive any supplies; but, by the address of that extraordinary woman, Lady Hamilton, to whom I must do justice, every thing was granted that Nelson could require. The information he obtained here was merely negative; he learnt that the French fleet had not been seen in the Archipelago nor in the Adriatic, nor had they gone down the Mediterranean. Therefore the obvious conclusion to be drawn was that they had proceeded to Egypt. Nelson, on the 22d of June, had steered direct for Alexandria, while the French fleet, as it afterward appeared, had shaped its course for Candia, and, being encumbered with heavy-sailing transports, was much delayed. Consequently, by taking the shortest route, the British fleet reached that port, and quitted it only a few hours before the French were seen from its towers. Nelson, having no frigates, could not extend his look-out, and the distance between Candia and the coast of Africa being 60 leagues afforded abundant space for two fleets to pass each other unobserved.

On the 25th of July he sailed again from Syracuse, and, having no certain information as to the object of his search, he steered for the Morea, and made the gulf of Coron, called in the French charts Calamates. Trowbridge was sent in, and such was his activity that the fleet was detained but three hours, when he returned with the intelligence from the Turkish governor that the French fleet had been seen one month before steering south-east.

On the 31st of July he sent the Zealous and Swiftsure ahead to make the land; they saw the French fleet, and made the signal to that effect. Upon this information Nelson again steered with all sail for Alexandria, which they made on the 1st of August, at noon. But the port now had a very different appearance from what it had on their last visit; it was full of vessels of every kind; and with joy they descried the tri-

coloured flag waving on board the ships. Animation and delight were felt throughout the British fleet at seeing their enemy, and by none more than the gallant chief, whose zeal and anxiety in his country's cause were now about to reap their just reward.

In speaking of the celebrated expedition to Egypt in 1798, the Count de Dumas (*Précis*, vol. ii., year 1799, p. 109,) makes the following very just inquiry:—

"Was it not a blindfold temerity in the Directory to carry away to the bottom of the gulf of Syria the best part of the army, and the remainder of the Mediterranean fleet, at the very moment when they were exciting the war more fiercely against England; when they were giving to the house of Austria causes of alarm and jealousy by new revolutions in Italy and Switzerland; when they were attempting to dictate a shameful peace, and exposing themselves at the same time to a renewal of the war with inferior forces?"

The count, however, was mistaken when he supposed that neither in the cabinet of St. James, nor in the fleet off Cadiz, was there any suspicion of the real destination of the armament of Toulon. On the contrary, Lord St. Vincent knew well enough that the embarkation of horses could not have reference to a western voyage, and that their destination was to the east, and not into the Atlantic, as the count very positively asserts us to have believed that it was.

"The Toulon fleet," says the count (p. 115), "was composed of 15 sail of the line, 6 frigates, 8 ships, *armés en flûte*, some corvettes, and about 350 transports, with 25,000 men, of all arms, and in the highest state of discipline. So great was the impatience of the troops to embark that the generals had much difficulty in suppressing their murmurs and dissatisfaction at the delays, until the arrival of Bonaparte restored confidence. Civita Vecchia and Genoa were ports of embarkation for this great expedition, as well as Toulon; and it must be acknowledged that in the secrecy, despatch, and efficacy with which this vast armament was conducted to its final destination, the union of science and prowess in its officers and men, the magnitude of its object, and the extensive consequences of its failure or success, it stands unrivalled in history. Had their object been more consistent with the general standard of right, they would have deserved a better fate. Of all these gallant fellows, how few ever returned to their native land!

"The moment when General Bonaparte, with Admiral Brueys, repaired on board L'Orient, of 110 guns, at Toulon, and displayed the flag, was also the last moment of the expiring hope of peace."—(p. 116.)

The expedition sailed from Toulon on the 19th May, 1798, and was joined shortly after by 36 transports, with 4,000 troops from Bastia, and also by the two great divisions from the coast of Italy; that from Genoa, with 150 transports under Berthier, joined the main body on the 26th and 28th May. The first rendezvous seems to have been in the bay of Cagliari, on the south-east side of the island of Sardinia, and on the 4th of June the whole fleet anchored in the waters of Sicily, in sight of the port of Marsala. Here the general had desired Dessaix, with the Civita Vecchia division, to meet him, and on the 9th the whole fleet were assembled under the lee of the island of Gozo. On the following day it appeared before the harbour of Valette, in the island of Malta. Here Bonaparte demanded admission for his fleet, and permission for his transports to water in the various bays and anchorages of the island. These requests from the invincible leader of the armies and fleet of the French republic were received almost as commands, and instantly obeyed. By this unexpected and able attack Napoleon obtained the greatest object of his expedition, next to the subjugation of Egypt, to which, indeed, the conquest of this island was the first step. It is the most important point for a maritime Power to gain between Europe and Asia. It may be called the very gate of the Levant, and the exclusive key to the commerce of the Mediterranean. The French went through the form of siege (*simulacre*) for 24 hours, and on the 13th of June, at midnight, the order of the knights of Malta, unmindful of the honour of their sacred trust, and of their former renown in the defence of the island, and omitting all exertion for its defence, surrendered the whole of the forts of this almost impregnable hold to the armies of France.

In turning to De Vertot, we shall derive much amusement and instruction from tracing the rise and progress of the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, from the Holy City to Acre, thence to Rhodes, where they settled, and from whence, in 1522, they were expelled by the armies of Solyman the Magnificent. From that island the grand master, Villiers de L'Isle Adam, conducted the sad remains of his wasted forces to Candia; thence to Gallipoli, in the kingdom of Naples; and, finally, by a donation of the Emperor Charles V., the order received the island of Malta as their future permanent residence. Its siege by the Turks has immortalized Jean de la Valette, but his successors have proved themselves unworthy of that great name, and we may now consider the order of the knights of Malta extinct. I cannot account for the apathy or the oversight of the British Government in allowing this island to fall into the hands of the French. Lord St. Vin-

cent, who at that time, with a very strong fleet, blockaded the port of Cadiz, in order to prevent a junction between the French and Spanish fleets, had much work on his hands, and few ships to spare for the various services of that extensive command. Nelson had been detached by him, with three sail of the line, to look into Toulon, and was almost in sight of that port on the 17th May, two days before the departure of the expedition for Egypt.

Bonaparte, having left a sufficient garrison at Malta, sailed immediately after with nearly 400 sail of shipping, including ships of the line, frigates, corvettes, and transports; the latter were, for perhaps the greater part, under neutral flags—forcibly, in some instances, pressed into the service—and while the unfortunate masters and crews were compelled to perform a service for which they had no inclination, the owners were defrauded of their property; for in the sequel it will appear that most of these vessels were burnt, and that their crews partook of the fate of the French army, nor does it appear that justice was ever rendered to the claimants.

The system of iniquity and plunder, and unjust and unprovoked invasion, was now however about to be punished, and Nelson was, in the hands of Almighty power, the instrument of vengeance. It would seem that Bonaparte, pursuing his reckless system of destruction, must either have burned and destroyed, or taken into his service, every neutral vessel he met with in the course of his voyage from Toulon to Malta and thence to Egypt. It would not be easy in any other way to account for the scarcity of intelligence experienced by Nelson; but the loss of his frigates, which parted company with him in the gale, contributed in no trifling degree to obstruct his gaining information. He calls them "the eyes of the fleet," and it is very remarkable that he had not one frigate with him at the Nile.

By comparing dates we perceive that the French admiral had only the start of him three days, since it was not till the 19th that all his numerous convoy was clear of the land. Nelson, therefore, with his 14 sail of ships, unencumbered with any convoy, had greatly the advantage of his adversary in point of speed; and, by carrying a press of sail, he reached the port of Alexandria so as to reconnoitre it on the 28th of June. Here he could gain no intelligence of the enemy whom he had outrun; but still suspecting his destination to be Egypt, with the ultimate view of attacking our Indian possessions, she despatched some important letters from Alexandria to the governor of Bombay, and again made sail after the French fleet.

Admiral Brueys, on the 25th of June, was in sight of Candia,

and made the Arabs' tower on the 1st of July. The French consul at Alexandria having given Bonaparte the earliest information of the British fleet having been off the port, the general lost not a moment in landing his troops, and began the operation on the same night. He landed a great part of his army, and obtained possession of Rosetta; the convoy entered the port of Alexandria, and completed the debarkation, while the ships of the line and frigates went to Aboukir bay to land the artillery; and on the 5th of July was signed the capitulation of Alexandria. On the same day he defeated the Mamelukes at Ramanich. This was the advance-guard of the army of Mourad Bey, and Bonaparte now set forward towards the capital of Egypt.

The battle of the Nile, as it is usually called, was not a common sea engagement between two fleets; there were many circumstances combining with the locality to render it one of a very peculiar nature and interest.

The French, having had the advantage of the first arrival, had taken up, as they supposed, a secure position in the bay of Bequis, or Aboukir. Their force consisted of one ship of 110 guns, two of 80, 10 of 74, and four frigates,—one of 48, one of 44, and two of 36 guns.

The fleet was moored in a compact line, extending across the bay in a north-west and south-east direction, according to Captain Miller's chart; but more nearly east and west, by that of Mr. Briarly. Their van, which was to the westward, was protected by a mortar battery, on a small island (now called Nelson's island), and supported by some gun and mortar boats, their rear by the frigates and gun-vessels; the ships of the line, occupying an extent of about two miles and a half, leaving a space of 250 or 300 yards from one ship to the other. This distance was too great. It seems to have been pretended by the French, that the general had not left men enough on board to work their guns; but this was an error, as afterwards appeared by the muster-rolls and the number of prisoners, besides killed and wounded. Every precaution being taken, according to the best of their judgment, to ensure the defeat of their assailants, General Bonaparte landed with his army of 25,000 men; some accounts say 40,000.

Nelson, whose intuitive knowledge had led him to the mouth of the Nile, had forewarned his captains of the nature of the contest they were to expect, and, for the first time recorded in the naval history of Great Britain, he proposed to anchor his ships by the stern.* For this purpose his cables

* This mode of anchoring was common among the ancients, and is mentioned in sacred history, Acts xxvii., 29.

were passed out of the stern-ports, carried along the side, and bent to the anchors. His object in doing this was to deprive the enemy of the advantage of raking him, as he would have swung round and exposed the bow, or the stern of his vessels, had he brought up in the usual way. At three o'clock the signal was made to prepare for battle, and the fleet stood in under a crowd of sail. As they approached within two miles of the enemy, the Culloden grounded on the reef, and stuck fast.

The best and most authentic description of this famous day is to be found in the work* of the Rev. Cooper Willyams, who was chaplain of the Swiftsure on the occasion. That author says the Goliath, commanded by Captain Foley, led the fleet, and by a quarter past six in the evening the French began the engagement; but the Goliath did not return their fire until she had doubled their line, and come to an anchor alongside the Conquérant, second ship in their van, and in 10 minutes shot away her topmasts. Hood, in the Zealous, followed; and, having anchored on the bow of the Guerrier, the van ship, in 12 minutes dismasted her. Next came the Orion, commanded by Sir James, now Lord De Saumarez; La Serieuse, a frigate, lying within the line, gave him a broadside, which Sir James returned with his starboard-guns, and she instantly went down. He then proceeded to take his station on the bow of the Franklin and the quarter of Le Souverain Peuple, engaging both. The Audacious came next, and let go her anchor on the bow of the Conquérant: having passed between that ship and the Guerrier, Captain Gould instantly began a destructive fire. The Theseus, commanded by the lamented Miller, was the fifth and last ship that came inside of the line. Passing between the Zealous and her opponent the Guerrier, he poured in a broadside as he brushed her sides. For this friendly act the Goliath gave him three hearty cheers, which the Theseus returned. The French also attempted to imitate the animating sound; but the effort produced loud peals of laughter on board the Theseus, as she passed on to her proper opponent in the order of succession; this was the Spartiate. The captain of the Guerrier owned that those cheers did more to damp the ardour of his men than the broadside of the Theseus.

Nelson, having seen his five van ships begin the action "to his heart's content," now came himself to their support. It appears from the information of Lord de Saumarez, that the plan of placing the enemy between two fires was *not* preconcerted, that it originated with Nelson himself, and probably

* Voyage up the Mediterranean. 4to., London, p. 47.

but a minute previous to its execution. He took his station without, or on the starboard* side, and within pistol-shot of the Spartiate, then engaged with the Theseus. The French ship could not support their united cross-fire, and very soon surrendered. Louis, in the Minotaur, followed his admiral, and brought the Aquilon to action, which soon terminated by her surrender. Next came Darby, in the Bellerophon; his orders were to anchor on the bow of L'Orient, the flag-ship of Admiral Bruies, and this he fully intended; but unfortunately, having too much way, his cable was not stoppered in time, and he brought up exactly abreast of that tremendous ship, whose broadsides very soon killed and wounded 200 of his men, among the former three of his lieutenants; and about eight o'clock he cut his cable and stood out, or rather drifted out of the bay. Peyton, in the Defence, came to an anchor a-head of the Minotaur, and engaged the Franklin, of 80 guns, laying on her starboard bow: this ship bore the flag of Rear-admiral Blanquet du Chelard, second in command. Then came the Majestic, commanded by the gallant Westcott, who fell in the action. He engaged the Heureux on her starboard bow, while he received the fire of the Tonnant, which lay astern of L'Orient. The heavy fire from her two powerful opponents was almost an overmatch for the Majestic, and Westcott fell in the heat of the battle. The command fortunately devolved on Mr. Cuthbert, the first lieutenant, who bravely fought his ship till the glorious termination of the day.

The Swiftsure and Alexander, commanded by Hallowell and Ball, having been sent early in the morning to look into the port of Alexandria, did not come to action till late in the evening. These ships would inevitably have got on shore upon the reef, on the western side of the bay, but for the accident which had previously placed the Culloden there. The unlucky Trowbridge, burning with desire to share in the glorious conflict, beheld the fight from his quarter-deck. It has been said that this second Nelson resigned himself to despair on finding that he could not get into action, and was with difficulty prevented throwing himself overboard. This is a mistake; no man was ever more self-possessed in the hour of danger than Trowbridge. His ship on shore in a most perilous situation, it was the time of all others for a display of those talents he was known to possess; nor was it without their utmost exertion that he succeeded in saving his ship and getting her off the reef, on the morning of the 2d of August, with the loss of her rudder, and

* Willyams says larboard, but that must be an error, as the heads of the enemy's ships lay to the westward.

discharging the almost incredible quantity of 120 tons of water in an hour.

It was eight o'clock at night, and totally dark, when the two last ships of the British fleet approached the scene of action. The Swiftsure had got within range of the enemy's gun, when she fell in with the Bellerophon, drifting out of the bay under her foresail and fore-topsail; and having no fighting lights displayed, it was only by a fortunate exercise of judgment that Hallowell was prevented firing into her. At three minutes past eight, says the accurate Mr. Willyams, the Swiftsure anchored, nearly in the spot that had been occupied by the Bellerophon, alongside of L'Orient. Captain Hallowell took his station with a degree of coolness, which, except in that action, has few examples. Having let go his anchor within a cable's length, or 200 yards, from this French first-rate, he clewed up all his sails and furled them, and then, "and not till then,"* opened his fire upon the bows of the Orient and the quarter of the Franklin. About the same time the Swiftsure received a heavy shot in the larboard bow, several feet under water, which obliged them to work her chain pumps during the whole of the action. Following closely, and most zealously supporting his friend, came the Alexander, Captain Ball. Passing under the stern of the French admiral, he raked him, and anchored within side, on his larboard quarter. The battle raged with a fury that no pen can describe, and was conducted throughout with a degree of science, skill, judgment, and courage, certainly never surpassed.

The Leander, of 50 guns, Captain Thompson, had gone to the assistance of the Culloden; but finding that no effort could move the ship till she was lightened, he hastened to the scene of action. Anchoring his ship across the bows of the Franklin, he raked her with great effect, and was in such a position as to be nearly invulnerable, occupying what, in modern science, is technically called "the point of impunity." Four ships in the enemy's van had now surrendered: the battle had lasted three hours, and continued in the centre, with heroic bravery on both sides. At three minutes past nine, a fire broke out in the cabin of the Orient, and, dreadful as it may appear, Captain Hallowell assured me that he ordered as many guns as could be spared to fire on that part of the ship, the marines from the poop, under the command of Captain Allen, pouring in, at the same time, volleys of musketry. This I own was a painful but an imperative duty. The enemy was not subdued, and there was

* His own words to the author.

no alternative. Ball, in the Alexander, kept up his fire, on the other side, to the same point. The gallant Brueys, thrice wounded, still kept his post, and encouraged his men to extinguish the flames, until a cannon ball cut him in two as he stood on the arm chest. His captain, Casa Bianca, fell by his side; and the illfated Orient was now given up to the flames, which, having spread along the decks, mounted the rigging with uncontrollable and terrific rapidity. The whole noble fabric was one blaze, fore and aft, from the mast-heads to the water; hundreds of the crew committed themselves to the waves, hoping to escape the severer fate of being burnt alive; many sank—some swam to our ships—ropes, spars, gratings, and other buoyant objects were thrown to their assistance, and every endeavour was used by the British sailors to save their suppliant adversaries, a few of whom (the first-lieutenant, commissary, and 10 men) were drawn into the lower deck ports of the Swiftsure, while her own fate, and that of the Alexander, "stood trembling on the balance."

Mr. Willyams says the Swiftsure was anchored within half pistol-shot of the burning ship. This is an indefinite term, there being a variety of pistols, and few are agreed as to the precise distance they will carry; but we should say that the nearest space from the Swiftsure to the Orient was between 100 and 200 yards; and, considering that the explosion of the magazine was momentarily expected, it is impossible to describe the dreadful suspense of the officers and men of the Swiftsure and Alexander. Captain Hallowell was to windward of the burning ship, and no persuasions could induce him to move. Captain Ball, being to leeward, was in greater danger, and was twice set on fire by the splinters from the Orient, which still kept firing from her lower deck. At 37 minutes past nine the flames communicated to the magazine, and she blew up "with a crashing sound that deafened all around her." What must that crash have been to tear asunder the oak-beams and ribs of a ship of her size, to snap the shrouds and stays which secure her lower masts, and to scatter the whole component parts of a first-rate ship as chaff before the whirlwind! The vibration of this explosion was felt to the very keels of the ships, and the burning fragments fell for some moments upon the decks of the Swiftsure and Alexander. A port-fire fell into the main-royal of the latter, and two large pieces of burning wreck into the main and fore-tops of the former; but the whole was extinguished without any accident. There was no British bosom, at that moment, but suffered the deepest sorrow and commiseration for the brave, though fallen enemy. Nelson, who was

wounded and taken below, was informed by Captain Berry of the sad conflagration, and long before the explosion the hero was on deck, giving orders to man every boat for their relief. After every exertion, not more than 70 could be saved. During this eventful scene, the contending fleets had mutually paused from dealing destruction to each other; but this cessation lasted only a few minutes, and the firing, recommenced by the French, was instantly returned by the English. The Franklin, bearing the flag of the second in command, now senior officer, began to fire on the Defence and Swiftsure; but these ships and the Leander soon compelled her to surrender. The Alexander, Majestic, and, occasionally, the Swiftsure, engaged the Tonnant and her seconds astern. All a-head of her had surrendered. At three o'clock in the morning of the 2d, the action was suspended; but renewed at four, when the Majestic and the Alexander attacked the rear of the enemy's line, consisting of the Tonnant, Guillaume Tell, Généreux, and Timoleon. Miller, of the Theseus, joined himself to these: he, as yet, had received but little damage, and the Leander, at six o'clock, was ordered by signal to assist the ships engaged. Her captain obeyed with the greatest alacrity. The enemy were now cutting their cables and dropping to leeward. At eight o'clock the Goliath joined the rest of the combatants, when the Heureux and the Mercure were obliged to submit. The Timoleon was on shore, and the Tonnant a complete wreck. At 12 o'clock Rear-admiral Villeneuve, in the Guillaume Tell, of 80 guns, weighed or cut his cables, and made sail. He was followed by the Généreux, of 74 guns, and the frigates La Diane and La Justice. Nelson had no ship in any condition to follow them, except the Zealous. Hood gallantly went in pursuit, but, after exchanging a few broadsides, he was recalled from the unequal contest. It was not till the morning of the 3d that the action was completely terminated, by the surrender of the Tonnant and burning of the Timoleon. Thus ended the memorable battle of the Nile, in which it appeared that "every man did his duty." After having provided for the cure of his wounded men, the first act of the pious chief was to return thanks to the Almighty for this signal victory.

The most palpable and fatal error of the French admiral in this action was allowing his rear ships to remain at anchor until attacked by the enemy. All to leeward of the Franklin (even the frigates) should have weighed and worked up to support their van, instead of lying still and being beaten in detail. I conceive that the same number of British ships might be so moored in the bay of Aboukir, as to bid defiance to almost any fleet that could be brought against them.

Bonaparte had strongly advised Brueys to put to sea with his fleet, after having secured the main object of the expedition, that of landing the army; but the French admiral was so confident of the security of his own position that he replied to this advice by saying "that he only hoped to be attacked." Had he met Nelson at sea, it is probable that the battle would have been far more obstinately disputed; and, viewing the comparative force of the two fleets, it was impossible that Nelson could have found his enemy in a situation more desirable to bring on a general action, and, whatever the gallant and unfortunate Brueys may have thought, one in which he himself could have been worse prepared to receive his daring enemy.

If the object of this great armament on the part of France was the destruction of our empire in India, this fatal issue of the battle of Aboukir was the primary cause of its signal failure.

Deprived of the ships on which Bonaparte depended for his future supplies and reinforcements, the advance of his army was in a great measure impeded. Alexandria was blockaded by sea, his despatches were intercepted, and all communications cut off between himself and his country; while a savage and vindictive enemy on land harassed his troops in such a manner as to give him constant and serious alarm.

A boat, or small vessel, attempted to sail for Toulon, charged with despatches: she was taken, and by papers found on board, both of a public and private nature, we were put in possession of the state of the French army. Their feelings on beholding the destruction and capture of their fleet, the moral certainty of their never again seeing their native country, the dearth of provisions, the want even of the common necessaries of life, were the incessant burden of their letters; and madness and despair had taken entire possession of this once formidable force. They were cooped up in a dry and sandy desert, and surrounded with pestilence and famine. Such was the result of all the golden hopes and promises held out by their general when they quitted Toulon, and such were the fruits of one of Nelson's victories. Two ships of the line and two frigates out of this fleet escaped from the Nile, but only for a short time. The Généreux and the Guillaume Tell very soon after were led in triumph to British ports.

Our Government had taken such precautions, that an army from India actually landed at Cassier, and met the French in Egypt. Sir David Baird commanded this force, and we shall soon record its success.

The battle of the Nile having given us the command of the sea, and effectually cut off all communication between the army of France and its parent state, the active and intelligent Bona-

parte immediately sought the means of supplying all the deficiencies which his acute judgment foresaw would arise. Commodore Hood commanded the blockade, and his vigilance admitted of little hope from the sea; a caravan was, therefore, established to cross the desert to and from Grand Cairo, and a legion of sailors, saved from the battle of the Nile, were employed to escort and defend it: but the operation of bringing provisions on the backs of camels was too slow and too expensive to be continued. He, therefore, caused the canal of Alexandria to be cleansed: this inland navigation extended from the last-named city to Ramanich across the desert, a distance of 15 leagues. One cannot help admiring the resources of this wonderful man under the greatest difficulties. The period had arrived when the Nile usually overflows its banks, and Bonaparte, on his return to Cairo, had with the most pompous ceremony cut the dyke and opened the canal which supplies the city of Grand Cairo with the water of the Nile; from the same source the canal of Alexandria was soon replenished, and that city, which became the chief depôt of the French army, received at the same time the waters which filled its cisterns and its supply of provisions; it only remained navigable for 25 days, and during that period Kleber sent up a vast quantity of artillery to Giseh, where Bonaparte had established his park. The valour and ingenuity of the French were never more wonderfully displayed than on this occasion; and had not the original curse of the Almighty still hovered over that devoted country, Egypt might have gained, by means of the armies of the French Republic, both liberty and civilization: but the idolatry of the olden time still darkened the land, and the voice of the offended God of Israel seemed to say, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther." The terrible revolt of Cairo on the 21st of October, 1798, and its consequences to the French and Egyptians, do not fall within my plan; but they are well worth reading. (*Précis*, vol. ii. p. 175, *et seq.*) Five thousand Turks and Egyptians were put to death: from that moment, says the Count De Dumas, Grecian liberty began to dawn in Peloponnessus: we shall see the results as we proceed. There is in the whole of this chapter of the *Précis* an interest, which, to be entirely appreciated, must be studied in the original..

On the 18th of August, Captain Thompson in the Leander, having on board Captain Berry of the Vanguard, who was charged with the despatches to the Earl of St. Vincent, at Gibraltar, was intercepted on his passage off the west end of Goza, near the island of Candia, where he fell in with a French 74. The Leander being 80 men short of complement, besides

having many wounded from the fleet, Captain Thompson naturally wished to avoid an action with such superior force; but finding the enemy outsailed him, he determined to try the fortune of war. At nine in the morning the French ship had ranged within half gunshot, when the Leander luffed up, brought her broadside to bear, and commenced a vigorous cannonade. The ships continued nearing each other until half-past 10, keeping up a constant and heavy fire. Captain Thompson was at this time so much disabled in his sails and rigging, that he could not prevent the enemy laying him on board on the larboard bow, where he remained for some time, making many attempts to board the Leander, but was constantly repulsed by the noble conduct of the marines, who, from the poop and the quarter-deck, under the command of a serjeant, kept up such a well-directed fire on the assailants, that they were driven back. The fire from the great guns was all this time continued with the same spirit, and a light breeze, giving the ships way, enabled the Leander to steer clear of her opponent, and soon after, luffing up under his stern, and passing him within 10 yards, she distinctly discharged every gun into him. The water was at this time perfectly smooth, the wind had ceased, the ships were close to each other, and the firing continued until half-past three in the afternoon, when the enemy crossed the Leander's bows, and placed himself on her *starboard* side, where her guns were nearly all disabled from the wreck which had fallen: this produced a cessation of fire, and the French captain hailed to know if his gallant opponent had surrendered.

The Leander was now totally unmanageable, not a stick standing but the shattered remains of her fore and main masts and the bowsprit, her hull cut to pieces, and her deck covered with the dead and the wounded; the enemy, who had only lost his mizenmast, was taking a position across her stern. In this defenceless situation Captain Thompson consulted his friend, Captain Berry; both agreed that further resistance was useless, if not impracticable, and the colours were struck when the Leander was scarcely able to float.

The ship which had thus, after so severe an action, taken this little 50, was Le Généreux, of 74 guns, having on board 900 men, 100 of whom fell in this action, and 188 were wounded. She was commanded by Monsieur Lejoille, chef de division, and was the rear ship in the French line at the battle of the Nile, in which she had but little share. The Leander, out of 343 men, including invalids, had 35 killed, and 57 wounded. The Généreux, leaving her shattered prize at Corfu,

arrived at Trieste. Captain Thompson, whose letter is dated from on board the Lazaretto at that port, was badly wounded: we shall soon see him again in an action equally brilliant, and more successful. On his arrival in England he was tried by a court-martial for the loss of his ship, and acquitted with the highest encomiums that any court could pronounce on the character of an officer; after which he received from his Majesty the honour of knighthood, and the grateful citizens of London presented him with the freedom of their corporation in a gold box.

The despatches with which Captain Berry was charged were of course consigned to the deep; and it was not till the arrival of the Honourable Captain Capel with the duplicates that the British Government had any certain intelligence from the hero of the Nile.

I have always felt pleasure in rendering justice to the merit of our enemies, whether for valour in action, or humanity to their prisoners. In the present instance I am compelled to speak in harsh terms of the captain of the Généreux for a violation of truth towards a subdued and gallant enemy, and for an egotism and a vain boasting quite unbecoming the character of a brave man. To support these assertions I shall refer my readers to the letter of Citizen Lejoîlle. Had a British officer written such a letter, he would have been overwhelmed by the ridicule and contempt of his profession, if not dismissed the service.

When Captain Jervis (afterwards Earl of St. Vincent), in the Foudroyant, took the Pegase, the French captain wrote to the minister of the marine, pretending to give an account of the transaction, and having shown the letter to Captain Jervis, asked his opinion: the British captain replied that he saw but one objection, namely, "that not one word of it was true." "Mais (said the Frenchman) il faut se justifier." He accordingly sent the letter, which being false, as had been stated by Captain Jervis, he was very soon after his arrival at Brest publicly and ignominiously dismissed from his ship, and from the navy, by having his sword broken over his head. I leave the application of this anecdote to Monsieur Lejoîlle and the writers of fabulous reports. For the information of such as are not conversant in naval affairs, I must observe that the Leander mounted 50 guns, viz. 22, 24-pounders on her lower deck, 22, 12-pounders on her main-deck, and eight nine-pounders on her quarter-deck and forecastle; and had on board 343 men when she began the action. The force of the Généreux, independently of the superior size of her timber and her comple-

ment of 700 men, was as follows:—On her lower deck 30 36-pounders, equal to 40 English pounds; main deck, 30 18-pounders; quarter-deck and forecastle, 18 12-pounders, or 42-pound carronades. I have stated the complement of the Généreux at 700 men, though I believe she had on board 200 supernumeraries which escaped from the Timoleon. I am concerned to add that the brave crew of the Leander were ill-treated in captivity. The following is the letter of Citizen Lejoille to the Minister of the Marine:—

*Généreux, Corfu, Sept.* 8, 1798.

I have the pleasure to announce to you my arrival at Corfu. I have been here for some days past, having brought in the English ship Leander of 74 guns, which I met near the isles of Goza and Candia, about a league from the shore. This ship had been sent to carry dispatches from Bequiers Road,* where the English had attacked us on the 1st of August. We were at anchor, but in a position certainly not very secure for our squadron; of this bad position they took advantage, and having placed us between two fires, a most dreadful slaughter took place, the ships not being at a greater distance than pistol-shot, and at anchor. From the circumstance of the wind, with relation to the English ships, we should have been superior in the contest, if L'Orient, our admiral's ship, had not blown up in the air, which threw us all into disorder, as to avoid the flames that had already reached Le Tonnant, every vessel was obliged to shift its station. Having, however, placed my ship in a situation favourable to the direction of its cannon, I fought her until three in the morning of the following day to that which, at 10 in the evening, L'Orient blew up.

By a singular accident I missed having a broadside at Captain Darby, who sailed with us in the last war from the Cape of Good Hope to Cadiz. His ship, the Bellerophon, of 74 guns, sailed past me about half-past ten in the evening, having lost her main-mast and mizen-mast. I fired three of our shots at her, which carried away the mast she was hoisting, and struck away one of the lanterns of the poop. I immediately ordered one of my officers to go in pursuit of, and to bring on board of my ship, the captain of this ship; but in half an hour afterward, when I was about to send my boat on board her, the fire from several English ships being directed against me, compelled me rather to think of answering their guns than of taking possession of the other ship; and the slow manner in which the officer whom I had despatched proceeded to execute my orders was the cause of my failing to take possession of this other ship.

As to the Leander, I was obliged to fight her for nearly four hours and three quarters. She carries 74 guns, 24 and 30 pounders on her lower deck, and 12 pounders on her upper. I should have made myself master of her in less than an hour, had we

* Aboukir is meant.

been at close fighting: during the engagement we boarded her, and I should have succeeded in making a prize of her by boarding, if I had had a more active crew.

(Signed) LEJOILLE, Jun.

Before the account of the capture of the Leander reached England, Captain the Hon. Thomas Bladen Capel arrived at the Admiralty with the duplicates from Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, and the following was immediately published in the

## LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Admiralty Office, Oct.* 2, 1798.

The Honourable Captain Capel, of His Majesty's sloop Mutine, arrived this morning with dispatches from Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B., to Evan Nepean, Esq., secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies:—

*Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,*
SIR, *August* 7, 1798.

Herewith I have the honour to transmit you a copy of my letter to the Earl of St. Vincent, together with a line of battle of the English and French squadrons, also a list of killed and wounded. I have the pleasure to inform you, that eight of our ships have already top-gallant yards across, and are ready for any service; the others, with the prizes, will soon be ready for sea. In an event of this importance, I have thought it right to send Captain Capel with a copy of my letter (to the commander-in-chief) over land, which I hope their lordships will approve, and beg leave to refer them to Captain Capel, who is a most excellent officer, and fully able to give every information; and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

*Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile,*
MY LORD, *August* 3, 1798.

Almighty God has blessed His Majesty's arms in the late battle by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at sunset on the 1st of August off the mouth of the Nile. The enemy was moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay of Shoals, flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valour, and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible. Could anything from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleasure; but that is impossible.

I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott, of the Majestic, who was killed early in the action; but the ship continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her, till your lordship's pleasure is known.

The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismasted; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape, nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it, but I had no ship in a condition to support the Zealous, and I was obliged to call her in.

The support and assistance I have received from Captain Berry cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the service suffered no loss by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the L'Orient.

Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

*To Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent,*
*Commander-in-chief, &c. &c., off Cadiz.*

*Line of Battle.*

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Culloden | Capt. T. Trowbridge | 74 | 590 | — | — |
| Theseus | —— R. W. Miller | 74 | 590 | 5 | 30 |
| Alexander* | —— A. J. Ball | 74 | 590 | 14 | 58 |
| Vanguard* | Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. Capt. Edward Berry | 74 | 595 | 30 | 75 |
| Minotaur | —— T. Louis | 74 | 640 | 23 | 64 |
| Leander | —— T. B. Thompson | 50 | 343 | — | 14 |
| Swiftsure | —— B. Hallowell | 74 | 590 | 7 | 22 |
| Audacious | —— D. Gould | 74 | 590 | 1 | 35 |
| Defence | —— John Peyton | 74 | 590 | 4 | 11 |
| Zealous | —— Samuel Hood | 74 | 590 | 1 | 7 |
| Orion* | —— Sir J. Saumarez | 74 | 590 | 13 | 29 |
| Goliath | —— Thomas Foley | 74 | 590 | 21 | 41 |
| Majestic | —— B. Westcott | 74 | 590 | 50 | 143 |
| Bellerophon | —— H. D. E. Darby | 74 | 590 | 49 | 148 |
| La Mutine | —— T. M. Hardy | 14 | — | — | — |
| | Total | | | 218 | 677 |

* With him off Toulon; all the others joined with Trowbridge.

*French Line of Battle.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Le Guerrier | 74 | 600 | taken. |
| Le Conquérant | 74 | 700 | taken. |
| Le Spartiate | 74 | 700 | taken. |
| L'Aquilon | 74 | 700 | taken. |
| Le Souverain Peuple | 74 | 700 | taken. |
| Le Franklin | 80 | 800 | Blanquet, first rear-admiral, taken. |
| L'Orient | 120 | 1,010 | Brueys, admiral and commander-in-chief, burnt. |
| Le Tonnant | 80 | 800 | taken. |
| L'Heureux | 74 | 700 | taken. |
| Le Timoleon | 74 | 700 | burnt. |
| Le Mercure | 74 | 700 | taken. |
| Le Guillaume Tell | 80 | 800 | Villeneuve, second rear-admiral, escaped. |
| Le Généreux | 74 | 700 | escaped. |

*Frigates.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Diane | 48 | 300 | escaped. |
| La Justice | 44 | 300 | escaped. |
| L'Artémise | 36 | 250 | burnt. |
| La Serieuse | 36 | 250 | dismasted and sunk by the Orion. |

The Artémise, after surrendering, was set on fire by her own crew—an act of perfidy which cannot be too severely reprobated; but, as it might not have been done by order of the captain, we shall not stain his memory with the reproach. The news of this important victory were received by the whole nation with the most rapturous expressions of joy. Illuminations, salutes, balls, and festivals, in honour of the victory, were given in every part of the kingdom; a subscription was opened at Lloyd's for the relief of the wounded, and the widows and orphans of the slain. The rear-admiral was created Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorp in the county of Norfolk. The thanks of the Houses of Parliament were voted to him, and "his gallant band;" gold medals were presented to the captains; Hardy, of the Mutine (the only sloop in company) was made post into the vanguard, and all the first lieutenants of ships of the line (the Culloden excepted) were made commanders. A pension of £2,000 a-year was settled on Nelson for three lives; the Irish Parliament also voted him £1,000 a-year; the East India Company presented him with £10,000, the city of London a sword, valued at 200 guineas, and a

sword to each of his captains; that to Sir Edward Berry was accompanied with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

The captains in the Nile fleet also presented Nelson with a sword; the hilt was of gold, and made to represent a crocodile, on which was engraved the names of the donors. Captain Capel was the bearer of Admiral Blanquet's sword, which, by order of Nelson, he presented to the city of London, with the following letter to the lord mayor:—

*Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,*
*Aug.* 8, 1798.

My Lord,

Having the honour of being a freeman of the city of London, I take the liberty of sending to your lordship the sword of the commanding French admiral (M. Blanquet), who survived after the battle of the 1st, off the Nile, and to request that the city of London will honour me with the acceptance of it, as a remembrance that Britannia still rules the waves; which that she may ever do, is the fervent prayer of your lordship's

Most obedient Servant,
Horatio Nelson.

This trophy was placed in the council-chamber with a suitable inscription, commemorative of the brilliant victory by which it had been acquired.

The Culloden, having run on shore upon the reef early in the afternoon, was not in the action. Trowbridge, it appears, had no chart of the bay, which the other ships had. The accident almost broke the heart of her gallant captain; but Nelson assured him that no man could better afford to lose the laurel of that day. Trowbridge, as soon as he was afloat, exerted himself for the good of the service, and rendered all the assistance in his power to the sick and wounded, friends and foes. On the arrival of the despatches in England, among other marks of attention to the admiral, commissions were sent out to the first lieutenants of all the ships *engaged*. This seemed to preclude the Culloden, and produced a strong letter from Earl St. Vincent to Earl Spencer, in which the commander-in-chief pointed out, in clear and forcible language, the cruelty as well as injustice of depriving an officer of his well-earned promotion, because his ship, by an accident which he could neither foresee nor control, was kept out of gun-shot of the enemy. His lordship stated, and with much truth, that the grounding of the Culloden on the shoal saved the Swiftsure and Alexander from the same danger, and consequently contributed largely to the glorious victory. This argument prevailed, and the first-lieutenant of the Culloden was promoted.

On the 27th of June Captain Foote, in the Seahorse, of 38 guns, 18-pounders, captured La Sensible, French frigate, of

36 guns, and 300 men. She had on board a general of division (Beraguay d'Hilliers), and was bound to Toulon to give an account of the capture of Malta. The Sensible had 18 killed and 35 wounded, the Seahorse two killed, and 15 wounded.

On the 15th of July Captain Manley Dixon, in the Lion of 64 guns, fought a very gallant action with four Spanish frigates off Carthagena, and succeeded in capturing one of them, called the Santa Dorothea, of 36 guns, and 300 men; the others made their escape. The Lion had only one man wounded.

Lieutenant Loftus Otway Bland, in his Majesty's brig the Espoir, having charge of a convoy bound to Oran, fell in, off Malaga, with a Ligurian pirate of very superior force, and, in order to save his convoy, brought him immediately to action, which lasted four hours, when the enemy was compelled to surrender, having seven killed, and 14 wounded. In this action the master of the Espoir was killed, and five men were wounded. The prize was called the Liguria. She had been a Dutch frigate sold to the Genoese, carrying 12 long 18-pounders, four 12-pounders, 10 6-pounders, 12 long wall-pieces, and four swivels, manned with 120 men. L'Espoir was a small brig of 14 6-pounders, and 70 men. Lieutenant Bland was most deservedly promoted to the rank of commander and post-captain.

Captain Hallowell, of the Swiftsure, having picked up after the action a part of the mainmast of the Orient, had it converted into a coffin, which he sent to Nelson, and in which the hero was buried.

Having, on the 18th of August, refitted his ships, and directed Sir James Saumarez, the second officer in command, to see the prizes in safety to Gibraltar, and left Hood in the Zealous, with four sail of the line, and two frigates, to blockade Alexandria, Nelson proceeded in the vanguard to Naples, where he was received by the king and people with every mark of gratitude and respect. His Majesty conferred upon him the title of Duke of Brontè in Sicily, with an income of £3,000 a-year. The Grand Seignior presented him with a diamond aigrette and chelengk, or plume of triumph, taken from the royal turban, together with a rich sable pelisse; he also directed 2,000 chequins to be distributed among the British seamen wounded at the battle of the Nile. The mother of the Sultan presented the admiral with a rose, set with diamonds of great value; and the island of Zante sent him a sword and a gold-headed cane, as an acknowledgment that to him they owed their liberation from the power of France.

Amongst the letters from the French which were intercepted

by the fleet under Sir Horatio Nelson, was found one from Rear-admiral Gantheaume, the officer on whom, after the terrible day of the 1st of August, the command of the shattered remains of the fleet at the mouth of the Nile had devolved. Gantheaume was, I am convinced, from the whole history of his career, a very brave and enterprising officer. His account of the disasters which befell the fleet, and of which, as a matter of course, the army so largely partook, is ably and feelingly detailed in his letter to the Minister of the Marine. "With piercing and heartfelt sorrow," he says "he acquits himself of the melancholy duty. Eleven sail of the line taken or burnt, and lost to France, our best officers killed or wounded, the coasts of our new colony laid open to the invasion of the enemy." In a strain of manly eloquence he laments that after having landed the army, the admiral (Bruyes) had not thought proper to put to sea; but he waited for orders from the general (Bonaparte); and no doubt, as he says, the army derived much confidence from the presence of the fleet.

It appears that Bonaparte, as well as his admiral, was deceived by the very circumstance which Nelson so much deplored, his sailing to the westward after having made the coast of Egypt and not finding the fleet of the enemy there. This led the French to suppose that Nelson had no orders to attack them; "because," says Gantheaume, "he might, if he had pleased, have prevented the disembarkation." If he could have done this, it was fortunate that he did not, as it left the fleet less ably manned, and deprived of its best artillery-men. This amply confirms what I have before observed, that had the two fleets met at sea, or before the army landed, the event of the day might have been far more bloody, and perhaps less favourable to us. Not seeing the British fleet, says the unhappy admiral, "produced a boundless and fatal security."

Villeneuve, it appears, "by a bold manœuvre, made his escape." I should have thought there would have been much greater temerity in staying where he was. The gallant Villeneuve, however, did not run away to save himself, but to preserve, as far as he could, the remains of the fleet under his immediate control; and for a very short time he succeeded. Besides the admiral, the chiefs of division, Casa Bianca, Thevenard, and Du Petits Thouars, were killed, and six others dangerously wounded. The admiral concludes his melancholy letter by saying that "nothing but a peace can consolidate the establishment of the new colony."

The Directory, after having despatched the armament under General Bonaparte, had endeavoured to deceive the king of Naples, and induce him to keep upon terms with them. They

had gained entire possession, by the surrender of Turin, of the continental dominions of Sicily, and Victor Emanuel was forced to retire with a few followers to the island of Sardinia, now all the territory that remained to him.

Their forcible junction of Helvetia to France induced Austria and Naples, allied in misfortune, to break the treaty of Campo Formio, and once more to appeal to arms.

France, in the mean time, was concentrating her troops in the vicinity of Rome, and an attack upon Naples appeared to be no distant event. Preparations being made to repel the blow, the French were greatly offended at the bare suspicion of their want of faith. This unceasingly aggressive policy of the Directory was producing a general alarm throughout Europe, when the account of the victory of the Nile raised the hope that it might at length be effectually checked by a general coalition. The Maltese, who had received the French as friends at their first landing, revolted, and drove the troops into the garrison, where they kept them in close blockade until a British force arrived to second the inhabitants, and expel the enemy from the island.

Before the British fleet had destroyed that of France at the mouth of the Nile, the French army had reached the shore in safety. The transports, to the number of 350, with many frigates, had entered the port of Alexandria, and landed all their artillery and field equipage. The victorious Bonaparte, with his usual success, had made himself master of that city and Grand Cairo.

The old or western harbour of Alexandria is the only one on the coast of Egypt capable of containing ships of war; it is six miles in extent from east-north-east to west-south-west, and in some places a mile, in others not half a mile wide. The whole of the French fleet, with all their transports, might have lain within it in perfect security from any attack, but there was not water enough on the bar to admit of L'Orient; the depth, indeed, was sufficient, but the channel was not wider than the dock of a 74-gun ship. It was on this account only that the intention of taking the fleet in was abandoned.

The harbour is open to the north-west winds, but the sea is much broken off by a reef of rocks and sands occupying the whole front from the two horns of the bay. It was surveyed with great accuracy by Mr. Thomas Mann, master of his Majesty's ship the Tigre, 1807. The depth of water in the harbour is from five to ten fathoms; the main channel is exactly in the centre, and extremely narrow, the least water in it being five fathoms. There is another channel about a mile to the eastward, but fit only for small vessels. The great mistake of

Bonaparte was not sending L'Orient to Toulon, and taking his whole fleet into this port; the campaign, had he done so, might have had a very different termination.

As soon as Nelson could give his attention to the important subject, he despatched Lieutenant Duval, of the Zealous, overland, to Bombay, with a letter to the governor of that settlement, giving an account of his victory, and of the intentions of the French in their invasion of Egypt. It was about this time, or soon after, according to Sir John Malcolm, that the Governor-general of India formed an alliance with the King of Persia, which would have impeded the progress of the French armies through that kingdom, had such been the intention of the French commander.

On his arrival at Naples on the 22d of September, Nelson found the Culloden, Alexander, and Bonne Citoyenne. His reception, both by the king and the people, excited the jealousies and the fears of the French Directory. They now began to perceive that the Neapolitans and Sardinians were burning with the desire of throwing off their yoke, that Austria was ready to take the field, and that Holland and Switzerland, and the whole of Germany, were again ready to rise in arms against France, and to make common cause with Great Britain. Such was the state of affairs when Captain Thompson, of the Leander, arrived at Trieste, with the news of the victory of the Nile. It was only by doubtful rumour that the account of this event was at first spread over Europe. The French, who had taken the bearer of the first despatches, were deeply concerned in keeping the secret for a few weeks. The officer and crew of both the Généreux and the Leander were subjected to long quarantine, and little transpired for two months except that there *had been* a great and decisive battle on the coast of Egypt. The arrival of Captain Capel, however, dispelled all doubt, and the political horizon once more beamed with a ray of hope that the deliverance of Europe was at no great distance. Those who had long crouched under Gallic despotism, now began to take courage. The navies of England and Russia were in full possession of the Mediterranean, Turkey was favourable to them and adverse to the French, in whose cause the Spaniards were lukewarm, and the Portuguese were allied with us.

Never did a fairer prospect offer for restoring the balance of power, when General Mack, an Austrian of supposed talent, was sent to command the Neapolitan army, consisting of 80,000 men, one-fourth of whom were cavalry. The emperor was hastening through the north of Italy with an immense force to his assistance, and the Earl of St. Vincent, with the

British fleet, was at hand to assist the allied armies. Encouraged, perhaps, by the queen and Lady Hamilton, Ferdinand, at the head of his army, with Mack by his side, boldly marched to Rome. This premature step was fatal to the cause: the monarch, and his timid subjects, were beaten by one-fourth part of their number, and the shattered remnant of this multitude retreated with ignominy to Naples. The feeble effort, however, had some advantage: France saw that if she was to retain Italy, she must keep such a force in that country as would render her influence no longer problematical; the king and his people had thrown off the mask, and nothing but the bayonet could keep them in subjection. The movements of the hostile armies drew the British fleet to the coast; Nelson was reinforced, and the Foudroyant, a new 80-gun ship, was preparing to receive his flag: the blockade of Malta was continued, the Portuguese squadron performing part of that duty. Sir James Saumarez, on his way down the Mediterranean with the prizes from the Nile, summoned the island to surrender, but in vain. In the mean time the war in the south of Europe assumed a deeper interest; and a tremendous storm was gathering over Italy, where Russia, Austria, and England had united their forces to expel the armies of the republic.

While Captain Hood was employed on the blockade of Alexandria, a circumstance happened which shows the manner in which the French were received in Egypt; and at the same time the generous efforts of the English to save their inveterate enemies from destruction. The Seahorse and Emerald chased a French gun-boat of four guns and 60 men; she anchored close in shore, but as the boats of our ships approached to board her, the unfortunate Frenchmen cut their cable, and ran into the surf: they had on board General Carrier and his aid-de-camp, with despatches for Bonaparte. These, with many of the crew who made resistance, were butchered by the Arabs, and it is feared under circumstances at which human nature recoils. The whole crew were stripped of their clothes; the commander and seven men made their escape naked to the beach, where our boats having by this time arrived, they begged on their knees to be taken on board. Our sailors swam on shore with lines and small casks, and at the imminent risk of their own lives succeeded in bringing off these unfortunate men.

The success which had attended our arms in the East encouraged farther attempts in the western parts of the Mediterranean. The time for our making any effectual movement on the Continent had not yet arrived; but, in the daily expecta-

tion of a favourable change in politics, a large disposable force was kept in the neighbourhood of Cadiz and Gibraltar.

The French having, as already stated, made themselves masters of Malta, might be said to command almost every port in the Mediterranean. The islands of Corsica, Sicily, and Sardinia being either in their power or under their control, a naval port had become a consideration of the first importance with us, and it is matter of surprise that the evacuation of Toulon and Corsica did not earlier suggest this obvious necessity. Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca, united many and great advantages, and it was resolved to attack it without delay. This island had formerly belonged to Great Britain, having been taken in the year 1708 by the forces under the command of Vice-admiral Leake and Lieutenant-general Stanhope. It was lost again in 1756, when the unhappy Byng was deprived of life for an error in judgment on his own part, and want of firmness in the ministers of George II. Restored to us at the peace of 1763, it remained in our hands until the Spaniards took it in 1782, and were allowed to retain it by the peace of Paris in the following year.

The Earl of St. Vincent selected a detachment of ships to co-operate with the army on this expedition, and gave the command of them to Commodore Duckworth. The land forces were under the command of the Lieutenant-general the Hon. Charles Stewart; the number was very small. The ships employed were the Leviathan, 74, Commodore Duckworth; Centaur, 74, Captain Markham; Argo, 44, Captain James Bowen; Aurora, 28, Captain Henry Digby; Cormorant, 20, Honourable C. Boyle; and Petterel, 16, Captain Long; with some other small vessels.

The landing was effected on the 7th of November, in the bay of Addaya, the troops being covered by the Argo, while the ships of the line made a feint at Forneilles, where the enemy blew up their works, and the first division of British troops, consisting of 800 men, marched in and took possession. Attacked by 2,000 Spaniards, they received them so warmly that the enemy retreated, and could not be brought to stand before the British fire. Minorca, being rocky, with some rising ground on the north side, is capable of being easily defended, but there were few soldiers to oppose us. Mercadel, a very important post, was taken without resistance; the enemy's forces had separated, and farther communication between them was cut off. Commodore Duckworth had so stationed his ships that they gave the most effectual support to the army, while Colonel Graham marched upon the village of Ciudadella, in front of which he established his camp.

In the course of the night Captain Buchannan, with 250 seamen, assisted the artillery-men in bringing forward their guns. Colonel Paget was detached, with 300 men, to take possession of the town of Port Mahon. This officer summoned Fort Charles to surrender, took the lieutenant-governor prisoner with 160 of his men, removed the boom which obstructed the passage of the harbour, and gave admission to the Aurora and Cormorant frigates, which had been sent by the commodore to make a diversion on that side of the island.

The enemy was still in force at Ciudadella, but, by a well-combined movement, the place was taken, though we had not more than six 12-pounders; the final capitulation was hastened by the appearance of a British squadron in the offing. The terms of the surrender were that the island should retain its laws and liberties, civil and religious. I shall ever regret that Minorca was restored to the Spaniards at the general peace in 1814-15. That island, under all circumstances, should have been retained by Great Britain. Our having Malta is no argument against it. Malta is too far to the southward, and too remote from the southern coast of Europe.

The blockade of Malta was conducted by Captain Ball, of the Alexander, having under his orders three ships of the line and three frigates. He was assisted by the Portuguese squadron, under the command of the Marquis de Niza. The whole of these were detachments from the division of Nelson, who had charge of the Mediterranean station from Naples and Malta to Alexandria, while Lord St. Vincent, as commander-in-chief, was at Gibraltar, whence he issued orders to his cruisers, extending from the western islands and Lisbon to the mouth of the Nile and the Dardanelles.

Goza, a small island dependent on Malta, surrendered to Captain Ball on the 28th of October, and was given up to his Sicilian majesty.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Capture of La Renommé—Affairs of St. Domingo—Singular position of the contending parties—Capture of Trinidad—Destruction of Spanish squadron—Unsuccessful attack on Porto Rico—Gallant defence of the post of Irois, St. Domingo, by Captain Jervis and Lieutenant Talbot—Evacuation of the island—Leeward Islands—Mutiny on board the Hermione—Murder of Captain Pigott and officers—Mutineers claimed by the Admiral, and refused by the governor of La Guaira—Fatal affair of Lord Camelford and Lieutenant Peterson—Reflections; and letter from the Admiralty to the author.

The activity of the French in the gulf of Florida was unremitting: using the ports of Cuba as their own, they equipped privateers, manned them with people of all nations and colours, and carried on the same depredations, under the flag of a belligerent, which civilized nations usually term piracy. Captain Drury, in the Alfred, of 74 guns, captured to windward of Jamaica La Renommé, French frigate, of 38 guns, 18-pounders, and 350 men.

Discord still raged on the island of St. Domingo, where the blacks contended against the republicans and mulattoes; and, as the two latter were our decided and implacable enemies, we sided with the former. Such was the anomalous state of things in that part of the world: France, under the banner of liberty, sought to establish or restore slavery; England, to wound the power of France, protected the slaves against their masters, although their success might have endangered the peace and welfare of the British islands. In the mean time the importation of negroes from the coast of Africa to all the islands still proceeded, the love of gain overpowering every other consideration.

Rear-admiral Henry Harvey, the commander-in-chief on the Leeward-island station, and Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, having received instructions from home, attacked the Spanish island of Trinidad, contiguous to the main land of South America, with which it forms that inlet called the gulf of Paria, the bocca or mouth of which the squadron passed on the 16th of February, in the afternoon. Here they discovered four ships of the line, commanded by Admiral Appadoca,

lying under the protection of strong batteries, near the island of Gasper Grande. The British squadron worked up, and came to anchor nearly within gunshot of the enemy; while the frigate and transports, having the troops on board, were ordered higher up the bay, within about five miles of the town of Port d'Espagne, an attack on which was to take place at daylight in the morning. The Spaniards, with a degree of pusillanimity of which there are few examples in history, instead of defending themselves with the ample means they possessed, set fire, about two in the morning, to their whole squadron. Three sail of the line were burnt to the water's edge, the fourth escaped the conflagration, and was brought away by the British admiral. Such unequivocal marks of fear were quickly followed by the evacuation of the island, and of the town of Port d'Espagne. Our troops took possession without opposition; and the whole of this beautiful island has continued ours from that day. In extent it is equal to the whole of our Caribbee islands united, and is one of the most profitable colonies. A large quantity of naval and military stores was taken, together with 1,500 prisoners. The names and force of the Spanish ships were as follows, *viz.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|
| San Vincente | 84 burnt. |
| Arrogante | 74 burnt. |
| Gallardo | 74 burnt. |
| Santa Cecilia | 36 burnt. |
| San Domingo | 74 taken. |

From Trinidad the British forces proceeded to the island of Porto Rico; but here they met with a very different reception. On the 17th of April the squadron arrived off Congrejos Point. The whole of the north side of this island is bounded by a reef of rocks, within which is a lagoon affording anchorage for vessels of light draft of water. After much difficulty a passage was discovered about three leagues to the eastward of the town of Porto Rico, through which the Beaver and Fury sloops with the small vessels passed and anchored in a bay, where, on the following morning, the troops landed with little obstruction. About 100 of the enemy were concealed in the bushes, but made no resistance of any consequence. The artillery having been brought on shore, the troops advanced and took up a favourable position, with their right to the sea, and their left to a lagoon which extended far into the country.

Our troops attempted to force their way into the island, on which the town of Porto Rico is situated. The pass was defended by the Moro Castle, commanding the entrance of the

harbour. The enemy, in the mean time, kept up the communication between the south and western ports of the island, and their gun-boats on the lagoon harassed our left flank. The only point on which the town appeared assailable was on the east, where it was defended by the castle and lines of St. Christopher; to approach this it was necessary to force a way over the lagoon, which forms that side of the island.

This passage was strongly defended by two redoubts. The enemy had destroyed the bridge which connects the island with the main land, and kept up an incessant fire in our advance which no effort could silence, having intrenched themselves in the rear of those redoubts. The general not having a sufficient force to attempt this passage by storm, bombarded the town; but the nearest approach he could make was on a point from the southward, and the distance was too great to produce any effect. After a useless fire of many days he decided to reimbark, leaving some damaged guns behind him. Porto Rico still remains in the hands of the Spaniards.

The British force in the island of St. Domingo held their ground in those strong forts of which they had gained possession, and with the negroes kept up a constant warfare against the French and mulattoes.

The port of Irois consisted of a small fort upon a hill in Carcasse bay, on the western extremity of the island. Captain Jervis, of the Magicienne, of 32 guns, in company with the Regulus, of 44 guns, and the Fortune schooner, when doubling the cape of Tiburon, perceived five small vessels at anchor; and, suspecting the port of Irois was attacked, he was soon confirmed in his conjecture by the firing of the alarm gun. The ships instantly hauled in, anchored, and commenced a heavy and destructive fire on the enemy, whom they compelled to abandon the enterprise, and fly to the mountains, leaving in the hands of the victors artillery, ammunition, vessels laden with provisions, and all the materials necessary for carrying on a siege. The service was arduous; the Magicienne having four men killed and 10 wounded. Before Captain Ricketts so gallantly and opportunely conducted his ship into action, the enemy had collected 1,200 chosen troops, with which they were storming the fort of Irois. This little spot was defended by Lieutenant Talbot, of the 82d regiment, with 25 men of the 17th infantry, and about 20 colonial artillery, commanded by Captain Breul. This band of heroes resisted, says General Simcoe, the most determined and formidable charges I had ever witnessed, thrice repeated and as often repulsed, which gave time to Colonel Dagress, with 350 men of Prince Edward's black chasseurs, to gain the fort from the Bourg

below, whence, indeed, they were obliged to cut their way. Without this reinforcement the place could not have been saved against the repeated attacks which had continued from midnight to the dawn of day, when the enemy retired, leaving the fort surrounded with their dead. It was on the morning while this conflict was going on that Captain Ricketts arrived, in time to share the honour and preserve the port, the attack on which cost the enemy 800 men; but it is painful to relate, that the heroic Talbot died of his wounds, as did Lieutenant Colville of the black chasseurs. Our forces took the important post of Mirabelais.

After his successful defence of Irois, we next hear of Captain Ricketts with the Regulus and Diligence in Aguadilla-bay, in the island of Porto Rico, where having silenced the forts, which he engaged for one hour and a half, he brought every vessel out,—one, a privateer of nine guns, a merchant ship, three brigs, and a schooner.

Captain White, acting commander of the Pelican sloop of war on the Jamaica station, engaged and sunk the French privateer La Trompeuse, of 14 guns and 78 men, sixty of whom the boats of the Pelican picked up and landed.

The continued drain upon our land and sea forces, by the fatal prevalence of the yellow fever, at length induced the commander-in-chief to evacuate all the strong places which we held, and to abandon the island of St. Domingo to the blacks. The first object was, therefore, to secure the lives and properties of such of the white planters as chose to remain under the faith of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the black chief; a man who, notwithstanding his humble birth and very limited acquirements, was found to possess honour, talent, courage, and humanity.

The treaty with this chief having been concluded to the satisfaction of the French royalists, all who chose to avail themselves of our protection were embarked, and carried down to Jamaica; some few of the planters remained on their property, but of this, we fear, they had soon reason to repent. The embarkation of the troops and royalists was effected under the superintendence and management of the Captains Cochet and Ogilvie of the Abergavenny and Thunderer, and the whole was conducted with that order and regularity so peculiar to the British navy, and of which the army in this, as in other instances, had often experienced the good effects. This was the last time the English possessed any power in the island, which henceforth, to the great dismay of the planters of Jamaica, (the blacks having triumphed over their masters,) became a negro republic. The frigates on this station continued to cruise with much success against the enemy's priva-

teers. The Acasta, Captain Lane, and the Magicienne, took and destroyed vast numbers of these freebooters.

The year 1798 affords us very little worthy of notice at Jamaica. We, therefore, return to the Leeward-island station, where some melancholy events are to be recorded, the attentive perusal of which may, it is believed, afford much instruction and improvement to officers who are likely to be intrusted with the command of our ships of war.

Rear-admiral Sir Henry Hervey commanded on this station. Lieutenant William Wood Senhouse had charge of the admiral's tender, a schooner called the Alexander, mounting 6 guns, and manned with 38 men. After a short action he captured a French privateer of 6 guns and 34 men, and a few weeks after had another severe action with the Epicharis, a French privateer of 8 guns and 78 men, which he took and carried into Fort Royal. Such were our seamen, and such they will ever be, when commanded by brave and good men, who study their happiness as far as the service will admit.

A different scene must now be presented; and if my readers turn with horror from the disgusting recital, let them recollect that it is but a solitary instance among the heroic deeds that illustrate the character of the numerous fleets of the British empire, and that its perpetration excited a general feeling of indignation among the seamen of the British navy.

It is a painful duty, when writing of men and events so recently passed, to speak of them as they were, and not as they should have been; but where would be the moral of history if birth, rank, or even the claims of private friendship, are to soften down those acts which have produced the most fatal effects on the discipline of the navy. My inclination would prompt me to draw a veil over this dreadful event, but my sense of public duty compels me to speak out. Let our officers be warned by the fatal beacon! Let them recollect that seamen have the feelings of men, and that although it is very rare that they have ever proceeded to such lengths, it is only by constant attention on the part of the captain and officers that similar scenes are not repeated. Excessive zeal often ends in tyranny, and tyranny is the parent of rebellion.

Captain Pigott of the Hermione had unfortunately assumed the character of a Martinet; a minute was thought by him sufficient time to reef a topsail, and those men that lingered on the yard after the expiration of a certain number of seconds were sure of immediate and severe punishment. This had been long borne by the crew of the frigate with that apathy resulting from the habits of discipline in the navy during the peace. The mutiny of the channel fleet had taught them to

think they were aggrieved, but they forgot the example of moderation which had been shown to them in England, and, instead of seeking redress from their superiors they determined to take the law into their own hands.

On the evening of the 21st of September, while the ship was cruising off the west end of Porto Rico, and, according to the usual custom in ships of war at sea, the people were reefing the topsails, Captain Pigott called aloud, and declared that he would flog the last man off the mizen-topsail-yard! The men, naturally eager to escape the certain punishment, crowded over each other to gain the top-mast rigging. In the struggle two of them missed their hold, fell on the quarter deck, and were killed: their remains were by the men committed to the deep, with silent and sullen feelings of anger, and a fatal determination to seek revenge.

In little more than 24 hours after this the mutiny broke out. About 10 o'clock at night, the captain having gone to bed, the officer of the watch was surprised, knocked down, and murdered. The captain, hearing a noise, ran on deck, but was driven back with repeated wounds. Seated in his cabin, he was stabbed by his coxswain and three other mutineers, and forced out of the cabin windows; he was heard to speak as he went astern. The other officers, except the master and a mate, were all butchered in the same manner; and the mutineers, having taken possession of the ship, conducted her to the Spanish port of La Guaira. Justice speedily overtook them: many were captured in Spanish vessels, or recognised in English ones, and brought to trial. I witnessed the execution of some at Portsmouth; others were hanged in the ports of St. Domingo, and the remains of many were suspended on gibbets erected on the sandy quays at the entrance of Port Royal harbour, in the island of Jamaica. It is supposed that nearly the whole of the crew suffered by the laws of their country.

The following is a list of the officers murdered:—Captain Pigott; Lieutenants Spriggs, Douglas, and Fanshaw; purser, Mr. Percy; surgeon, Mr. Sansom; captain's clerk, Mr. Manning; boatswain, Mr. Smith; midshipman, Mr. M'Martin; Lieutenant of marines, name unknown.

When Rear-admiral Hervey, the commander-in-chief on the Leeward-island station, became acquainted with the circumstance, he demanded the restoration of the ship and the mutineers from the governor of La Guaira, but was refused; remonstrances were in vain. It was manifestly the governor's duty to assist an open and honourable enemy in bringing to punishment men who had been guilty of so gross an act of criminality. The ship might, or might not have been retained; that was a

matter of no importance. She was afterward recaptured, when 200 Spaniards fell upon her decks.

Another unfortunate occurrence on this station took place in the month of January, at English harbour, Antigua, where Lord Camelford was acting captain of the Favourite sloop of war. Lieutenant Peterson was first of the Perdrix, a post ship, and a *senior* lieutenant to Lord Camelford. Captain Fahie of the Perdrix being absent on leave, the alarm guns were fired, and Lord Camelford sent to Lieutenant Peterson to hold the crew of the Perdrix in readiness to act, and to keep a vigilant look-out at the entrance of the harbour. This order, Lieutenant Peterson, supposing himself the commanding officer, thought proper to disobey. Lord Camelford remonstrated with him on the impropriety of his conduct, but without being able to convince him of his error. Mr. Peterson, on the contrary, armed his ship's company and drew them up in the dock-yard, and prepared to resist the authority of Lord Camelford. His lordship, seeing things in this extremity, took a pistol from the hand of an officer, and, going up to Lieutenant Peterson, asked whether he still persisted in his refusal to obey the orders he had given him. The lieutenant answered, "I do!" upon which Lord Camelford, putting the pistol to his breast, shot him dead upon the spot, and, addressing the crew of the Perdrix, told them he had shot the first lieutenant for mutiny. The companies of both ships, who were drawn up and spectators to this rash and unjustifiable act, retired quietly to their respective ships, and on the following day the Matilda, of 24 guns, Captain Mitford, arrived in the harbour, when his lordship gave himself up as a prisoner. Captain Mitford immediately sent him away to Martinique, where he was tried by a court-martial, and *honourably* acquitted! the court being of opinion that the very extraordinary and manifest disobedience of the deceased justified the act of the prisoner.

A circumstance of this peculiarly unfortunate nature demands some explanation. Lieutenant Peterson certainly acted under a wrong interpretation of two articles in the old printed instructions, the 6th and the 14th, chapter 3. The 6th article states, that all commanders of sloops, bombs, and that class of vessels, should be under the command of *junior captains* in post ships; and by the 14th, in the absence of the captain of any of his Majesty's ships, the *senior lieutenant* shall have charge of the ship, and be answerable for the *duty of the captain*. Hence it would appear that the unfortunate officer, whose memory has been stained with the crime of mutiny, only supposed himself vested with the authority of the captain, *pro tempore*. Admitting the question to be doubtful, either of these officers

should have waved his rank for the public good, and a court-martial would, in a short time, have rendered ample justice to the injured person. Lord Camelford knew that Captain Fahie must return within 24 hours, in which interval no real injury could have been sustained by his Lordship's suspension of rank.

I am perfectly acquainted with the articles of war, and have seen the punishment of death repeatedly denounced for the crime of mutiny or disobedience of orders, particularly in time of action; but we shall search that code in vain to find in what part an officer, of his own will, is permitted to take the life of another. It is only after the fullest conviction of the crime before a court-martial that such a sentence can be carried into execution. Had the lieutenant been tried by the law, it is possible that he might have shown such reasons as would have induced a court to pause before it pronounced even a dismissal from the service; how much more before sentence of death? Refer the case to the 12 judges: they could not have returned a verdict in less than 24 hours. Shall, then, the life of a human being be taken away at the will of offended pride, when the highest tribunals, even Majesty itself, would have deliberated before inflicting the penalty?

The new code of naval instructions, which are so clearly defined, has yet been differently interpreted on certain points. The author of these pages, when with a confirmed commission commanding a sloop of war, was by the chance of service placed *under the orders of a young lieutenant*, acting, it is true, by an admiral's order in the temporary command of a frigate. Years after this a captain declared in my presence that he would *not* obey a lieutenant so situated! Astonished to find that there could still be a difference of opinion, I stated the case to the Admiralty. The reply is as follows:—

*Admiralty Office, Jan.* 7, 1823.

Sir,

Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of yesterday's date, stating that when in the command of the Amaranthe sloop at Martinique, in 1808, the chance of service placed you under the orders of Lieutenant Kerr, then acting captain by order of Sir Alexander Cochrane, in the Circe *frigate*, and that some doubts having arisen whether you had any right to obey the said lieutenant, you request their lordships' opinion as to whether you did or did not put a proper construction on the 6th article of the general printed instructions, sect. 2, chap. 1; I am commanded by my Lords to acquaint you, that one construction can only be put on the article in question, and that you took the right one.

I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

John Barrow.

*Captain E. P. Brenton.*

In the like cases, where there is any doubt as to the superiority, the officer of the longest standing in the service should take the command, and let the claim of the other be submitted to a court-martial.

Under all these circumstances it is but justice to say that the crime of mutiny was not proved, and that it is highly probable Lieutenant Peterson acted, to the best of his judgment, for the good of the service, supposing himself (erroneously we own) captain of the Perdrix for the time by the 14th article of his instructions, and by the 6th that Lord Camelford was his junior officer.

I impute no blame to the court which tried the offence,—it had good reasons, no doubt, for its verdict; but I fear that its *honourable* acquittal produced another deplorable act, which I shall have to relate hereafter.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Designs of the Directory on Ireland—Their squadron sails from Brest—Met with by Sir John Warren, and defeated off the Rosses—Capture of La Hoche and frigates—Single actions with other frigates—Drawn battle between Mermaid and Loire—The latter taken by the Anson and Kangaroo—List of the squadron captured by Sir John Warren and his cruisers—Capture of the Ambuscade by the Bayonnaise—Reflections on that action—Ambition of the Directory—Extensive preparations for invasion—Brest fleet sails—Disturbed state of Ireland—Speech from the throne—Treaty with Russia and England—Between Russia and the Porte—Great combination against France—Tyranny of the Directory—Violation of the law of nations in the invasion of Egypt—French fleet joins that of Spain, and both get into Brest in safety—Arrival of Earl St. Vincent at Spithead—Remarks—He is appointed to the Channel fleet—Capture of La Vestale: of Spanish galleons by British frigates—Immense treasure—Loss of the Impregnable—Remarkable instances of recapture—Successes of Sir John Warren and Sir Edward Pellew—Fury and Harpy attack a French frigate, which is taken by the Loire—Sir Charles Hamilton takes Goree—Descent in the Morbihan—Attacks on the enemy in the neighbourhood of Brest by Sir John Warren.

While the fleet and army of France were vainly attempting to secure the possession of the banks of the Nile, the Directory were not unmindful that we had a vulnerable point nearer home. Ireland was in a state of actual rebellion; and the Executive Government of France hoped, by a timely aid to the rebels, to feed the flame of civil discord, and eventually to deprive us of the right arm of the British Empire. A strong squadron accordingly was despatched from Brest, on the 17th September, 1798, and arrived off Lough Swilly, but was intercepted by a squadron of his Majesty's ships, under the command of Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, who, in the month of October, was cruising off that port. He had with him the Canada and Robust, of 74 guns each, the Foudroyant, of 80, Magnanime, of 44, Melampus, of 38, Doris, of 36; the two latter were sent to look out off Tory Island and the Rosses. In the evening of the same day he was joined by the Amelia, Captain Herbert, who informed him that he had parted with the Ethalion, Anson, and Sylph, and that these ships had with great attention continued to watch the French squadron from

the time of their leaving Brest. On the 11th of October the Anson and the Sylph fell in with the admiral, and at noon the enemy was discovered in the north-west: their force consisted of one ship of 80 guns, 8 frigates, a schooner, and a brig. The signal was immediately made for a general chase, and to form in succession, as each arrived up with the enemy; but this, owing to the state of the weather, was not effected till the 12th, when, at half-past five in the morning, the enemy were seen at a little distance to windward: the line of battle ship had lost her main-topmast. The enemy, finding he could not avoid fighting, formed in close order on the starboard tack, and brought-to to engage; our ships were led into action by the Robust, commanded by the late Admiral Sir Edward Thornborough. At 20 minutes past 7 the fight began, the Rosses then bearing south-south-west, distant five leagues. At 11 in the forenoon, after a defence of nearly four hours, the ship of the line struck, and proved to be the Hoche, of 74 guns, now called the Donegal. The frigates made all sail away, but were pursued, and in five hours three of them were taken. All these ships were full of troops and stores necessary for their military establishments in Ireland.

Another frigate was captured soon after by the Melampus, Captain (now Vice-admiral Sir Graham) Moore, who, being close off St. John's Point, on the south-west coast of Ireland, on the 13th of October, at midnight, discovered two large frigates to windward, and without a moment's hesitation made all sail in chase, though only a single ship; he closed with the nearest, and, being within hail, ordered her to bring-to; she endeavoured to escape; the Melampus opened a fire, which in 25 minutes completely unrigged and forced her to surrender: she proved to be La Resolue, mounted 36 guns, and had 500 seamen and troops on board.

Her consort, the Immortalité, made several signals to the ship engaged, but never offered any assistance. One week after she had basely left her consort to be captured by a single ship, she was fallen in with by the Fisgard, commanded by Captain Byam Martin. A close action commenced, and continued for one hour and 20 minutes, when the rigging of the Fisgard was so much cut that she became unmanageable, and the enemy was making off; but such was the activity of the crew of the British frigate that she was soon in a state to renew the chase, and she again brought the enemy to action, for one hour and 50 minutes longer, when she caused him to surrender. The French ship had 28 24-pounders on the main deck, with long nines and 42-pound carronades on the quarter-deck and forecastle, and was one of the largest frigates

that had fallen into our hands. She was commanded by Citizen Le Grand (who was killed in the action), and had on board 580 men, including soldiers, with General Ménage, second in command of the invading army, and the adjutant-general. These officers, with eight others, and 44 men, were killed; 61 wounded. The Fisgard had 36 killed and wounded. The singular fatality which attended the squadron of the republic on this memorable occasion deserves our particular notice, as it places in the strongest point of view the skill, bravery, and essential service of our naval forces.

Considering the enormous disparity of force between our old two-and-thirties, and the large French frigates of 18 and 24-pounders, it is wonderful that in no instance were the former ever captured by the latter, when opposed ship to ship. One of the most spirited and daring actions of all our sea-fights is that which took place between the Mermaid, of 32 guns, 12-pounders, and the Loire, 38 guns, 18-pounders.

On the morning of the 15th of October, the Mermaid, Revolutionnaire, and Kangaroo brig, of 18 guns, on the north-west coast of Ireland, fell in with two French frigates, which in the evening separated. Captain Twysden, in the Revolutionnaire, went after one, while Captains Newman and Brace, who were strongly attached to each other from their youth, determined to remain together and pursue the other. The chase continued during a squally and tempestuous night, and at three the next day the Kangaroo came up with the enemy, and most gallantly engaged him, until a shot from the French ship took away his fore-topmast. Captain Brace was now left astern, while the Mermaid pursued the flying Frenchman, who the next morning brought-to, and prepared for action. The Mermaid ran alongside, and at a quarter before seven began a close action, which lasted till half-past nine, when she had lost her mizen-mast and main-topmast, had some very heavy shot in her sides, and was, in other respects, so much damaged as to be a mere wreck; in consequence of which Captain Newman was compelled to relinquish his object, and his opponent made sail off and escaped, but soon fell in with the Anson, Captain Durham, who, having lost his mizen-mast, and received other considerable damage in the action with the Hoche, had parted from the squadron. The Anson bore up and brought her to action, in which she was gallantly supported by the Kangaroo; Captain Brace, having repaired his damages, was again ready, and closed with his old antagonist. After a contest of one hour and a quarter she surrendered, and proved to be La Loire, of 38 guns, 18-pounders, 664 men, including soldiers (many of whom were artillerymen), and the staff of

the third regiment, intended for Ireland, with clothing for 3,000 troops, a brass field-piece, 1,000 stand of arms, and many other warlike stores: she had 48 men killed and 75 wounded in the action. The French captain acknowledged that, though taken by the Anson, he was beaten by the Mermaid.

On the capture of La Hoche, the French frigates had separated as just stated; Captain Countess, in the Ethalion, went in pursuit of one of them, and, after a long chase, came up with her: she made an obstinate resistance for one hour and 30 minutes, when she struck, and was found to be La Bellone, of 36 guns, 12-pounders; she had, besides her crew, 300 soldiers on board. In all these actions the proportion of killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships was, as usual, inconceivably small, compared with that of the enemy. Captain Thornborough, of the Robust, greatly distinguished himself in the capture of La Hoche. His first lieutenant, Mr. David Colby, who lost his arm in the action, was made a commander, and soon after promoted to the rank of post-captain.

The squadron which sailed from Brest on this expedition consisted of La Hoche, 74 guns, taken. Commodore Bompard, General Hardi, commander-in-chief of the French army in Ireland, and Monsieur Simon, adjutant-general, were on board.

La Coquille, 40 guns, 580 men, taken; but burnt in Hamoaze shortly after.

L'Ambuscade, 36 guns, 559 men, taken.

La Résolue, 36 guns, 510 men, taken.

La Bellone, 46 guns, 580 men, taken.

L'Immortalité, 40 guns, 580 men, taken.

La Romaine, 40 guns, escaped.

La Loire, 44 guns, taken.

La Surveillante, 36 guns, escaped.

La Biche, 8 guns, escaped.

The Ambuscade, of 32 guns, Captain H. Jenkins, cruising in the Bay of Biscay, fell in with a large corvette, of 28 guns, and having on board a number of soldiers, besides her complement. Captain Jenkins very properly made all sail, and came fast up with her; the land was seen to leeward. Fearing she might escape into a French port, he ran close under her lee, and began to engage. Captain Jenkins, severely wounded early in the action, was taken off the deck; the first lieutenant and master were killed soon after, all the officers showing every proof of valour and good conduct to the last moment: the second and third lieutenants, and 50 men, were absent in prizes. The command devolved on Mr. William Beaumont Murray, the purser, who endeavoured in vain to rally the

people: he found the main deck entirely abandoned; a gun had burst, and killed 11 men; the wheel was shot away, and the quarter-deck cleared. In this situation the foremast of the Bayonnaise (the name of the enemy's ship) fell on board the Ambuscade; and the Frenchmen, finding such feeble resistance, ventured to board, and carried her with little opposition. The French were, with great reason, very proud of this victory, and made it a subject of much boasting.

The gallant but unfortunate Captain Jenkins was honourably acquitted for the loss of his ship, but did not survive many years. His wounds were of that serious nature that he retired to Greenwich Hospital, and never after went without crutches.

The Ambuscade being a frigate, her captain considered that he had only to run alongside of the enemy to ensure his victory; and the master suggested going to leeward, to prevent his getting in shore. This precaution occasioned the loss of the action: the Bayonnaise, falling on board the Ambuscade, gave the enemy that advantage which their numbers enabled them to turn to so good an account, and of which they most gallantly availed themselves. The omission to stow the hammocks on deck previously to going into action was severely punished by the execution of the enemy's musketry.

The winter of 1798 and 1799 was not remarkable for any important movement; all parties, both in France and England, excepting the Executive Directory and the French army, were heartily tired of a war, to the termination of which there appeared no reasonable prospect.

Ireland, notwithstanding the defeats of the fleets and armies sent to cherish rebellion, was still the pillar of hope to the Directory, and they determined upon making another attempt to accomplish her separation from England, but on a far more extensive scale than any hitherto conceived, they began with alarming success to promote disaffection, while troops were preparing at Brest. On the 24th of April their fleet sailed to form a junction with that of Spain; after which the united force was to return to the Channel, and cover the intended landing, when they were to have been supported by a band of organized rebels. The vigilance of Mr. Pitt and the Marquis of Camden, the Lord Lieutenant, discovered, and in a great measure counteracted, these projects. Many of the conspirators were taken, tried, and executed. The Sheares, M'Nivens, O'Conners, O'Quigleys, and others, either suffered on the scaffold or fled the country. But such was the alarming state of the "Union," as the association then formed was called, that its ramifications extended to every part of the island; and

the number of concealed arms afterwards taken, consisting of pikes, muskets, and pistols, amounted to 129,000.*

His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, on the meeting of Parliament in November 1798, adverted to the condition of the kingdom, the victory of the Nile, the perfidy of France in her invasion of Egypt, and the wisdom and magnanimity of the Emperor of Russia and the Grand Signior in opposing such violence and injustice. His Majesty observed, that the extent of our preparations, and the zeal and fidelity of the people, had deterred the enemy from attempting an invasion of England; and the spirit of rebellion had been curbed in Ireland by the vigour of the regular and fencible regiments, and the loyalty and firmness of the yeomanry and volunteer forces.

In December a provisional treaty between Great Britain and Russia was signed at Petersburg. The principal conditions were, that, should the King of Prussia be induced (as it was hoped he would) to join the confederation against France, his imperial majesty would send 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, to his assistance. His Britannic Majesty, as usual, was to furnish the necessary pecuniary aid; a failure in any part of which, was to leave the emperor at liberty to recall his forces.

At the same time that this treaty was concluded between England and Russia, another was signed at Petersburg between the latter power and the Sublime Porte; the chief object of which was, the reciprocal guarantee of each other's possessions, particularly those of the Turks in Egypt. These grand combinations against the French rendered the year 1799 one of the most eventful since the beginning of the war. Holland, Italy, and the Rhine were the chief theatres of conflict; and the history of that year presents a melancholy view of human suffering.

The Council of Elders, of the Cisalpine Republic, having refused to accede to a treaty of alliance and commerce with France, the Directory ordered a contribution to be raised among the inhabitants to defray the expenses of the war in Italy, and that 21 members of that council should be superseded and arrested!

The Directory next declared war against the Kings of Naples and Sardinia, after having purposely provoked those monarchs to commit the very acts by which they incurred their displeasure. They decreed that all foreign seamen found in the service of Great Britain or Russia should be put to death. This mandate remained on the page of history an evidence of the ferocious character of the men who could conceive it.

* See Report of Secret Committee of the House of Commons, July 1798.

On the 20th Captain Charles Cunningham, in the Clyde, of 38 guns, captured, after a very severe action, La Vestale, a French frigate, of 36 guns, and 235 men. When this ship was first discovered, her consort, of equal force, was with her, but they separated on seeing the Clyde.

On the 26th of September, 1799, Vice-admiral Sir Roger Curtis sailed in the Lancaster, of 64 guns, for the Cape of Good Hope, taking under his convoy several East Indiamen and store-ships.

On the 15th of October the Ethalion, Alcmene, Triton, and Naiad, under the command of Captains W. Young, H. Digby, J. Gore, and W. Pierrepoint, captured, off Cape Finisterre, two Spanish frigates; one was called the Thetis, of 36 guns, and 250 men, and had on board 1,400,000 dollars, with a cargo; the other was taken close in shore by the three other frigates, and had an equal quantity of treasure, with a valuable cargo of merchandise; she was called La Santa Brigida, of 36 guns, and 300 men. A Spanish squadron of four large ships came out of Vigo to retake her, but the British squadron stood towards them, and they ran back again into port. The treasure taken in these ships was all landed at Plymouth, and loaded 63 artillery waggons.

The following is an account of the share of prize-money each class received for the Spanish frigates, exclusive of the hull, stores, masts, rigging, &c.:—

| | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Captains | each | 40,730 | 18 | 0 |
| Lieutenants | ditto | 5,091 | 7 | 3 |
| Warrant officers | ditto | 2,468 | 10 | 9½ |
| Midshipmen, &c. | | 791 | 17 | 0¼ |
| Seamen and marines | | 182 | 4 | 9¾ |

On the 19th of October the Impregnable, of 98 guns, commanded by Captain Jonathan Faulkner, in coming up to Spithead, got on shore on the Poles, near Chichester-harbour; she struck with such force as soon to have seven feet water in the hold. Notwithstanding her masts were instantly cut away, the ship lightened, and every possible assistance given, she was lost. The cause of this accident was an over-anxiety to get into Spithead before night.

In the course of the war we have some very extraordinary instances of recapture from the enemy, by a force so disproportionate, that we could scarcely venture to insert them, did they not rest on undoubted authority. They prove the superior spirit and courage of British seamen.

On the 6th of September an ordnance transport, laden with

stores, and of considerable value, was taken off Folkstone, by a French privateer, which put on board seven Frenchmen, and took out the captain and crew, excepting two seamen, who in the night rose upon the Frenchmen, threw two overboard, who made resistance, and having secured the other five, brought the ship into Dovor harbour.

The snow, Liberty, returning from the West Indies in January 1797, was captured in the Bay of Biscay by a French privateer. The master and crew were taken out, excepting the mate and one boy, who were left with the prize-master and nine Frenchmen; among the latter a quarrel ensued, which rose to such a height that the mate and the boy proposed to four of the Frenchmen, who were against the master and the other five, to take the vessel from them; this they effected by knocking down the prize-master with an axe, and securing his party below; after which the boy, whose name was Oliver, and who spoke the French language, told the traitorous Frenchmen that their only chance of safety was in a British port, as they would certainly be put to death if they returned to France. This argument appearing unanswerable, the vessel was conducted into Cork, and the mate and boy claimed a salvage, which being refused by the owners, was brought before the Court of Admiralty in 1800.

Sir William Scott reviewed the whole case with his usual perspicuity, and was clearly of opinion that the applicants deserved the highest reward which the law could allow; he therefore adjudged the recaptors one-sixth of the ship and cargo, together with reasonable costs.

On the morning of the 23d of November the Marquis of Granby, of Sunderland, S. Unwin, master, was captured in crossing the Kentish Knock, by a French lugger privateer. The master and two men were put into the Frenchman's boat, to be conveyed on board the privateer, which was giving chase of another vessel, and, by carrying a press of sail, in a short time left the boat nearly five miles astern; this circumstance induced Mr. Unwin to conceive it practicable to retake his own vessel, and wresting a sword out of the hands of the officer in the boat, he compelled the French sailors to row him back to the Marquis of Granby, which he gallantly boarded, and soon cleared the deck of the Frenchmen, who precipitately plunged into the sea, and were picked up by their countrymen in the boat. Mr. Unwin proceeded on his voyage, but what became of the French sailors and the boat was not known. The committee of the Navigation Policy Company, in which the vessel was insured, as a reward for Mr. Unwin's bravery and merit, presented him with a piece of plate, with a suitable inscription.

A whaler, called the Wraith, of Leith, was retaken from 16 Frenchmen, by the mate and a boy, who, having armed themselves while most of the Frenchmen were aloft reefing the topsails, obliged them one by one to come down, and go into the boat which was towing astern; when, throwing them a bag of biscuits, they cut the rope, and left them to their fate. The ship was brought safe into port.

Sir John Warren and Sir Edward Pellew, with detached squadrons under the orders of Earl St. Vincent, in the Channel, kept the coast of France and Spain in a continual state of alarm. Sir Edward attacked the forts on the peninsula of Quiberon, silenced and destroyed them, and brought away many small vessels; thence he proceeded to the Morbihan, on the east side of the bay, and destroyed a corvette, of 16 guns; two gun-vessels, two brigs, and two sloops, were brought away, with 100 prisoners; many small vessels were burnt, and the magazine blown up. Sir John Warren, off the Penmarks, drove on shore, captured and destroyed a convoy of merchantmen, laden with provisions for the fleet in Brest, and captured three sail of armed vessels which escorted them. His next attempt was not so successful, not from want of the usual good management and gallantry of his followers, but because the enemy, aware of his design, escaped up the river of Quimper. The execution of the plan was intrusted to Captain T. B. Martin, of the Fisgard, who had orders to cut out a frigate, of 28 guns, and some smaller armed vessels and merchantmen, from that river. The marines from the ships, with a proper number of seamen, landed on each side, while the boats proceeded, but they soon found that their enemy had got beyond their reach. The parties on shore, however, took the batteries, blew up the magazine, destroyed the guns, and returned on board without the loss of a man.

Sir John Warren was off Noirmoutier, where the enemy had collected a convoy of victuallers, destined for the supply of the fleet at Brest. It consisted of a ship of 20, and a lugger of 12 guns, two sloops of six guns each, and one cutter of six guns, with 15 sail of merchant vessels; the whole of which were boarded under a heavy fire from the batteries, and, as the tide would not admit of their being brought out, they were all burnt. This service was performed under the direction of Captain T. B. Martin, of the Fisgard, assisted by Lieutenant Burke, who had the boats of the Renown, Defence, and Fisgard, under his orders, with a detachment of marines from each. The immense superiority of force brought against our brave fellows, after their boats were high and dry aground, occasioned some loss; though they dragged a vessel large enough to con-

tain their party over a sand two miles in length, until they were up to their necks in water before she floated. Ninety-two officers, seamen, and marines, were taken prisoners, some of them wounded. Lieutenant Burke, of the Renown, was among the latter; he was afterwards promoted, and commanded the Seagull brig, in which he was most unfortunately drowned, with all his crew.

Captain Joshua Sydney Horton, in the Fairy, and Captain Henry Bazely, in the Harpy, sloops of war, in the month of February, attacked a large French frigate on the coast of France, and engaged her for nearly two hours, when she hauled off, and the British sloops, as soon as they were again in condition, went in pursuit of her. Fortunately, they fell in with a squadron under Captain Newman, in La Loire, of 40 guns, who joined in the chase, and on the following morning the enemy took refuge under a battery among the seven islands, where Captain Newman very soon compelled her to surrender: she was called La Pallas, of 42 guns, and 350 men. Captains Horton and Bazely were promoted to the rank of post-captains.

The incidents on the coast of Africa being few, are classed under the head of Channel-service.

The island of Goree was taken in 1800 by Captain Sir Charles Hamilton, in the Melpomene. It surrendered on the 5th of April, without resistance.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Captain Lawford takes Swedish frigate and convoy—Judgment of Sir William Scott—Statement of shipping which passed the Sound in one year—Attack on the sluices of Slykens, and capture of Sir Eyre Coote and his army—Captain King in the Syrius takes two Dutch frigates—Unfortunate decision of a British captain, and consequent suicide—Reflections and maxim of Nelson—Claims of sloops of war to share in the capture—Judgment—Gallant conduct of Captains Winthorp and M'Kenzie—Great armament and attack on the Helder—Capture of the Dutch fleet—Russian auxiliaries—Farther successes, and disasters in Holland—Landing of the Duke of York—Severe battles—Suspension of arms—Evacuation of Holland by the allied forces—Ruin of Holland—List of Dutch ships taken, and of British forces—Observations—Official papers—Thanks of Parliament—Reward to Admiral Mitchell—One of the Dutch frigates upset at the Nore, in 1801—Cause—Anecdote of a British sailor saving a Dutchman—Jealousy between Russia and England—Madame Chevalier sent to take advantage of it to St. Petersburg—Revival of northern confederacy—Right of search disputed—Rigorous detention of neutrals by British cruisers—Difficulty of enemy in procuring colonial produce—Anecdote of the Shark—Affair of the Nemesis and Freya—Lord Whitworth sent to adjust the dispute between England and Denmark — Temporary arrangement—Affair of the Haufernan Danish frigate at Gibraltar—Observation of Sir William Scott, supported by Puffendorf—Captain Inman and squadron attack French ships in Dunkirk roads—Capture of La Desirée, and gallant conduct of Captain Patrick Campbell, of the Dart.

In the month of January, 1798, an affair took place between some British cruisers and a Swedish frigate, with her convoy, which, though on our side entirely conformable to the law of nations, served to imbitter those irritated feelings so long cherished against us by the northern powers.

Captain John Lawford, in the Romney, of 50 guns, and Captain Henry Raper, in the Champion, of 24 guns, stationed between the North Foreland and the Flemish banks, fell in with a frigate having a great number of ships and vessels under her charge. Captain Lawford desired them to heave to, and immediately sent an officer on board to inquire of what the cargoes of the merchant vessels consisted, and whither they were bound? The answer returned was that they were Swedes, laden with pitch, tar, iron, and hemp, bound to various ports in the Medi-

terranean. Captain Lawford feeling all the responsibility of his situation, still keeping the convoy in view, instantly sent an officer to the Admiralty for instructions. He returned with directions to detain the merchant vessels, and carry them into the nearest English port. These orders Captain Lawford communicated by Captain Raper in respectful terms to the Swedish captain, who, having prepared for action, showed his instructions to repel force by force, should any attempt be made to obstruct the passage of his convoy, and declared that he should defend it to the last. The British commodore was equally prepared, and, during the night, got possession of most of the vessels. In the morning the Swede sent an armed boat to one of his convoy which had been boarded, and taking out by force the British officer left in charge of her, detained him; after which he sent an officer to remonstrate with Captain Lawford for having, under cover of the night, boarded and got possession of his convoy, which he said was unobserved by him, or he should have resisted. Upon farther conference, however, and being convinced that he was incapable of effectually opposing the force of the British vessels, he consented to go with his convoy into Margate-roads, and released the British officer; but on his arrival there, he repented of his conduct, and regretted that he had not exchanged a few broadsides with the Romney. The merchant vessels were all detained and condemned as lawful prizes; but the ship of war was allowed to proceed to sea.

In the following year Sir William Scott gave his judgment on this important case. He commented on the hostile array and threatening language used by the Swede, and after one of the most luminous discourses ever pronounced on such an occasion, he condemned the hulls and cargoes of all the merchant vessels, but directed the restoration of the private ventures of the masters. The property condemned, taken at a rough valuation, was estimated at £600,000 sterling. The whole of the judgment is given at length in Schomberg, vol. iii. p. 264, and is well worthy the attention of the naval and mercantile reader. It is remarkable that, in summing up the merits of the case, the learned judge was chiefly guided in his decision by the writings of the celebrated Swedish author, Puffendorf.

This attempt to force the passage of the narrow seas, and convey articles contraband of war into the ports of our enemies, was no doubt intended to try the effects of the code which had been composed by the northern confederacy, in which, among other propositions, it had affected to declare what articles should be considered contraband of war; among them pitch, tar, iron, hemp, and masts, are not enumerated. Had the

ministers of George the Third quietly acceded to this decree, the naval power of Great Britain must have sunk under the fatal compromise.

Russia did not exactly participate in the feelings of Sweden on the occasion just related of the convoy in the North Seas. Paul the First, a weak prince, of a petulant and ungovernable temper, kept upon terms with England more from the predominance of a party in his court than from any partiality to the nation, or acquiescence in the acts of the British Government. The nobles of Russia having vast landed property, Britain was their best customer for the produce of their estates. Memel and Riga supplied us with hemp and tallow, masts and hides; and, as we had the power of excluding all other purchasers from the market, they knew that a war with us would destroy their commerce. For a short time, therefore, they were enabled to keep the Emperor within the bounds of moderation and sound policy; he even joined his land and sea forces to ours, and, for the consideration of an enormous sum of money, consented that his soldiers and sailors should share in the glory and danger of an invasion of Holland.

Successful on the ocean, and in all insular attacks, Great Britain was seldom equally fortunate when she planned a descent on the Continent. Our ministry rarely obtained correct information as to the state of the interior of the enemy's country: the ignorance of the British cabinet upon these important points is now admitted. Of the northern departments of France Mr. Pitt's knowledge was chiefly acquired from English adventurers, who were permitted by the French Government to see and to report just as much as would serve its own purpose. Thus, by the art of the Directory, ministers were completely deceived, and the nation disappointed: this was particularly exemplified in the affair of the sluice of Slykens. A notorious smuggler had, upon promise of pardon, and the remittance of certain penalties, to which he had rendered himself obnoxious, engaged to give such intelligence as would enable us to strike a great blow at the inland commerce and navigation of France and Belgium, between the Scheldt and Ostend. Mr. Pitt placed the most perfect reliance on the veracity of this man, who, there is but too much reason to believe, was in the secret service and pay of more than one employer; and the executive Directory was, through his agency, fully informed of all our intended operations. On his suggestions, however, a descent was planned upon the coast of Flanders, and the command of the forces intrusted to Major-general Sir Eyre Coote. The troops consisted of two companies of light infantry of the Coldstream Guards, two of the 3d Guards, the 11th regiment of

Foot, 23d and 49th flank companies, (making in all about 2,000 men,) and six pieces of field artillery. They were conducted over by a squadron of small frigates, sloops of war, bomb-vessels, cutters, and gun-boats, under the command of Captain Home Popham, who, it was believed, equally deceived with the minister, was the principal projector of the enterprise. That great political chimera, the invasion so long threatened by France and dreaded by England, haunted the sleeping and waking thoughts of some of the greatest people of our country. Gun-boats, horse-boats, and small transports, were continually passing from the Meuse and the Scheldt, through the canal to Ostend, whence they watched a convenient opportunity, and, gliding along the shore to Calais, reached Boulogne, the general rendezvous of all vessels intended for this desperate effort of Gallic enmity. The object of the expedition, under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, and the direction of Captain Popham, was to obstruct this inland communication between France, Belgium, and Holland, by destroying the sluices at Slykens, not far from Ostend; and it will be seen that to this much greater importance was attached than it really deserved. Admitting that the enterprise had entirely succeeded, the same means of intercourse along the coast still remained from the Helder Point to Ostend as between this latter place and Boulogne; which the utmost vigilance of our cruisers had rarely been able to interrupt: if, on the other hand, France had attached the same importance to this inland navigation which was given to it by the secret advisers of the minister, it is not likely that the port would have been left unguarded by a government so remarkable for its military and political sagacity.

The forces destined for this service were assembled at Margate,* whence they sailed on the 14th of May, and on the 19th arrived on the coast which was to be the scene of their operations. As the little fleet anchored near Ostend, it came on to blow from the westward, making the coast a lee shore. Captain Popham and the general were deliberating on the expediency of putting to sea until a more favourable opportunity should present itself, when, about this time, a vessel having been taken out from under the batteries, was brought to the commodore; the master and crew reported that numbers of gun-boats were preparing to come from Holland, and that the

* A melancholy and very remarkable incident occurred on this occasion, which shows the necessity of the most profound secrecy in the leaders of an enterprise. A young officer of the Guards, and of a noble family, had unfortunately been made acquainted, under a promise of the most inviolable secrecy, with the destination of the armament; this, in an unguarded moment, he divulged, and on the following day put a period to his existence, while the transports lay in Margate roads.

enemy had very few troops in the neighbouring towns of Bruges and Ghent. As might have been expected, both these reports turned out to be false, and it is most probable that the vessel was purposely thrown in the way in order to deceive our commanders by fabricated stories. Whatever may have been their intention, the major-general gave credit to them, and, though the surf was running very high, proposed an immediate landing. This was effected under a feeble fire from the batteries of Ostend, and was returned by our sloops of war and gun-brigs.

As a feint to cover their real intentions, the place was summoned to surrender, and the commanding officer of the garrison returned a prompt and laconic refusal. By five o'clock in the morning the greater part of the troops were on shore, with combustibles adapted for their work. The batteries, in the mean time, kept up a fire upon the covering ships, and did them some damage; but the surf increasing, part of the troops could not land. About 10 o'clock, the preparations being complete, the train was fired, and a great explosion announced the partial destruction of the sluices. The enemy now began to assemble in considerable numbers on the neighbouring sand-hills. The object of the expedition being so far effected, the general turned towards the sea with the intention of re-embarking his troops; but the surf had increased so as to render it impossible. In this situation the soldiers lay on their arms the whole night of the 19th; and, at daylight on the 20th, the British general found himself surrounded on three sides by a cordon of the enemy's troops, while the sea in his rear presented an insurmountable barrier to his retreat. Under these circumstances he made the best defence in his power; he had not brought artillery on shore with him, and the navy, anxious spectators of his distress, could afford no assistance. Having maintained his post for two hours, and repulsed a vigorous attack, in which himself and many of his officers were wounded, and about 150 of his men killed, he was induced, from motives of humanity, to lay down his arms and surrender the little army prisoners of war. The number taken, including Captain M'Keller, of the navy, and some seamen, was about 1,400 officers and men. The advantage gained over the enemy was the destruction of two or three gates of a navigable canal, producing no other effect than the interruption, for a few days, of the transport of coals and provisions from one part of Flanders to the other. We cannot, therefore, but lament that so many brave men, and the honour of the country, were thus incautiously exposed for an object so contemptible. Lieutenant-colonel Haly, of the 11th Foot, was killed, and many other gallant

officers severely wounded. The loss on board the ships of war was trifling. Captain Popham beheld from the deck of his vessel the fatal result of the enterprise, and returned to convey the intelligence to the Admiralty.

In the month of October Captain Richard King, in the Syrius, of 36 guns, while cruising in the North Seas, fell in with two Dutch frigates, which had got out of the Texel unperceived by the blockading squadron. On being chased by the Syrius, they separated. Captain King pursued and took the one nearest to him, which happened to be the smallest, and having secured her with as little delay as possible, went in chase of the other, which he brought to action at seven o'clock in the evening, and compelled to surrender. They proved to be the Waaksamheid (Vigilant), of 24 guns, and the Furie, of 36; they were manned with Dutch seamen and French soldiers, and had on board 6,000 stand of arms, with other warlike stores, bound to Ireland. The manner in which these two ships behaved before the enemy is an additional proof that the Dutch considered they had no longer a country to fight for, and were resolved not to serve the French republic, when the alternative was only death or an English prison.

A British sloop of war was no very distant spectator of the capture of the Waaksamheid: the captain was urged in vain by his officers to run down and join in the combat. He had unfortunately adopted a notion that all three of the frigates were enemies, and the engagement between them a mere deception, with a view to decoy him within gun-shot. His private signal had been answered by the Syrius, but in this he placed no confidence, and the fatal self-delusion continued until the action was decided. Convinced at length of his error, he sank into a deep melancholy. The commander-in-chief, with whom he had served and distinguished himself in the memorable 11th of October, refused to see him, and a few weeks after he died by his own hand at an inn at Harwich.

A captain is not bound to follow the advice of his officers, but should cautiously weigh the united opinions of men who, on such occasions, are always on the side of national honour; and in all cases of doubt let the advice of Nelson prevail—"Fight."

On the capture of these two frigates, a question of law arose of a nature particularly affecting the naval service.* The Scorpion, the Fairy, and the Kite, sloops of war, in addition to the one before mentioned, were in sight with a convoy at the time the chase began. The senior officer of the convoy ordered the

* Robinson's Reports, vol. iii. p. 1.

Scorpion to reconnoitre the strange ships, and soon after recalled her on a supposition that they were friends. The sloops, though sailingin a contrary direction, and absent during the action, claimed to share, from the subsequent knowledge of the capture, under the plea of constructive assistance; alleging that, by their presence, they had induced the Dutch ships to separate, and the presumption that it was the duty of Captain King to make the signal for an enemy. It was admitted that the Scorpion (the nearest of the three sloops to the Dutch ships) did not know whether they were enemies or friends. The counsel for the claimants contended that they were prevented from contributing their assistance by the neglect of Captain King in not calling them to him; and, on the other hand, it was more forcibly, and with strict propriety, maintained that the sloops had an imperative duty to perform, namely, that of guarding their convoy, which, by continuing the chase, they must have left unprotected, thereby violating their duty, and subjecting the captains to the forfeiture of their prize-money to Greenwich Hospital.

With respect to sharing for the Waaksamheid, the judge decreed that the claimants must prove that it was the duty of Captain King, according to the practice of the navy, to make the signal for an enemy; they were also to prove that intimidation was produced by their appearance, and that the capture was made within such a distance as would not have removed them from the fair limits of their convoy duty. The capture of the Waaksamheid was effected at nine in the morning, that of the Fury at seven in the evening, when no other ship was in sight, and the claim of the sloops for the latter was consequently rejected. On this question I think the practice of the service completely justified Captain King, who, had he called the sloops to his assistance, would have exposed his own character to the imputation of timidity, and have incurred a heavy responsibility by withdrawing the protection from the trade, and leaving them exposed to the numerous privateers which at that time infested the North Seas.

In the night of the 27th of June the boats of the small squadron cruising under the orders of Captain Winthorp, in the Circe, off the coast of Holland, very gallantly cut out from the Wadde 12 merchantmen, some with valuable cargoes, without a man being either killed or wounded, although much annoyed by the fire from the enemy's batteries and gun-boats. On the 10th of July the boats of the same ships, with equal resolution and bravery, cut out three more valuable vessels from the same place, and burnt another laden with ordnance stores. The squadron consisted of the following ships:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Circe . . . . | 28 | Capt. R. Winthorp. |
| Jalouse. . . . | 18 | —— Temple. |
| Pylades . . . | 14 | —— Adam Mackenzie. |
| L'Espiègle . . | 14 | —— Boorder. |

And two cutters.

On the 11th of August Captain Mackenzie, of the Pylades, and Captain Boorder, of the Espiègle, with the Courier cutter, Lieutenant Searle, were ordered by Captain Sotheron, of the Latona frigate, who commanded a small squadron on the coast of Holland, to attack some enemy's vessels between the island of Schiermonikoog and the main land of Holland; which service they performed with much skill and courage, bringing off the Crash (formerly a gun-brig in his Majesty's service). The Dutch officer who commanded her made a most gallant resistance. She mounted twelve carronades, thirty-two 24 and 18 pounders, with 60 men. The Pylades had one man killed and two wounded.

On the following day Captain Mackenzie, having manned the Crash, and appointed Lieutenant Slade, of the Latona, to command her, proceeded to the attack of the enemy's remaining force, which had taken shelter near a battery and armed schooner, from under the guns of which he had previously cut out a large schuyt. This vessel he named the Undaunted, fitted her with two 12-pound carronades, and gave the command of her to Lieutenant Humphries, of the Juno. The depth of water not being sufficient for the sloops of war to get within shot of the enemy's battery and vessels, Captain Mackenzie directed the small craft, consisting of the launches of the Undaunted, Latona, and Pylades, each with a 12-pound carronade, together with the Crash, and the boats of this little squadron, to proceed to the attack. The enemy, at first, kept up a brisk fire, but it was returned so warmly, and with such effect, that they soon abandoned the batteries, and the crew of the schooner got on shore, first setting her on fire. In the mean time, Lieutenant Cowen, of the Pylades, landed, spiked the guns on the battery, and brought off two brass field-pieces. The schooner was destroyed, and a row-boat and 12 schuyts taken. This service was performed without a man being hurt. Captain Mackenzie was advanced to the rank of post-captain.

The British Cabinet, having been induced to suppose that the public mind in Holland had undergone a favourable change towards its legitimate government, determined to take advantage of these sentiments by a debarkation in the country, which would at the same time operate as an important diversion in

favour of the Continental powers. They prepared to carry their plans into execution early in the summer of 1799.

On this occasion the Government acted with more than usual caution, keeping its designs a profound secret until the completeness of the preparations rendered secrecy unavailing. The troops for the expedition assembled at Southampton and its neighbourhood; the command of them was given to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, with General Sir Ralph Abercrombie as his second. The army amounted to about 27,000 men. A large fleet of ships of war, both British and Russian, with a number of transports, were placed under the command of Lord Duncan. The principal embarkations took place at Yarmouth, Margate, Ramsgate, and Deal; and the Dutch discovered that it was against them that this formidable force was to be employed. Between Great Britain and Russia a treaty was entered into, wherein it was stipulated that the emperor should furnish 17,500 men for the expedition to Holland, with six ships of the line, five frigates, and two transports; the ships, being armed *en flûte*, were to take on board as many troops as they could conveniently stow, and the remainder were to be embarked in vessels paid for by the British Government. In the mean while a strict embargo was enforced throughout the kingdom. For the use alone of the ships supplied by Russia we were to pay £19,642. 10*s.* per month, and to subsist the men at our own cost; and, should the vessels be prevented returning home during the winter, they were to be received into British ports, to be completely repaired, and proper accommodations provided for the officers and crews.

For the use of the land forces we were to pay £88,000; one half when the troops were ready to embark at Revel, and the remainder three months afterward, besides a subsidy of £44,000 per month, to be computed from the day the troops were ready to proceed on service; the officers were to be indemnified for the expenses of their equipment; and, should they be prevented from returning to their own country, to receive the same advantage and accommodation provided for the navy.

The first division of the troops, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, sailed from Yarmouth Roads on the 12th of August, escorted by a squadron of ships of war, under the command of Vice-admiral Mitchell. This fleet consisted of 200 sail, and on the following day was joined by Lord Duncan, whose flag was hoisted on board the Kent, of 74 guns. The armament reached the coast of Holland on the 20th, having been much retarded by adverse winds and bad weather. On the 21st Captain Winthorp, of the navy, and Lieutenant-colonel Maitland, were sent with a flag of truce to

the Dutch admiral, Storey, who commanded the fleet in the Texel, and to Colonel Guilguin, who commanded the post of the Helder, summoning both to surrender to the British arms, in favour of the Prince of Orange, whose proclamation, addressed to the Dutch people, was transmitted at the same time to the constituted authorities. Both the summons and the proclamation were treated with contempt by the executive government, while the Dutch were quiet, and perhaps indifferent, spectators. Admiral Storey, whom we have seen in the battle of Camperdown, returned the answer usually sent on such occasions—"that he knew his duty, and would *not* surrender to double the force brought against him." This answer came with questionable validity from one who ran away from a force little superior to his own on the 11th October, 1797. Every preparation was made for the troops to land; but this could not be carried into effect before three o'clock in the morning of the 27th, when they gained the Helder Point, which commands the entrance for ships of war into the anchorage of the Texel and Zuyder Zee. Our men experienced but little opposition to their landing; but soon afterwards, the enemy formed in line, and commenced an attack, which ended in their total defeat, and retiring upon Kleten. This fortunate affair gave our troops entire possession of the neck of land between the Helder and Alkmaar; in consequence of which General Daendels, who commanded the Batavian army, sent orders to the officer at the fort of the Helder to evacuate that post, and join him. The place was immediately occupied by the British troops, and the naval arsenal, with seven sail of ships of war, lying in the Niew Diep, fell into our hands. Our loss in the action amounted to about 400 in killed, wounded, and missing.

The surrender of the Helder gave us also the command of the Texel; and Vice-admiral Mitchell moved on to attack the Dutch fleet lying at that anchorage, near the Vlieter. The Ratzivan, Russian ship of the line, and the America and Latona, British ships, took the ground, and could not be got off for a considerable time. The admiral, however, continued his course until so near the Dutch admiral as to send a peremptory summons, desiring him instantly to hoist the flag of the Prince of Orange, when he would be received with his fleet, and treated in a friendly manner, otherwise he must abide by the consequences.

This message was conveyed by Captain Rennie, of the Victor sloop of war, who, in his way, met with the Dutch captains coming to Admiral Mitchell, charged with messages nearly amounting to terms of capitulation. These officers earnestly requested the British admiral to anchor his fleet a short

distance from that of the enemy, which the admiral consented to do, on condition that the Dutch commander should not alter the position of his ships, and that he would submit in one hour. In less than the given time the two captains again returned with a verbal message that they had submitted. Shortly after, a very ill-written letter from Admiral Storey officially communicated the fact. In this document he says that the "*traitors*" whom he commanded had refused to fight; otherwise no force or threats could have induced him to surrender: he therefore delivered over the fleet, and claimed from the British admiral protection for himself, his officers, and the few brave men who had remained faithful to him, declaring them all prisoners of war.

Possession was immediately taken of the Dutch fleet, not as prizes, but as having returned to their allegiance; they hoisted the Orange colours, and a British officer was put on board of each ship, with a certain number of men, to preserve order and regularity. By this decisive blow the greater part of the Dutch navy, with the ships that escaped from the battle of Camperdown, fell into the power of Britain, and the humiliation and ruin of the Dutch were complete. Their country was overrun and plundered by France; their navy, their commerce, and their colonies, were taken or destroyed by England.

The naval part of the expedition being successfully terminated by the capture of the fleet and its arrival in England, we shall now follow the steps of the Anglo-Russian army, where we must be prepared to see a sad reverse of fortune.

General Abercrombie advanced with 16,000 men, and took up a position behind the Zype, a low and narrow neck of land, about eight miles in breadth, connecting the hook of Holland with the main land to the southward: here the British general intrenched himself, and received the attack of the united French and Batavian armies (estimated at 25,000 men), under the command of Generals Vandamme, Dumonçeau, and Daendels. The action began at day-break on the 10th of September; the enemy was defeated with the loss of 1,000 men, that of the British being comparatively trivial.

In the mean while the light British ships were employed in clearing the creeks and inlets of all the enemy's small craft, gun-boats, and other vessels capable of giving annoyance; and Captains Winthorp, in the Circe, Bolton, in the Arrow, and Portlock, in the Woolverine, succeeded in capturing many of them: one was a vessel of 24 guns, the others smaller; their total number of guns amounted to 68, and their men to 380. The dispersion of this force was therefore of consequence, and was creditable to the officers employed.

On the 13th of September his Royal Highness the Duke of York, having landed at the Helder, took the command of the army; and on the 15th, at the head of the combined British and Russian forces, amounting to 35,000 men, attacked the enemy's lines: the action lasted from daylight till the evening, when the British army retired with very severe loss to its former position on the Zype, and the enemy remained in the same situation they had occupied before the battle. The British loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was little short of 1,000 men, and that of the Russians amounted to 1,500.

On the 2d of October his Royal Highness again attacked the enemy's lines: the action began at six in the morning, and ended with the day, leaving the combined British and Russian armies masters of the field. General Brune was forced to retire, and the city of Alkmaar was entered on the following day by the victors, who continued to approach the enemy's posts, and advanced upon Haarlem. Another still more bloody affair took place on the 6th, when the Duke of York attacked the enemy, who had received very large reinforcements: their line was in front of Ackersloot, which our troops soon carried, and advanced as far as Kastricum, where the French and Batavian army made a stand, and the affair became general. Such was the resistance shown by the French, that, whatever their loss might have been, they kept their position, while ours was so great as to enfeeble the army, and, even if we had the victory, to make our position untenable. The lateness of the season, the impossibility of procuring sufficient supplies, and the bad state of the roads rendering the advance of heavy carriages impracticable, the commander-in-chief and the combined army were placed in serious difficulty, while the enemy, if they retreated, fell back on their resources, leaving a wasted country to our famished troops. These considerations induced his Royal Highness to call a council of war, in which it was decided that the allied forces should fall back to the Zype, and await farther orders from England; in the mean time a suspension of arms was agreed on, and, finally, the evacuation of Holland by the armies of England and Russia was determined. The Dutch demanded, at first, the restoration of their fleet and 15,000 prisoners of war; but this was absolutely refused, and they consented to receive 8,000, and Admiral De Winter. Vice-admiral Mitchell withdrew his squadron from the Zuyder Zee; the evacuation of Holland was completed by the 19th of November: the fleet returned to Yarmouth Roads; and the armies retired into winter quarters. Thus ended this memorable expedition, which, though not entirely successful, answered many useful

purposes. The Dutch, it is true, were not quite prepared for the emancipation which Britain intended. Had our force been greater, it is probable that more of the natives would have joined us. The armies of France had at that time full employment on the Rhine, and the invasion of Holland was a well-timed and powerful diversion. The naval part of the operations succeeded as well as could be desired: that of the army failed from causes which could not have been foreseen, and the French began to suspect that British soldiers were more to be dreaded in the field than any troops which they had yet encountered. Here, indeed, they were outnumbered, but the time was approaching when they were to meet upon more equal terms.

As a maritime power, Holland was now erased from the list of our enemies: from her territory France continued to derive recruits for her armies; and the sailors of England were occasionally enriched by the capture of some of her valuable East Indiamen, under the friendly covering of a Prussian, a Danish, or a Swedish flag.

The following is a list of the Dutch fleet which surrendered to Vice-admiral Mitchell, whose flag was on board the Isis, of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Oughton:—

*Ships taken in the Niew Diep.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Broderschap | 54 | Helden | 32 |
| Veswagtig | 64 | Venus | 32 |
| Expedition | 44 | Dalk | 24 |
| Constitutie | 44 | Hector | 24 |
| Belle Antoinette | 44 | | |

*Ships taken in the Mars Diep.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Washington (Adm. Storey) | 74 | Amphitrite | 44 |
| Gueldersland | 68 | Mars | 44 |
| De Ruyter | 68 | Ambuscade | 32 |
| Cerberus | 68 | Minerva | 24 |
| Leyden | 68 | Alarm | 24 |
| Beschermer | 54 | Tollock | 24 |
| Balaria | 54 | Galathea | 16 |

With about 13 sail of Indiamen and transports.

The squadron the vice-admiral had under his orders consisted of the following ships:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Glatton | 54 | Capt. Charles Cobb. |
| Romney | 50 | —— John Lawford. |
| Veteran | 64 | —— A. C. Dickson. |

| Ships. | Guns. | Commanders. |
|---|---|---|
| Ardent | 64 | Capt. T. Bertie. |
| Belliqueux | 64 | —— R. Bulteel. |
| Monmouth | 64 | —— G. Hart. |
| Overyssell | 64 | —— J. Bazely. |
| Misslisoff (a Russian) | 66 | |

Melpomene, Shannon, Juno, Latona, and Lutine, frigates.

By comparing the above lists it will appear that in point of strength the Dutch fleet was superior to that opposed to it, and if we take into consideration the advantages of their own ports, their batteries, intricate navigation, and local knowledge, we shall perceive that the hearts of the people were no longer with the French, which alone can account for their tame surrender to an inferior force: in fact, the whole recent history of this once free people proved that the spirit of the 16th century was annihilated. They were no longer a nation, and were reduced to the disgrace of adorning the triumph of the first consul of France, who, about this time, seized the government of their country, and seemed rapidly advancing to be the master of the European continent. The seamen of Holland, unfit from their habits of life to be employed on shore, were left to starve on board their ships: their pay was nominal, and their provisions scanty; it is therefore a matter of astonishment that they had not earlier adopted the only mode by which they could hope to obtain relief either for themselves or their oppressed country.

After the final surrender of the Dutch fleet the vice-admiral addressed the following general memorandum to the officers and crews of the captured ships, which at once explains the views and motives of the British Government in undertaking the expedition.

The undersigned vice-admiral, in the service of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, charged with the execution of the naval part of the expedition to restore the Stadtholder, and the old lawful government of the seven united provinces of Holland, guaranteed by his Majesty, having agreed that, in consequence of the summons to Rear-admiral Storey, the ships, after hoisting the ancient colours, will be considered as in the service of the allies and the British government, and under the orders of the hereditary Stadtholder, captain and admiral-general of the seven united provinces, has thought it proper to give an account of this agreement to the brave crews of the different ships, and to summon them by the same to behave in a peaceable and orderly manner, and to warn them of punishment in case of non-compliance.

(Signed) Andrew Mitchell.

A part only of the great plans of the British ministry was successful, and the chief trophy obtained was the submission

of the fleet. Medenblic and Enkhuysen raised the colours and acknowledged the authority of the Prince of Orange; but this success went no farther. The premature advance of the Russians upon the villages of Walmenhuysen and Schorlldam, where they were beaten before the British army could come to their relief, was fatal to the cause of the allies; and it was artfully hinted to the Russians by the French that they were betrayed by the English. This suspicion seems to have obtained some credit among them, and that cordiality, so indispensable to conjoint operations, appears to have been interrupted, and was, perhaps, one of the causes which induced the Duke of York to give up all thoughts of farther offensive measures in Holland. The French Government began to consider the invasion very serious, and were pouring in troops from all parts of France; but the period for the liberation of Holland was not yet arrived, and Europe was still destined to feel all the miseries which could be inflicted by military despotism.

The officers and men employed on this service merited and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and Admiral Mitchell was honoured with the order of the Bath. Our loss consisted of the Nassau, of 64 guns, with the Blanche and Espion frigates, which were wrecked on the Dutch coast during the expedition; and that of the allied army must have been little less than 6,000 men. We took from the Dutch 24 sail of ships, 10 of which were of the line; the remainder of their navy, said to amount to 15 sail of the line, was never after of sufficient importance to require our attention. The Dutch ships which surrendered to Admiral Mitchell, and hoisted the Orange flag, were stationed in different British ports, and victualled and paid by England. They were not expected to perform much service, but were merely kept quiescent. In order to give the reader an idea of the seamanship of the officers, and the efficiency of these ships, I shall mention a fact to which I was a witness. The Ambuscade, of 32 guns, had just received a very expensive repair in the dock-yard at Sheerness, and was ordered thence to the Nore. In coming out of the harbour it blew nearly a gale of wind; instead of having a sail suitable to the weather they set their topgallant-sails. The ship, when clear of the garrison point, would not steer, and in a minute after upset and went down. Fortunately the spot where the accident took place was in four fathoms water; consequently most of the people who were on deck were saved upon the side of the vessel; those who were below were all drowned except one. The ship was soon after weighed and taken into the harbour, when it was ascertained that the cause

of the disaster arose from her hawse-holes, which were between decks, not having been secured before she weighed; and the sea being thrown up before her broad bows, by the pressure of too much sail, had filled the ship before any one on deck could be informed of it by those below. Dutch apathy is a standing joke among English sailors; but that 20 people should have seen the water pouring into the ship, and not have given notice of it on deck, is a fact which my readers, I fear, will think exceeds all bounds of credibility.

I was at that time lieutenant of the Theseus, and, with many other officers, very soon on the wreck of the ship. We walked on her larboard bends, her guns pointing to the zenith, and the sea washing over her. A sailor of the Theseus begged that he might be permitted to break open a lower-deck port (the Dutch frigates having generally two of a side). I replied that he might do so, but what purpose would it answer? "Please your honour," said the sailor, "I think there is some poor Dutchman alive below." The sailor went to work with his axe, the port was opened, and up rose a Dutchman, who made but one spring into the Theseus's cutter, rescued by this honest fellow from a lingering and painful death.

The termination of the campaign in Holland having made a very unfavourable impression on the mind of the Emperor Paul, he listened to every insinuation against the fidelity of England. Bonaparte saw his advantage, and failed not to improve it. He despatched to St. Petersburg Madame Chevalier, a young actress of great beauty and fascinating manners, who, being furnished with proper instructions, is said to have employed her talents and charms so successfully, that the weak and vicious emperor granted whatever she asked. The Danes and the Swedes seized the opportunity of forming another armed neutrality, or rather of renewing that of 1780. The subversion of the maritime power of Great Britain was still a grand object with many of the powers of Europe. France saw no other impediment to universal empire; and the princes of the North lent themselves to the accomplishment of a scheme, which, if successful, would have led to their own destruction.

The right of search was the ostensible cause of their hostility; but the secret spring by which they were set in motion was directed by Bonaparte, and Talleyrand, his prime minister.

Prepared for the worst, the British Government resolved never to concede a right necessary not only to its own political existence, but to that of the European states in general. The instructions given to the commanders of our squadrons and ships of war were invariably the same; and the strictest examination of every neutral, in every part of the world, became the

duty of every British naval officer. Artifice or evasion could no longer serve the purpose of concealment. Instances frequently occurred where the cargo taken in an enemy's port was carried to that of a neutral; a sham sale took place, the captain and crew were discharged, and fresh papers supplied; so that all traces of the origin of the property were lost. But this system of fraud was completely exposed by the profound legal knowledge of Sir William Scott, and the king's attorney-general. The frequent condemnation of the neutral destroyed the carrying trade, and exposed the colonial produce of the enemy to rot in their warehouses, or become the prey of British seamen. The marine of France was subdued. To escort their trade, as in former wars, was therefore impracticable; and their only resource for the importation of those articles of foreign growth, which custom had rendered to them necessaries of life, was in fast-sailing vessels of their own or American construction, which could escape from the vigilance of our cruisers.

The singular anecdote of the shark, well known in the West Indies, may very appropriately be related here.

A British cruiser having detained an American ship, the master, to avoid detection of the property, threw his papers into the sea. The vessel was carried to Port Royal, and while her trial was proceeding a ship of war arrived, which had recently caught a very large shark. In its stomach was found a tin case containing the very identical papers, the production of which, at that seasonable moment, convicted the claimants of perjury, and condemned both ship and cargo. The jaw-bone of the animal was nailed up in the court-house, and continues to be shown to all neutral claimants to this day.

On the 25th of July another case of importance, as it related to this subject, occurred off Ostend, near which port Captain Thomas Baker, in the Nemesis, of 28 guns, was cruising with a small squadron under his command. The Danish frigate Freya, of 36 guns, with a convoy, was discovered steering to the westward, and Captain Baker immediately brought her to, and ordered his consorts to examine the vessels under her protection. This the Danish captain resisted, and fired several shot at the boat of the Nemesis, which was proceeding to execute the order. The shot missed the boat, but killed a man on board the Nemesis. This was the signal for an action, which lasted about 15 minutes, when the Dane, overpowered by numbers, was compelled to submit, having five of her men killed and many wounded; nor did the British vessels escape without loss.

The Danish frigate, with her convoy, was carried into the

Downs, and the affair referred to the Government. A circumstance nearly similar had occurred off the rock of Gibraltar in the preceding December; and it was now judged necessary to send Lord Whitworth to the court of Copenhagen, to explain the reasons for the violence offered to their flag, and to insist on the discontinuance of the practice of sending *neutral* trade under convoy, except in seas infested by pirates or Algerine corsairs. His lordship was accompanied by a fleet of British ships of war, under the command of Vice-admiral Dickson, not only to add weight and dignity to the mission, but also to protect the Baltic trade in case of the hostility of Denmark. The matter in dispute was temporarily arranged by a very short state paper, which was signed on the 29th of August, and of which the following is a copy:—

"The Danish frigate and convoy carried into the Downs shall be repaired at the expense of Great Britain, and then released.

"The asserted right of Great Britain to visit convoys shall be adjourned to a farther negotiation in London.

"Until this point is decided Danish ships shall only sail under convoy in the Mediterranean seas, to protect them from the Algerine cruisers, and they shall be liable to be searched as heretofore, and the convention shall be ratified by the two courts within three weeks."

This transaction of Lord Whitworth's seems to have been rather an expedient to avoid hostility than a permanent arrangement by which the honour and safety of the British flag were secured. The correspondence between Mr. Merry, the British envoy at Copenhagen, and Count Bernstoff, and between Lord Grenville and Count Wechel Jarlsberg, the Danish minister at the court of London, proves that the Cabinet of St. James's had no intention of compromising the national character, or of humbling itself to the dictates of an armed neutrality, however powerful.

A clear and candid statement of the facts as they occurred, with an open and manly determination of supporting our rights, is shown in the declaration of the English ministers. The conduct of the two British captains was fully approved; and, while the King of Great Britain admitted the difficulty under which neutral flags had been placed by the unprecedented conduct of the French Government, and made every allowance for such circumstances, he could not consent to forego his undoubted rights as a belligerent.

These papers, which are not long, I shall insert; they contain sound reasoning and admirable maxims, from which, it is earnestly hoped, we shall never depart.

The following extract is from the correspondence between

Mr. Merry and Count Bernstoff, relative to the Danish frigate Haufernen:*

"The Danish frigate, on her way through the Straits of Gibraltar, with a convoy, was fallen in with by a squadron of English frigates, and the senior officer demanded to search the Danish vessels, which was refused; a boat, however, was sent from one of the British ships for the purpose, and the Danish captain, Van Dorkum, ordered a volley of musketry to be fired, by which some of the men were severely wounded; the Danish frigate also took possession of a boat belonging to the Flora, a British frigate, but was obliged to relinquish her, and proceeded with his convoy into Gibraltar bay, where a correspondence took place between Lord Keith, the British admiral, and Captain Van Dorkum, who refused to show his instructions, but said he only acted up to them. The captain also gave his word of honour to appear before the judge, and to give security for so doing; also to answer for the act of violence of which he had been guilty: upon this assurance he was permitted to depart; but he had no sooner returned to his ship than he sent a letter to Lord Keith, in which he refused to give the necessary security; and Lord Keith acquainted him, in reply, that if he failed to do so the affair would be represented to his court."

This is the substance of what Mr. Merry stated to Count Bernstoff at Copenhagen; and, at the same time, he very strongly and ably contended for the right of Great Britain, as a belligerent, to examine merchant ships in the open sea—a right founded on the established law of nations, and which had long been admitted and acted upon.

Sir William Scott, in his admirable judgment as to the Swedish convoy, makes the following very applicable quotation from Vattel, whom he calls one of the most correct, and certainly not the least indulgent, of modern professors of international law.

"We cannot prevent the transport of merchandise without visiting neutral vessels at sea; the right of such visit is, therefore, unquestionable: powerful nations have, at different times, refused to admit this right of a belligerent; in our day, a vessel so refusing would, by the very act itself, be subject to condemnation as a good and lawful prize."

This doctrine is also strongly supported by Puffendorf. If, indeed, the fairest reasoning, the most glaring proofs, the soundest and most unbiassed judgment, could have established our right, there was no question of it: but such a right ill suited the policy of France; nor could the short-sighted politicians of the Continent comprehend that their ruin was involved in ours. Neither the arguments of Bernstoff, nor those

* See Schomberg, vol. 3, p. 396.

of the Cabinet of Berlin, possessed any solidity in the controversy.

In July, 1800, the French had a squadron of frigates lying in Dunkirk roads. An attempt was made to capture or destroy them, and the enterprise was intrusted to Captain Henry Inman, of the Andromeda, of 32 guns, having under his orders Captain Patrick Campbell, in the Dart, a curiously constructed sloop of war, after the plan of General Bentham, mounting 30 guns. Her bow and stern were of the same shape, though we must not confound her with the modern round-sterned ships, to which she bore no resemblance. She could anchor by either end, though, it must be observed, but very awkwardly, particularly in bad weather. She carried her water in wooden tanks, and was so sharp in her construction, that a transverse section taken amidships had nearly the form of a wedge: she had two topmasts on the same lower mast, parallel to each other, and her gangways were *outside of the lower rigging:* she had no stability in the water, and was found in blowing weather to be a very unsafe vessel. Captain Campbell made the only use of her for which she was calculated, *viz.*, that of laying an enemy on board. He gallantly ran alongside the French frigate, of 40 guns, and 350 men, as she lay at anchor, and carried her, after great resistance, and much slaughter on both sides. Captain Inman had under his orders some bombs and fire-vessels, which got into action with the enemy, but not in the effectual manner he intended. The British officers laid them alongside the French ships, and set fire to their trains. In this perilous situation they remained until their own vessels were in flames; but the French eluded the danger with admirable courage and presence of mind, and, by cutting their cables, got out of the reach of impending destruction. The loss of men in the British squadron was very considerable. Captain Campbell* was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and his first lieutenant was made a commander. The Earl of St. Vincent pronounced this to have been one of the finest instances of gallantry on record. The Désirée, as she was called, was taken into the British navy, was a beautiful frigate, of 40 guns, and carried 24-pounders on her main deck.

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* Now Sir Patrick Campbell.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

West Indies—Gallant conduct of Captain Dickson—Lord Hugh Seymour succeeds Vice-admiral H. Harvey in Leeward Islands—Capture of the Hermione by Captain Hamilton—The Achilles takes a French privateer—Captain Manby, in the Bourdelais, engages three others; sinks one—Pique takes La Vengeance—Watkins takes Curaçoa—Surinam taken—Success of the Trent frigate—Capture of Danish and Swedish islands—Observations on the island of Porto Rico—French armament to reconquer St. Domingo.

In August, 1799, Vice-admiral Harvey was succeeded by Vice-admiral Lord Hugh Seymour in the command of the Leeward Island station. Captain Edward S. Dickson distinguished himself in the Victorieuse sloop of war in December, 1798, on the Trinidad station, by the defeat of two enemy's privateers, which attempted to take him by boarding. He captured one of them; the other escaped. After this he proceeded, in company with the Zephyr sloop, to Gurseparra, where, in defiance of the Spanish batteries, he cut out a French privateer, and destroyed the forts. Captain Edward Hamilton, in the Surprise, a small frigate of 28 guns, having been sent by Sir Hyde Parker, in the month of October, 1799, to cruise off Porto Cabello in search of the Hermione, which the Spaniards had fitted out to cruise against us, obtained a sight of his object as she lay under the guns of that place, apparently one of the strongest sea fortifications I have ever met with. Knowing the impossibility of placing his ship near enough to effect his purpose, he resolved to attempt the capture in his boats. Having perfectly reconnoitred his ground, with 100 chosen men he left his ship in the night of the 24th of October, and pulled into the road. They first encountered the launch of the frigate, carrying a 24-pound carronade, full of men well armed, and soon obliged her to retreat. As the boats advanced they received a heavy fire of great guns and musketry from the Hermione: undaunted by this, they boarded on her bows, got upon her decks, and disputed with the Spaniards for forecastle, quarter-deck, main and lower deck; and at two o'clock in the morning she was completely in possession of the British seamen, who took her in tow, and brought her out from under

the protection of 200 pieces of cannon. She had on board 350 officers and seamen, 56 soldiers, 15 artillerymen, and was commanded by Don Raymond de Chalas.

One hundred and nineteen of her men were killed, and 97 wounded: Captain Hamilton landed the whole of them except five, which he detained to condemn his prize in the Vice-admiralty Court. The House of Assembly at Jamaica voted him a sword of 300 guineas, and his Majesty conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and presented him with a gold medal.* The surgeon, Mr. John M'Mulan, and the gunner, Mr. Maxwell, are the only officers named by Captain Hamilton. The Hermione was, by Sir Hyde Parker, named the Retribution.

The Achilles, an armed merchantman, bound to Jamaica, with 120 soldiers on board, was attacked off St. Domingo by a French privateer, which they instantly laid on board, and carried with the utmost gallantry. Her name was the Entreprenante, of 18 guns and 185 men, 107 of whom were killed or wounded in the action. The Achilles had 1 killed and 14 wounded.

In January, 1800, Captain Manby, in the Bourdelais, of 22 guns, cruising to windward of Barbadoes, fell in with three French privateers, two brigs, and a schooner: he brought the largest of them to close action, and took her in 30 minutes; the others made their escape. The prize had received so many shot in her hull that she went down before they could remove all the prisoners. Such was the humanity of our people in waiting to the last moment to take out the wounded men, that Messrs. Spence and Auckland, midshipmen, with five seamen, perished in her. She was called La Curieuse, mounted 18 guns, long 9-pounders, and had 200 men.

On the 20th of August Captain Milne, of his Majesty's ship La Seine, while cruising in the Mona Passage, between Porto Rico and San Domingo, fell in with a large French frigate, which he very soon brought to action. It was night, and the conflict severe. The ships, having both received great damage, lay by for a short space to repair; after which Captain Milne eagerly sought to renew the action, which the French frigate as eagerly sought to avoid. The Seine, by superior sailing, got alongside of her once more, and after fighting one hour and a half, in which the French ship was entirely dismasted, she surrendered, and proved to be La Vengeance, of 38 guns, having 28 18-pounders on her main deck, and, if we estimate her by the number of guns she

* He was subsequently created a Baronet.

actually mounted, might be said to be one of the largest frigates; but we have, till within the last seven years, been accustomed to call ships frigates, which mounted 52 guns, eight-and-thirties. The Frenchman fought his ship well: his number of killed and wounded we never heard; but the Seine had 13 killed, and 28 wounded,—a number rather unusual on our side in single actions. The prize, on her arrival at Port Royal was surveyed, and taken into the service, but by mismanagement grounded on her way to the dock-yard, and was bilged. Captain (now Sir David) Milne is the same officer who was second lieutenant of the Blanche, in the celebrated action with the Pique; the ship which he afterward commanded, and lost off the Saints in the capture of the Seine. Sir David is now a vice-admiral and commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station.

By a singular coincidence we are now to speak of Lieutenant Watkins, who, it will be remembered, was first lieutenant of the Blanche on the same occasion. This officer, in 1800, commanded the Nereide, of 36 guns, on the Jamaica station, and had been sent to cruise off the island of Curaçoa, which he kept in rigorous blockade. This island had for some time past been in the hands of a body of French troops, who it is believed had rendered themselves obnoxious to the inhabitants; certain it is that they had entirely prevented that contraband trade with the British and Spanish settlements, by which, while in the hands of the Dutch, it had been supported. The number of the French garrison being much reduced, the inhabitants sent off an invitation to Captain Watkins to come into the harbour, and receive the allegiance of the Dutch to the King of Great Britain. The French troops agreed at the same time to evacuate the island, and Captain Watkins had the honour of being the first to add this island to the British dominions. He immediately chartered an American schooner, with the command of which, and his despatches, he sent Lieutenant Robert Paul to England direct, without stopping at Port Royal to acquaint the admiral and commander-in-chief under whom he was serving. This was the only oversight in the achievement, and which lost him much credit, and delayed the promotion of his first lieutenant. Officers cannot be too careful how they neglect the essential and even the minute forms of their profession.

In August, 1799, an expedition was prepared for the reduction of the Dutch settlement of Surinam: the squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and five fifties, was under the immediate command of Lord Hugh Seymour; the land forces under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Trigge. This

force being superior to any the Dutch had to oppose to them, the place capitulated upon the most honourable terms. Private property, as in all other conquered colonies, was scrupulously respected. The Dutch colonists had been heartily disgusted with Gallic emancipation, all the fruits of which had hitherto been the destruction of their commerce.

In October, 1799, the Echo sloop of war, commanded by Captain Philpot, while cruising off the west end of Porto Rico, chased a brig into Aguadilla Bay, where they saw many other vessels lying at anchor. The boats were immediately despatched under the orders of Lieutenants Napier and Ropie, who boarded and brought out a Spanish brig of two guns and 20 men; and on the following night, Lieutenant Napier with the boats boarded a brig lying within half a cable's length (100 yards) from the shore, perfectly prepared for them, and having heavy guns mounted on the beach for their defence. The crew hailed our boats, but received no other answer than leaping on board. In the brig were 30 Frenchmen and Spaniards well armed, with guns loaded and primed, and lighted matches: they all quickly disappeared and ran below. The cables were cut, sail made, and the pinnace took the prize in tow; but by this time the battery had opened upon them, and the third shot sunk the boat without hurting a man. Fortune rewarded their valour; a breeze sprung up, and she was quickly out of gun-shot, and ran alongside of the Echo. She proved to be a French letter of marque, of 12 guns and 30 men, commanded by an Enseigne de Vaisseau, with a valuable cargo: the Echo had no one hurt in this gallant affair.

In December, 1799, Captain Stephen Poyntz, in the Solebay, of 32 guns, having learned that four French corvettes laden with naval stores were lying at anchor off Cape Tiburon, went in search of them, found them, brought his ship to anchor alongside of them, and with his boats succeeded in capturing the whole, with which he arrived safe at Port Royal.

Their names were—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* |
|---|---|---|
| L'Egyptien | 20 | 200 |
| A corvette | 18 | 120 |
| A brig corvette | 16 | 100 |
| A ditto | 16 | 100 |

Lord Hugh Seymour, who had this year succeeded to the command at Jamaica, in lieu of Vice-admiral Sir Hyde Parker, was taken ill of the yellow fever, and died shortly after on board the Tisiphone sloop of war, in which he had gone to sea for change of air: the body was sent to England for interment.

On the 26th of August, Captain Thomas Western, in the Tamar, captured, after a running fight and 10 minutes' close action, the French national frigate La Républicaine, of 32 guns and 220 men.

On the Jamaica station, the boats of the Trent, under the command of Lieutenants Belchier and Balderston, with a party of marines under Lieutenant M'Gee, covered by the Sparrow cutter, stormed a Spanish battery in a bay near Cape Roso, destroyed the guns, brought off a ship and a schooner, obliged the Spaniards to sink two other schooners, and retired with only three men wounded.

While the British fleets in the Baltic, led on by the immortal Nelson, were asserting their country's maritime supremacy before Copenhagen and Carlscrona, the Danish and Swedish islands in the West Indies were attacked by another division of our navy, with a body of land forces: the former, under the command of Rear-admiral Sir John T. Duckworth, who had succeeded to the command on the Leeward Island station, after the removal of Lord Hugh Seymour to Jamaica; the latter, under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Trigge. St. Bartholomew, belonging to Sweden, surrendered on the first summons. St. Martin's, a Danish island, offered a little show of resistance, but after the loss of 60 men the governor capitulated. The booty found on these islands was very inconsiderable, private property being respected. A vast quantity of ordnance stores was taken. From these islands the admiral and general proceeded to the Danish islands of St. Thomas and St. John's, which, with Santa Croix and all their dependencies, surrendered upon the same terms as the others had done. The reduction of three islands was effected with a land force of 1,500 men; the squadron was small, and there was no naval achievement of any note. Santa Croix was permitted to be a free port, in order to carry on the trade with Porto Rico, whence we received a vast supply of cattle for our islands, and disposed at the same time of our manufactures. In the little intercourse which I had with the people of Porto Rico I found them honest, hospitable, and much attached to the English. Their principal diversion is cock-fighting, which they carry to as great excess, in proportion to their means, as any gamblers in London or Paris. The birds are kept tied by the leg to the front doors of their houses: I have known as much as 500 Spanish dollars demanded for one of them. Poultry of every description is very plentiful, and the woods abound with a vast variety of the most beautiful birds. Some ladies, with whom I was acquainted at Aguadilla Bay, asked me to give them a cartridge of gunpowder. The fair huntresses

assured me that they spent much of their time in the woods in pursuit of game. They had elegant little fusees for the purpose, which in the Spanish language are called *escopetas*. I confess I could not refuse the request, and I hope I shall be pardoned for this misapplication of government stores. I very much regretted not being able to devote more time to the inspection of this lovely (and, as it appeared to me, even enchanting) island. To any of my brother officers, whom the fortune of war or the chances of service may bring to Porto Rico, I recommend the pleasing task of giving some better account of it than we are yet in possession of. I left it with much regret; but it was during the last American war, when I was there in the Spartan, and I was in a hurry to get back to rejoin my admiral off the Chesapeake.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

State of Egypt and French army after the battle of the Nile—Letter of Bonaparte to the Pacha of Egypt—Bonaparte goes to Suez—Returns, and fights the battle of Aboukir—Blockade of Alexandria—Hallowell attacks the castle of Aboukir—Intercourse with the French officers—Correspondence between Bonaparte and Tippoo Saib—Vigorous conduct of the government of India—Indignation of the Porte at the French—Russia declares war against Spain—Russian and Turkish squadrons pass Dardanelles, and attack the islands of Zante and Corfu—French driven out of Dalmatia—Retrospect of the affairs of Italy—Opinions and conduct of Nelson respecting the Neapolitans—Generals Mack and St. Felipe—British squadron remains on the coast, and is successful—Siege of Malta—British fleet leaves Cadiz in pursuit of French and Spaniards—St. Vincent hoists his flag—Goes to Minorca—Lord Keith pursues combined fleets to Brest—St. Vincent resigns and returns to England—Success of allies in Italy—Capitulation of castles Uovo and Nouvo—Speech of Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, on violation of treaty—Conduct of Nelson—of Captain Foote—of Lady Hamilton—Execution of Prince Carraciolli—Trowbridge—Conduct and opinions—Anecdotes—Takes Rome, Civita Vecchia, &c.—Markham in the Centaur takes French frigates—Speedy engages enemy's three privateers—Successes on coast of Italy—Royal family return to Naples—Caserta, Capua, and Gaeta, taken—Leghorn — Novi — Sir Sydney Smith's defence of Acre—Bonaparte raises the siege, and retreats to the Nile—Embarks at Alexandria, and arrives at Toulon—Captain Gage in the Terpsichore—Moore in the Transfer—Spanish frigates land treasure at Cadiz; are pursued and taken by Captain G Martin, in the Irresistible—Combined fleets pass Gibraltar; take Lieutenant Maitland — Noble conduct of that officer — Capture of the Santa Theresa.

The battle of the Nile, according to a letter written by Poussielgue, the administrator-general of the army in Egypt, had far more serious consequences on the power of France than could be conceived at the first view. In his intercepted letter he thus expresses himself: "But the fatal engagement of Aboukir ruined all our hopes; it prevented us from receiving the remainder of the forces which were destined for us; it left the field free for the English to persuade the Porte to declare war against us; it rekindled that which was hardly extinguished with the Emperor of Germany; it opened the Mediterranean to the Russians, and planted them on our frontiers; it occasioned the loss of Italy, and the invaluable possessions of the Adriatic,

which we owed to the successful campaigns of Bonaparte; and finally, it at once rendered abortive all our projects, since it was no longer possible for us to dream of giving the English any farther uneasiness in India."

The letter of General Bonaparte to the Pacha of Egypt, being a pretended explanation of the views and motives of the Directory for the invasion of that country, in express violation of the law of nations, is deserving of attention, as an evidence of his bad faith and injustice.

*On board L'Orient*, 12 *Messidor* (*June* 30).

To the Pacha of Egypt.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic have frequently applied to the Sublime Porte to demand the punishment of the beys in Egypt, who oppressed, with their exactions, the merchants of France.

But the Sublime Porte declared, that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refused to listen to the principles of justice; and not only that the Porte did not authorize these insults, but withdrew their protection from the persons by whom they were committed.

The French republic has resolved to send a powerful army, to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the same manner as it has been several times compelled, during the present century, to take these measures against the beys of Tunis and Algiers.—You, who ought to be the master of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority, you ought to regard my arrival with pleasure. You are doubtless already apprized, that I come not to attempt anything against the Alcoran or the Sultan. You know that the French nation is the only ally which the Sultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curse, along with me, the impious race of the beys.

(Signed) Bonaparte.

Austria having obtained Venice and the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, the Turkish government became alarmed lest the Emperor should become a maritime power by the possession of the sea-ports of the Adriatic, the forests of ship-timber, and the command of the Venetian navy; but with all these resources the revolution of ages will never create a navy on that coast. The alarms of the Seraglio were quickly diverted to another object when the news of the invasion of Egypt reached Constantinople. England and Russia, which, but a few months before, were expected to drive the Turks out of Europe, now became her best and only friends; hence the caresses bestowed on Nelson, and the active co-operation of the Turkish fleets and armies with the British squadron at Acre.

On the 25th of October, Captain Manley Dixon, in the Lion, with the Portuguese squadron of four sail of the line, joined the ships left by Nelson in the bay of Aboukir; but, finding

that the campaign was closed, they returned to Gibraltar. When Nelson had quitted the scene of his glory at the Nile, the Alcmene took a French vessel, from Toulon, going into Alexandria. As she ran alongside of her a packet was thrown overboard, the ship going at the rate of five miles an hour; two seamen of the Alcmene, John Taylor and James Harding, instantly darted into the sea and saved the papers. Both these brave fellows were picked up, and amply rewarded for their zeal and gallantry.

After the total destruction of his fleet, the object of Bonaparte became entirely changed. If he had ever intended the construction of boats or vessels in the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, that plan must have been abandoned by the loss of most of his shipwrights and their implements in the battle of Aboukir. To march an army of between 30,000 and 40,000 men from the Nile to the Indus, a distance of 2,000 miles, through the deserts of Arabia and Persia, along the shores of the gulf, was a point more easily discussed at the Luxembourg than carried into effect. To have embarked that force at Bussora, even had transports been prepared, would have been attended with almost insurmountable obstacles, to say nothing of the uncertainty of the voyage, the want of provisions, and many other contingencies, with which the general and his staff, with all their transcendent abilities, were perfectly unacquainted. Bonaparte, though accustomed to surmount difficulties, was arrested in his progress by moral and physical impossibilities. The enterprise on India was therefore, for a time, laid aside; and, as his army could not remain inactive, he prudently directed their energies to more attainable objects—the colonization of Egypt, the marriage of his soldiers with the women of the country, the improvement of their condition, the introduction of the arts and the comforts of civilized life; taking particular care to respect, as far as possible, the national and religious prejudices of the Egyptians, who, after the loss of some severe battles, the most important of which was that of the Pyramids, unwillingly submitted to his yoke.

Still these victories reduced the number of his European troops, and the quantity of his ammunition, the supply of which, in sufficient number and quantity, was nearly impossible, and a few more campaigns must, with victory on his banners, have annihilated one of the finest armies in the world, for such his undoubtedly was. Threatened with an attack from the Turks, Syrians, Mamelukes, and Arabs on the north, he determined to march and meet the first, and to obtain possession of the chief city and sea-port of the second. Had he succeeded

in his views, it is most probable that he would have retraced his steps along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, and not, as was conjectured, have attempted the conquest of Constantinople and Vienna, by continuing his march through Syria and Asia Minor to the Straits of the Bosphorus: Bonaparte knew a nearer road to these capitals. Gladly, I believe, he would have returned with his army to Italy, but that was denied him by the valour and vigilance of the British navy. In the mean time the government of Bombay was preparing to attack him in the rear; a British squadron, under Admiral Blanket, was at Suez, and a Turkish and Russian fleet had passed the Dardanelles. But what was the astonishment and vexation of the chief to find that the march of his invincible legions was obstructed at the foot of Mount Carmel by a few British gunboats, and that when this difficulty was surmounted, the progress of his army was entirely arrested before the walls of St. Jean d'Acre! The possession of this place and Damascus would have been of incalculable advantage to him: the first a sea-port and fortified town, where he might have formed a dépôt of warlike stores, received his supplies, and opened communications with France; the second, commanding the northern and most fruitful part of Syria, would at once have ensured him provisions, and served as a barrier to the advance of the Turkish army.

From the hopeless prospect of advancing to the north, Bonaparte turned his beaten and afflicted army back to the desert, and once more entered the walls of Cairo, with a force diminished by fruitless conflict and the disease of the climate. His wasted commissariat and military stores were supplied in some measure by heavy contributions on the poor Egyptians, from whose country there was no retreat. Like a lion in the toils, he now sought every means of escape. The north, the east, the west, were hermetically sealed; the south seemed to open a prospect, and he sent off part of his army to Suez, to which place he soon repaired in person, and reached the utmost limits of his daring enterprise. He surveyed the port and anchorage, and ordered the survey of the canal of Suez, thus resolving the great problem of the existence of one of the most useful works in the world.

The dangers of the French army increased on every side. On the 13th of July, 1799, a Turkish army under Mustapha Bashaw, supported by the Anglo-Russian and Turkish fleets, advanced against Aboukir, the bulwark of Alexandria and Egypt. The force of this army was estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000 men. On the 16th, the fleet having anchored in the bay, a large body of troops landed without

opposition. The castle was attacked, and capitulated after 700 men had been cut in pieces by the Turks. Bonaparte, who was in Upper Egypt, hastened to the relief of his soldiers, and the celebrated battle of Aboukir decided the fate of the Turkish army. Mustapha Bashaw, the commander-in-chief, was taken prisoner, 2,000 Turks lay dead on the field, and the incredible number of 10,000 are said to have been driven into the sea and drowned.

The blockade of Alexandria was conducted with such vigilance, that nineteen vessels attempting to make their escape from that port were captured and burnt: these were chiefly Danes and Swedes—a necessary severity to neutrals for consenting to become the active agents of a belligerent. My readers will be surprised to learn that the French were indebted in a great measure to *neutrals* for the transportation of their army from Toulon to Egypt, and the same vessels were waiting to take them back again. The crews of the ships were all sent back to Alexandria; there were, however, some exceptions to this severity, and many Neapolitan vessels were permitted to depart.

On the 21st of October some Russian and Turkish frigates, corvettes, and gun-boats, joined the British squadron in the bay of Aboukir. In one of the corvettes was a dragoman from the Sublime Porte, bearing the diamond aigrette and pelisse which the Sultan had sent to Admiral Nelson, as a mark of his Highness's approbation.

The ships procured a supply of fresh water by sending gun-brigs and boats into the Nile. Its water being, of course, lighter than that of the sea, floats on the surface, whence the sailors skimmed it off with buckets, and filled their casks.

The blockade of this port was conducted by Captain Hood, in the Alexander, who had detached Captain Hallowell, of the Swiftsure, to Aboukir, with orders to take the Russian and Turkish gun-boats under his command, and attack the castle of that place. The Turks on this occasion afforded a bad specimen of the valour of their countrymen.

The boats were ill fitted, the crews untrained, and excessively cautious of exposing themselves to the shot of the enemy. The Turkish ships were no better than their men, and the Russians were very much superior in every respect to their new allies.

A friendly intercourse occasionally took place between the officers of the French army and our ships of war. Bonaparte even offered Captain Hallowell a supply of vegetables, which was civilly declined; but some French officers dined with him on board the Swiftsure. The conversation turned on the battle

of the Nile, and the burning of L'Orient. They thought we had used unfair means in setting fire to that ship. In support of this assertion, General Bonaparte, they said, had stated that his camp had twice been set on fire by some unextinguishable matter thrown from the English gun-boats. Captain Hallowell ordered the gunner to bring up some of those fire-balls, which, on inquiry in presence of the French officers, were proved to have been taken out of the Spartiate; and it was known that they were in general use among the French ships. The Bellerophon, when lying alongside the Orient, received many of them, which stuck in her sides; and it is supposed the latter ship was burnt by the ignition of some of these dangerous combustibles. They consisted of a sort of skeleton shell, surrounded with the composition, and, like our fuses, would burn under water, but would not communicate to other bodies, excepting only the powder in a shell, whose explosion was, of course, rendered harmless.

Nothing diverted the attention of Bonaparte from his principal object. He despatched a letter to Tippoo Saib, Sultan of the Mysore, in which he says, "You will have heard of my arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, with a numerous and *invincible* army, wishing to deliver you from the yoke of the English. I wish you would send to Suez or Cairo an intelligent and confidential person with whom I might confer." Tippoo had in the mean time sent an embassy to the Isle of France, soliciting succours for the same purpose; and by the persevering efforts of the French in India the army of the Nizam was increased to 10,000 European troops. Zemann Shah, on the northern frontiers of the British settlements, had been drawn into the confederacy. This Prince was the Sovereign of Cabul, and it was supposed could have brought into the field an army of 120,000 men. These immense combinations show the powers of his mind, and the vast resources of his genius.

The Presidency of Madras under Lord Hobart, however, discovered these plots, which, notwithstanding their scope, and the skill shown in their execution, proved abortive. The Governor of Bombay prepared a force to repel any invasion. Admiral Rainier remained on the Malabar coast; the Governor-general was assisted by his brother, Colonel Wellesley, in the field. The armies were everywhere victorious; the French party were dismissed from the Nizam's court, and the year 1799 saw the death of Tippoo, and the storming and capture of Seringapatam by the army under General Harris.

These events not only confirmed the security of the British possessions in India, but gave that preponderating influence to

the British navy all over the world that was calculated to excite the envy, if not the apprehension, of the maritime states of Europe. On this subject the author of the "*Précis des Evénemens Militaires*" has the following observations:—"After the taking of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo Saib, his children, his relations, and the Princes his allies, submitted to the conqueror. By this brilliant operation the English became entire masters of India (within the Ganges and south of that great river and the Indus): thenceforth no vessels but their own could resort to that country. Every harbour and port of refreshment was within its control; they held the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, (since 1810,) Saint Helena, and Trincomalee. The French, whose arms were dreaded and respected in India but a few years before, and whose fleets under Suffrein contended successfully against those of Great Britain, lost their feeble establishments on the coast of Coromandel, and saw those of their allies wrested from them at the same time, and could no longer appear in force in the Indian seas, the lucrative commerce of which fell into the hands of their enemies.

"On the other hand, if we consider the destruction of the greater part of the French navy, and the whole of that of Holland, we must see that England has brought the entire commerce of the continent (of Europe) under her own dominion. None may now dispute with her the empire of the seas, nor is it possible to foresee when the equilibrium of maritime power shall be restored—an equilibrium so indispensable for the repose of Europe, and which can alone secure a lasting peace; for this universal dominion, even admitting that it be used with wisdom and justice, would not long be borne with resignation by the maritime powers, whose interest and whose power would excite them to resistance. Nothing short of the capture of Seringapatam could dispel the alarms of the British Government for the safety of their Indian possessions by the French invasion of Egypt."—*Précis*, vol. ii. p. 18.

When the hypocrisy of France in the invasion of Egypt was known at Constantinople, the French, Spanish, and Dutch ministers attempted to apologize for the conduct of the Directory. The answer of the Reis Effendi to the Spanish ambassador was remarkably dignified and severe: "I am sorry to find the King of Spain become the tool of men who murdered his family, and shake a sabre over his own head."

An embargo was laid in the ports of Constantinople on all French vessels; the Spanish and Dutch ministers were ordered to quit the capital; and Ruffin, the French ambassador, with

all his attendants, were shut up in the castle of the Seven Towers.

The Emperor of Russia having entered into an alliance with Great Britain, declared war against Spain.

Twelve Russian ships of the line joined our fleet in the North Seas, in rather better condition than the last. Another squadron passed the Bosphorus on the 25th of August, and formed with the Turkish a force of 12 sail of the line and 16 frigates, which first attacked the new department of France in the Ægean and Adriatic seas. Cerigo (the ancient Cytherea), a Venetian island ceded to France at the treaty of Campo Formio, was taken on the 12th of October. Zante, Cephalonia, Corfu, and Santa Maura, fell in succession, and the garrisons had their option to go to Toulon or Ancona, but not to serve against the allies until regularly exchanged. The granting of these terms constitutes a remarkable proof of the mildness evinced by the confederates. I have been sometimes tempted to exclaim that the best and bravest go to war, while cowards stay at home, and "bid the valiant die."

The Pacha of Janina dispossessed the French of all their posts on the coast of Dalmatia, where they had begun to disseminate those doctrines of liberty which, in 1820, produced the rebellion against the Ottoman Porte.

Paswann Oglou, the Pacha of Widdin, by this timely union of Turkey and Russia, and a strong naval force despatched by those powers to the coast of Albania, was induced to come to terms with the Porte. In the capture of the islands some French prisoners had not, according to the general arrangement, been sent to Toulon or Ancona, but had been landed on the coast of Albania; others, taken by Nelson on his return from the Nile, had been driven into the port of Syphanto. The treatment they received from the Turks was not so humane as could have been wished and might have been expected, after what took place at Corfu. They were closely confined, and owed their liberation to the intercession of Sir Sydney Smith, to whom, for his gallant services, and as the representative of his government, the Sultan was pleased to show this mark of attention. Sir Sydney, being present at the launching of a Turkish ship, of 84 guns, presented his Highness, on the occasion, with a model of the Royal George, and some brass field-pieces, in the name of his Britannic Majesty.

The feelings of the Neapolitan court, on the news of the victory of the Nile, may be readily supposed, when we are assured that it relieved them from an impending revolution. The letter of Lady Hamilton, on this occasion, is sufficiently

ardent.* Her actions, too, as described by the same author, were still more so. How painful is it to reflect that, surrounded by luxury, flattery, and falsehood, in scenes so pernicious, the mind of Nelson became enervated! He was sensible of his weakness and of the depravity that assailed him. "It is a country," said the hero, "of fiddlers, poets, w——s, and scoundrels." In their society, unhappily, his moral character received a taint which will ever dim the splendour of his glory.

The King of Naples implored him to remain, and assist in guarding his kingdom. Nelson, who had intended returning to Alexandria to destroy the shipping in that harbour, knew that, if he withdrew his succour, the boastings of the Neapolitans would end in vapour. He therefore ran down to Malta, to witness the progress of the siege and blockade of that island. Goza having surrendered, he left Captain Ball to conduct the siege and blockade, and returned to Naples. The Foudroyant was sent out to him in the spring; he hoisted his flag in her. His penetration enabled him to see, in an instant, what was to be expected from Mack, which in a few words he foretold: "General Mack cannot move without five carriages; I have formed my opinion—I heartily pray I may be mistaken." In the mean time the British and Portuguese ships of war, with a body of 5,000 Neapolitan troops, had seized upon Leghorn, where an immense number of vessels were found laden with corn for the ports of France and Genoa, besides privateers of great force, ready to proceed against our commerce. Some diplomatic chicanery was attempted in order to rescue these vessels from the control of Nelson; and the true Neapolitan shuffle, as he called it, saved the booty from the hands of our sailors, though it rendered it unavailable to our enemies. "So far," said the hero, "I am content; the enemy will be distressed, and, thank God, I shall get no money; the world, I know, thinks that money is our god, and now they will be undeceived, as far as relates to us. Down, down with the French, is my constant prayer."

I have already noticed the bold advance of the King and General Mack. The right wing of the Neapolitan army, consisting of 19,000 men, fell in with 3,000 French; and, as soon as St. Felipe, the Neapolitan general, was near enough, he clapped spurs to his horse and joined the enemy. A soldier of his army fired, but unfortunately only wounded the traitor. "The Neapolitan officers," said Nelson, "did not lose much honour, for they had it not to lose; but they lost all they had."

* Southey, vol. ii., p. 5.

In this country, as in Spain, all the honour and courage were in the lower orders. After the defeat of Mack, the navy of Britain was unfortunately employed in propping up the most rotten and tottering government in the world, and Sir Charles Stuart sent 1,000 men from Minorca to defend Sicily.

The armies of the republic having driven the King of Naples and his timid soldiers to the water side, his Majesty, with the Queen and royal family, in December, 1798, embarked on board the Vanguard, at Naples, and Nelson conducted them in the worst weather to Palermo, in Sicily. During this tempestuous voyage, Prince Albert, a child of five years old, died of fright and sea-sickness in the arms of Lady Hamilton.

The British squadrons under Trowbridge and Hallowell remained on the Roman and Neapolitan coast, actively co-operating with the Austrians and Russians in the reduction of the sea-ports. Hood, who had returned from Egypt, in the Zealous, took Salerno.

The siege and blockade of Malta were continued with unremitting vigour by the British and Portuguese forces, under the command of Captain Ball, of the Alexander. In the course of the year the Maltese, divided into factions, were destroying each other, while the French were shut up in the fortress of Valette: the better sort of Maltese were imprisoned, plundered, and put to death by the mob. The grand master went out of his senses, and a deputation waited on Captain Ball to request that he would assume the government of the island, both civil and military; and, having landed, he very soon restored order. The Maltese next sent a petition to Lord Nelson and the King of Sicily, requesting that Captain Ball might be confirmed as their governor: this was also complied with. A corps of 300 marines, under the command of Major Weir, on this occasion greatly distinguished themselves. The same officer raised a Maltese regiment, which he brought to a high state of discipline, and which served until the reduction of the island.

It has been already observed, that Lord Keith lay before Cadiz, with 16 sail of the line. The French fleet, which had escaped from Brest, appeared off that port on the 4th of May. They had 26 sail of the line, and wished to enter the harbour: it was blowing a gale of wind. Lord Keith weighed, and offered them battle; but this they declined. The gale increased, and the French admiral, seeing no prospect of entering the port without bringing on an action, bore up on the 9th, and ran through the Straits for Carthagena. On this Lord Keith bore up for Gibraltar, where he anchored the same day. Here, with all the zeal and vigilance of Earl St. Vincent, and the

anxiety of every officer to forward the work, it took five days before the provisions and water could be completed, and the ships sufficiently repaired to follow the enemy; when the Earl of St. Vincent hoisted his flag on board the Ville de Paris, and, taking Lord Keith under his orders, made all sail for Cape Dell Mell. At this place he received intelligence that the enemy had anchored in Vado Bay; but his lordship, having every reason to think that the Spaniards meditated an attack on Minorca, went to Mahon, and ordered Lord Keith to cruise off the island, the Spaniards having collected a large body of troops at Majorca. The French fleet again put to sea from Vado Bay, reached Carthagena on the 17th of June, and, being joined by the Spanish fleet, under Mazarado, they all hurried through the Straits, and reached Cadiz in safety. It was long before Lord Keith gained information of the enemy, when he crowded sail for Cadiz, off which place he arrived on the 22d of July, and learnt that the combined fleets had sailed on the 21st. Stung with anguish at his disappointment, his lordship again made sail in pursuit of his foe; and having been joined by Sir Alan Gardner, with 17 ships of the line, arrived off Brest just six hours after the combined fleets had anchored in that port. Lord Keith returned to Torbay, where he found the Channel fleet; and the most powerful assemblage of ships ever seen at one time in Great Britain was in August, 1799, collected at that anchorage. It consisted of 56 sail of the line, besides frigates and sloops; the whole well manned, and in a high state of order and discipline. The combined fleets remained in Brest, whence they did not dare to move; the Spaniards were extremely discontented, and a mutual jealousy subsisted between them and their allies. The French admiral, on sailing from Brest, had intended joining the Spaniards at Ferrol and Cadiz, and proceeding with them to Carthagena, to complete the junction with the remainder of the Spanish fleet; but the Spanish squadron of five sail of the line was seen coming out, and chased into Basque roads, where it was ineffectually attacked and afterward blocked up by Rear-admiral Pole. Equally disappointed off Cadiz, he passed through the Straits on the 9th of May, on his way to Carthagena.

June 16, 1799, the Earl of St. Vincent, having resigned the command of the Mediterranean fleet while at Minorca, proceeded down to Gibraltar, to prepare for his return to England. His lordship's health had been some time declining, and, as he states in his letters, he considered it an injustice to Lord Keith to keep him any longer out of the command. He returned to England in the Argo.

In May Milan surrendered to Suvaroff, who had forced the

passage of the Adda; and in July the citadel of Turin and the fortress of Alexandria were taken by the allies. Mantua capitulated on the 3d of August.

Trowbridge had resigned the command of the blockade of Alexandria, in Egypt, to Sir Sydney Smith, who in November, 1798, had been sent out in the Tigre, of 74 guns, by the Admiralty, expressly for that duty. This measure was displeasing to Lord Nelson, who fancied himself slighted by the independent command assigned to that officer; and the gallant and manly Trowbridge felt it "an indelible disgrace." Fortunately the talents of both Trowbridge and Sir Sydney were well adapted to the respective employments on which they were sent.

Trowbridge, having been ordered by Nelson to co-operate with the Austrians and Russians, had a strong squadron placed at his disposal; among other ships the Seahorse, commanded by Captain Foote, whom he intrusted with the siege of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, in the bay of Naples, which were closely blockaded and bombarded. On the 19th of June he compelled them to capitulate, which they consented to do only on condition that the safety of the garrison should be guaranteed by the honour of a British officer,—a proposition which Captain Foote pledged himself to see performed. He supposed he might the more readily venture to make such a promise, as the strength of those places was known to be so great as to threaten destruction to the city, which they entirely commanded, and that he might hourly expect the arrival of the combined fleets to relieve them; to gain possession, therefore, in any manner, was a point of the utmost importance. This treaty, made with the enemy on the faith of our well-known national character, we lament to say, was *violated.*

Attempts were made to place the odium of this flagrant breach of faith on Captain Foote.* Fortunately there was no officer in his Majesty's service more scrupulously exact in points of honour than the one in question. The documents on which he rested his defence are before the public, and the facts incontrovertible.

On the 24th of June a British fleet of 17 sail of the line entered the bay of Naples; Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton, perhaps Sir William also, were on board the Foudroyant. A flag of truce was flying at the masthead of the Seahorse, and also on the castles of Nuovo and Uovo. Having on his passage

* The late Rear-admiral Sir Edward James Foote, than whom the King never had a more honourable, upright, and gallant officer in his service. I was personally and well acquainted with him from the time I first entered the navy. He went out with Commodore Cornwallis to India, in 1789, as fourth lieutenant of the Crown. He complained to me most bitterly of the treatment he had received in the cause of the unhappy Neapolitans.—AUTHOR.

received information that an "*infamous* armistice had been concluded with the rebels of these castles, to which Captain Foote had put his name," his lordship, on entering the bay, made the signal to annul the flag of truce, being determined, as he said, never to give his approbation to any terms with rebels but unconditional surrender; and, in a private letter from Lord Nelson to Earl Spencer, published in a work called "Genuine Memoirs," his lordship calls the treaty "a most infamous one." Captain Foote, on his return to England, in 1800, was not then aware of the extent of blame imputed to him, but had intimation that his conduct was not altogether approved of. Anxious for public investigation, he would have demanded a court-martial, but was dissuaded by his friends in and out of the Admiralty, lest, as they said, he should attach himself to a party. At the head of that party was Mr. Fox, who closed a debate in the House of Commons with this remarkable speech, which remains unanswered.

"When the right honourable gentleman speaks of the last campaign, he does not mention the horrors by which some of those successes were accompanied. Naples, for instance, has been among others (what is called) delivered; and yet, if I am rightly informed, it has been stained and polluted by murders so ferocious, and cruelties so abhorrent, that the heart shudders at the recital. It has been said that not only were the miserable victims of the rage and brutality of the fanatics savagely murdered, but that in many instances their flesh was devoured by the cannibals who are the advocates and the instruments of social order! Nay, England is not wholly exempt from reproach, if the rumours which are circulated be true. I will mention a fact, to give ministers the opportunity, if it be false, to wipe away the stain that must otherwise affix on the British name. It is said that a party of the republican inhabitants at Naples took shelter in the fortress of Castle del Uovo. They were besieged by a detachment from the royal army, to whom they refused to surrender, but demanded that a British officer should be brought forward, and to him they capitulated. They made terms with him under the sanction of the British name. It was agreed that their persons and property should be safe, and that they should be conveyed to Toulon. They were accordingly put on board a vessel, but before they sailed their property was confiscated, numbers of them were taken out, thrown into dungeons, and some of them, I understand, notwithstanding the British guarantee, absolutely executed."

We must for ever regret that our favourite hero should have disgraced his country by revoking the word of honour given to save the lives of unfortunate men, and required by these men

as the highest compliment that could be paid to our national character. I disclaim all party feelings; Whigs or Tories are alike to me so long as they do their duty. But here we see the high character of England blasted by the foul breath of a revengeful woman; and the British flag covering the dark deed, breaking a sacred agreement, and giving up its confiding victims to the hands of the executioner.

It appears that Lady Hamilton carried this great point against us. "Haul down the flag of truce, Bronté," she exclaimed on the quarter-deck of the Foudroyant, as the ship entered the bay; "no truce with the rebels." Cardinal Ruffo, on the contrary, maintained that the treaty ought to be held inviolate: he was unfortunately overpowered, and retired in disgust.

Captain Foote, after the arrival of Lord Nelson, was sent in the Seahorse to Palermo, whence the royal family was to embark for Naples in one of their own frigates. General Acton, the prime minister, acquainted him that his Sicilian majesty was sensible of his gallant conduct, and desired him to convoy a frigate in which his majesty was embarked to Naples, which he did; but, previous to their sailing, he used every argument in favour of the unfortunate beings whom he had been the innocent means of delivering over to the unrelenting hands of arbitrary power. He pleaded for the republican garrisons of Revigliano and Castel a Mare, urging that it was through his intercession that they had been induced to surrender without farther effusion of blood; and concluded by saying, that, as their Sicilian majesties were pleased to think he had rendered them some service, he begged, as a *personal favour to himself*, that the capitulation with those garrisons might be held sacred!

The minister replied "that, on his account, the most obnoxious should only be confined during the then very unsettled state of the Neapolitan dominions."

The Seahorse and the Neapolitan frigate put to sea from Palermo on the 3d of July, and arrived at Naples on the 8th, when Captain Foote was sent with the Thalia, commanded by Captain Josiah Nisbet, under his orders, on immediate service *at some distance from Naples*. This was a prelude to the tragedy. Nisbet thought as Foote did, and was therefore, by the contrivance of Lady Hamilton, sent out of the way.

The unfortunate Carraciolli, not being included in the capitulation of St. Elmo, made his escape. That brave officer, it will be remembered, had commanded a Neapolitan 74 (the Tancredi) in Admiral Hotham's action of the 14th of March, 1795, and had distinguished himself. He accompanied the royal family to Palermo in December, and was by the King

permitted to return to protect his property, which was very considerable. This permission the Prince thankfully accepted. The French, entering the Neapolitan dominions, seized on his estates as a royalist, and he had no means of regaining them but by consenting to command the Neapolitan fleet, in which situation, it must be admitted that he did the duty expected of him. Events were adverse to the French; they were compelled to evacuate the country, and leave their friends to make the best peace they could.

Carraciolli, after the violation of Captain Foote's treaty, concealed himself. Discovered by the cowardly flatterers attached to the royal persons, he was taken in the disguise of a peasant, and brought on board the Foudroyant, with his hands tied behind him. Hardy, the captain, saw with indignation this unworthy treatment, and commanded that he should be instantly loosened. The poor man, who was in his fiftieth year, was in extreme wretchedness. He averred that he would have been true to his master, had his master been true to himself. I would willingly spare myself the pain of relating the sequel; but, although so well told by Mr. Southey, it is an incident peculiarly belonging to naval history. It was nine o'clock in the morning when he was brought on board the Foudroyant, whose deck and flag were polluted by the scene.

Nelson *wrote an order for his trial*, which commenced at ten; at twelve he was declared guilty, and at five he was hanged at the yard-arm of the Minerva, a Neapolitan frigate.

Carraciolli had no counsel, no time to collect witnesses, and was tried by a court composed of his avowed enemies. He requested of Lieutenant Parkinson, who had charge of him, to intercede, if possible, to obtain a new trial; but Nelson, who had ordered the first, "*could* not interfere" to grant a second. He then begged to be shot; but this humble request was also refused. Lady Hamilton, from whose former acquaintance he hoped to gain this favour, was not to be found, being concealed in her cabin during the interval between the trial and execution. At the last fatal scene she was present, and seems to have enjoyed the sight. While the body was yet hanging at the yard-arm of the frigate, "Come," said she, "come, Bronté, let us take the barge, and have another look at poor Carraciolli!" The barge was manned, and they rowed round the frigate, and satiated their eyes with the appalling spectacle. The body was cast into the sea with shot attached to the feet. Some days after, swollen by putrefaction, it rose head foremost, under the stern of the Foudroyant, and Ferdinand had the horror of beholding once more his old friend and faithful servant, whose remains were now allowed a Christian burial. But Naples, in

spite of the pious act, was the scene of bloodshed, pillage, and rebellion.

I have heard that Lady Hamilton, in her last moments, uttered the most agonizing screams of repentance for this act of cruelty. The Prince was ever before her eyes; she could not endure to be in the dark, and left the world a sad, but useful, example of the fatal effects of revenge and of unbridled licentiousness.*

Trowbridge, in the mean time, with Hallowell, Hood, and Louis, were all actively employed in the reduction of the fortresses on the sea-coast; and, had there been one spark of virtue

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* May she have found that mercy which she denied to her enemy! I was informed, by a person well acquainted with all the *dramatis personæ* of this sad tragedy, that Count Thurn, the president of the court-martial, was a Genoese, and a man of unimpeachable integrity. This I am willing to believe: but who were the other members of the court, and what right had that court to sit on board of a British ship of war? Why should the British flag have been made the pall of execution but merely to gratify the revenge of a modern Astarte? Soon after the publication of the first edition of this work, a person signing his name John Mitford, R.N., and giving his address, wrote a letter in the *Morning Post*, in which he had the impudence to declare "by Him that liveth for ever and ever," (such were his words,) that the scene of rowing round the Minerva never took place. I called on this man, but never could find him. I discovered that he lodged over a coal-shed in some obscure street near Leicester-square, and that he was *not* an officer in the navy. After this a friend of mine applied to two other officers who were actually present, and are both now living. One of them, whose letter is by me, says, "No one believes the absurd story about rowing round the Minerva, &c.;" but this evasion was flatly contradicted by the other, who admitted the whole to be true. Would to Heaven, for the honour of my country, it was all false!

I have been also credibly informed that "the Queen of Naples never quitted Palermo from December 1798 till June 1800, when she embarked on board the Foudroyant for Leghorn, and went from thence to Vienna; she was therefore not at Naples with the King in the summer of 1799."—"It is also a fact," says the same authority, "that she interceded for many of the rebels, and saved the lives of some of her personal enemies. Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and Lord Nelson, also saved many." I give the above as in duty bound, having the highest opinion of the integrity of the lady from whom I received it, and willing at all times to excuse the faults of frail human nature; but how came the Foudroyant's cabin to be the scene of the trial? and how came the British flag and British cannon to sanction the deed? If the Neapolitans choose to murder their countrymen, and British officers could not prevent it, it was their duty to have quitted the detested spot, and left "the fiddlers, poets, w——s, and scoundrels," to settle their own affairs.

"Carraciolli was the younger brother of a good family, a Knight of Malta. He was a great favourite with the King and Queen, went with them to Palermo, but afterwards, to their surprise and affliction, asked leave to return to Naples for his own private affairs. Many have believed that he was piqued because the King and royal family went to Palermo on board Lord Nelson's ship, rather than his own; but, although they at the time appeared to have no doubt of his honour, they could not trust the ship's crew. He could not have wished to return to Naples from pecuniary motives, and there is little doubt that jealousy of Lord Nelson was the cause of his unhappy defection."

I give this quotation from a letter which I received, among others on the subject, soon after the appearance of the first edition.

or courage in Ferdinand and his base associates, Naples might have been again happy;—but her day was past!

Of the Italians who figured in this eventful scene, we only know of two who deserved the name of men—Ruffo and Carraciolli! Thirsting for the blood and property of each other, there was no act degrading to men which the degenerate Neapolitans scrupled to commit: cowardice and treachery were the prominent features of their character. Whatever courage or talent might be found among them was (with the exception of Ruffo) always exerted *against* the King. The following anecdote was given to me by a friend on whose veracity I can rely:—

Trowbridge, while employed on the coast of Italy, was asked by a lieutenant-colonel, a *stanch royalist,* for two English sloops of war, with which he was to take some little fort. The request was granted, and the warrior returned and begged for two frigates: these were given in lieu of the sloops; when another request was preferred, for two ships of the line. This last application was made in the cabin of the Culloden. Suddenly the doors burst open, and out flew the lieutenant-colonel, with Trowbridge at his heels, kicking him along, while the commodore, foaming with rage, exclaimed, "The cowardly rascal! first sloops, then frigates, then ships of the line, and then, d—n him, he is afraid to fight after all!"—"*Ex uno disce omnes.*"

No man so justly appreciated the character of those people as Trowbridge; he hated the French, but he despised the Neapolitans. They wanted to hang some of their priests, whose only crime was having sense enough to see that the ruin of their country was certain, and seeking to save it. Thirteen of them were ordered for execution, and the infamous authorities had the audacity to ask Trowbridge to lend them a hangman! The commodore indignantly repelled this affront on the honour of his flag and his crew: the meanest scavenger in the Culloden was superior to those who made the request. While the poor inhabitants of the islands on the coast were starving, or fed by the private bounty of Trowbridge and his officers, Sicily had corn, and the King money; but such was the corruption of the court, that every thing was diverted from its proper channel; the inhabitants were first goaded to rebellion, and then punished with inexorable severity.

October 5. Commodore Trowbridge, in the Culloden, took possession of Civita Vecchia, Cornatto, and Tolfa. These places surrendered on the 29th and 30th of September to a detachment of seamen and marines from that ship and the

Minotaur. Three thousand of the enemy were immediately sent off by sea, and 2,000 more waited for shipping to convey them to France.

Rome was at the same time evacuated by the French; and by a convention between Commodore Trowbridge and the French general, Garnier, the Roman states were cleared of the enemy, who had committed the most shameful depredations.

The evacuation of Rome was arranged by Captain Louis, of the Minotaur, and possession of it given to General Boucard.

By the articles of the capitulation the French troops were permitted to march out of the city of Rome, and of the Roman territories, with the honours of war; to take their muskets and their bayonets, but no field-pieces. They were to embark at the port of Civita Vecchia, and be conveyed thence to France in British transports: the troops were not to be considered as prisoners. Twenty-four hours after the signing of the convention 400 men were landed from the British ships of war, 100 of whom took possession of the town of Civita Vecchia, and 300 marched to Rome to take possession of that city—a striking instance of the revolutions of empires. The ancient capital of the world, the city which had held the destinies of millions, from the Euphrates to the wall of Severus, is in the 18th century garrisoned by 300 of the natives of the most remote and barbarous of her conquests.

The French made an effort to retain the valuable works of art of which they had gained possession, but the British officer very properly rejected the claim. They also demanded a free passage for their cavalry out of Italy, and that they should be victualled and provided for on their journey by the good offices of Commodore Trowbridge. This, with many other demands equally extraordinary, were peremptorily refused, and the horses, being public property, were required to be given up to the British and their allies.

The treaty was signed by Commodore Trowbridge and the French general, Garnier, the 20th of September, 1799, and the ports of Ancona and Coni were surrendered to the Austrians.

On the 19th of June some French frigates and corvettes from the coast of Egypt, bound to Toulon, were discovered by the British squadron under Lord Keith, consisting of the Centaur, 74, Captain J. Markham; Bellona, 74, Sir Thomas Thompson; with the Captain, Edgar, Minerve, Triton, Success, and Petterel; Santa Theresa and Emerald frigates; and with singular success they captured the whole of them. Their names were:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* |
|---|---|---|
| La Junon | 40 | 300 |
| L'Alceste | 36 | 300 |
| La Courageuse | 22 | 160 |
| La Salamine | 18 | |
| L'Alerte | 14 | |

On the 9th of August Captain Jahleel Brenton, in the Speedy brig, of 14 guns, with the Defender, a privateer of Gibraltar, of the same force, gave chase to three Spanish armed vessels, which took refuge in a bay five leagues to the eastward of Cape de Gat, where they moored in a line within a boat's length of the beach. Captain Brenton, having engaged them for three quarters of an hour under sail, and not making any impression, ran in, and let go his anchor so close to the centre vessel as nearly to touch her: the Spaniards could stand this no longer, and, taking to their boats, fled, and left all the vessels to the victors, who brought them out in triumph, with only two men wounded in the Speedy, and one in the Defender. In October Captain Brenton went with his boats into a bay near Cape Trafalgar, where, under a heavy battery, and in defiance of the enemy, who lined the shore with musketry, he boarded and destroyed four Spanish merchantmen, and returned on board without any one in his boats being hurt.

The Speedy's next encounter with the enemy was in the Straits of Gibraltar, which she had entered with a convoy from Lisbon. The gun-boats from Algesiras came out to attack them. The captain of the Speedy allowed the enemy to approach as near as they thought proper: they had 13 boats with long 32-pounders, and were full of men. Reserving his fire so long, the spectators on the rock began to exclaim that he was failing in his duty; but in an instant the royals and studding-sails of the brig were taken in, and, passing through the midst of the gun-boats, so near as to carry away their oars, he poured in from either side such volleys of round and grape that the enemy fled in confusion, and the Speedy got safe into the bay with all her convoy.

Soon after this he had another brush with the gun-boats under the guns of Europa Point, and was nearly sunk, but escaped from them by the same bold manœuvres. The officer of the guard in the south fired one shot at the enemy, for which he was put under an arrest by the governor. The Speedy got into Tetuan, where she stopped her shot-holes, and the next day returned to Gibraltar Bay. The captain and crew were much out of humour with General O'Hara, the governor; but when Captain Brenton waited on him, his excellency thus ad-

dressed him:—"I conclude, Sir, you think I have treated you very ill, in not affording you assistance; but I have made arrangements with the Governor of Algesiras to prevent this town being kept in a constant alarm and annoyance by the Spanish gun-boats, which, in consequence, are never to be fired on from the rock: there is the copy of a letter which I have written to the Admiralty, and I most sincerely wish you may obtain your promotion." The letter was so handsomely worded that the captain could say nothing about the transaction of the preceding night, and shortly after was promoted to the rank of post-captain.

June 27. Lord Nelson acquainted Mr. Nepean with the British and Neapolitan forces being in possession of Naples, the castle of St. Elmo still holding out.

July 13. That castle also surrendered, after a siege of eight days; our heavy batteries were advanced within 180 yards of the ditch. Captain (afterward Sir Thomas) Trowbridge commanded the force landed from the squadron, assisted by Captain Ball; but the latter being detached to Malta, his place was supplied by Captain Hallowell. According to Lord Nelson's account of this affair, nothing could exceed the gallantry and good conduct of Sir Thomas Trowbridge, and the officers above named. The Portuguese marines served with ours on this enterprise.

The letter of Sir Thomas Trowbridge to Lord Nelson on this occasion is so concise as to give a very inadequate idea of the service performed, for a due appreciation of which it is necessary to know the local situation and strength of the castle of St. Elmo. Its reduction was owing to the great exertion of Trowbridge, and his colleagues in the Russian and Portuguese services, in bringing up the guns of a vast calibre, and planting them in the batteries, with a degree of celerity which at once astonished and confounded the French garrison. The Russians had declared it would take three months to reduce the castle. Trowbridge, with his seamen and marines, and a few Russian and Portuguese troops, took it in 14 days. The storming of this fortress by Sir Thomas Trowbridge was considered, and is to this day in the country where it took place, an extraordinary proof of British valour and skill. Indeed, to sum up in few words, the life and services of Trowbridge would fill an ample volume, which would at the same time immortalize the achievements of our navy, were this necessary, and would be no more than a just tribute to the memory of an officer who rose to his high rank by his own intrinsic merit alone.

On the 18th of July his Sicilian majesty hoisted his standard

on board the Foudroyant, in the bay of Naples. Lord Nelson was then on board of her, and commanded the British and Portuguese squadron.

On the 1st of August, 1799, Nelson acquainted the commander-in-chief that the whole of the Neapolitan kingdom had been cleared of the French troops. "This event," says his lordship, "has been brought about by the exertion of Trowbridge, and part of the crews of the ships of war. His own modesty (says Nelson) makes it my duty to state that to him alone is the chief merit due."

Captain Samuel Hood, with a garrison of seamen in Castel Nuovo, had for five weeks kept the city of Naples in peace, and it was observed that it had never been more quiet; and the kingdom, says Hood, was delivered from a band of robbers, for such had the French proved themselves. Capua and Gaeta surrendered to Trowbridge, who gives an account of his success to Lord Nelson in a letter, of which the following is nearly a copy:—

"I marched on the 20th instant, with the British and Portuguese troops, from Naples, and arrived at Caserta on the following morning, whence, after a little refreshment, I continued my march, and encamped near Capua. I had with me a body of Swiss under Colonel Tchudy, of Neapolitan cavalry under General Acton, and the different corps of infantry under General Boucard and Captain Gams.

"On the 22d a bridge of pontoons was thrown across the river; gun-boats and batteries were immediately established within 500 yards of the enemy's works; and on the 25th four 24-pounders, two howitzers, and two mortar batteries, opened on the town. The fire was returned from 11 pieces of cannon; but on the following day trenches were opened and new batteries began within a few yards of the glacis."

The enemy, on finding the sort of foes they had to contend with, capitulated, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

In this service Russian, Portuguese, Neapolitan, Swiss, and British, all served together, and Trowbridge conducted the whole, and gives credit to all. Thus fell the city of Capua. Captains Hallowell and Oswald served with Trowbridge. Gaeta surrendered upon rather easier terms. There were taken in the garrison of Capua 108 pieces of serviceable ordnance, from 24 to 4 pounders, ammunition, and small arms, 199 officers, and 2,600 non-commissioned and privates.

At Gaeta there were found 58 pieces of brass ordnance, from 24 to 18 pounders, and many guns of a smaller calibre, 13 mortars, and an immense quantity of warlike stores; 83

officers, 1,400 privates, besides rebels. Trowbridge still commanded the Culloden, to which ship he was very partial. Hallowell had the Swiftsure.

While the British navy was successfully employed against the common enemy, the armies of Austria and Russia were retaking from them the strong places in the Milanese, of which they had gained possession.

In July, 1799, the zealous co-operation between our naval commander-in-chief and the allied generals reduced the French to the necessity of abandoning all their conquests in Italy, and the sea-ports of the Mediterranean were glad to acknowledge the protection of Great Britain. Moreau's army was beaten on the Riviera of Genoa. The Tuscans took a position close to Leghorn; and the Austrians at the same time, with an increased force, threatened the invasion of Tuscany. In consequence of these successes the French general, Moreau, was glad to withdraw all his forces from the Tuscan territory, and not a French soldier was left in that country. The people rose *en masse* to assist the armies in ridding themselves of the French; and British cruisers were stationed off their ports, so as to prevent them taking away the plunder which they had obtained from the people, whom they pretended to relieve from the oppression of their tyrants.

August 16, 1799, Novi was taken by a combined movement of Austrians and Russians, under Field-marshals Kray and Bellegarde; Melas had also a brilliant share in the action. The French lost upwards of 4,000 men prisoners, with cannon; and the French general, Joubert, was killed.

The defence of the town of Acre forms a very particular feature in the history of the war in the Mediterranean. It is supposed to have disconcerted the views and intentions of Bonaparte, and to have induced him to return to Europe, which he did in August, 1799; and soon after by a masterly stroke he placed himself at the head of the revolutionary government.

The siege of Acre presents some wonderful instances of courage and desperation, and, like that of Alicant, will ever remain a monument of British valour. The operations of the campaign began in March. The Tigre, Captain Sir Sydney Smith, and the Theseus, Ralph Willet Miller, were moored near the town. The nature of the coast, and the fine anchorage of the bay, allowed the boats of the British squadron to approach the enemy's camp, and to give them great annoyance. The French kept up a heavy and almost incessant fire, and in the month of May made a fourth attempt to mount the breach, but in vain; and Sir Sydney lamented to see the blood of so brave an enemy uselessly sacrificed.

Captain David Wilmot, of the Alliance, was shot on the 8th of April, as he was employed mounting a howitzer; Colonel Philipeaux, of the engineers, died from fatigue and exposure to the heat of the sun. The enemy continued within pistol-shot of the walls notwithstanding the fire kept up from the ramparts. Major Oldfield, of the marines, was killed in a sortie; and the Turks revenged his death, according to their barbarous custom, by bringing in the heads of 60 Frenchmen.

In the month of May the French general had approached his batteries to within 10 yards of the Turkish ravelins, which he attacked for many nights successively, but was always repulsed with loss. A constant fire was kept up to make a breach; and nine times were the French led in to the storm, and as often beaten back with immense slaughter. The siege was one continued battle, interrupted only at short intervals by excessive fatigue on both sides. The spirits of the garrison were kept up by the expectation of a reinforcement, in which, fortunately, they were not disappointed. Miller, in the Theseus, had intercepted a convoy of French gun-boats, laden with cannon and ordnance stores, and had captured seven of them. This was a severe loss to the enemy.

Hassan Bey repaired to the relief of Acre by orders from Sir Sydney; and on the 51st day of this arduous siege the fleet of corvettes and transports, with his troops on board, made their appearance.

The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Bonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes of gaining possession of the town before the troops could land for its relief.

The efforts of the contending parties increased with the peril on the one side, and the hope of victory on the other. The redoubled fire of the French was answered by a British floating battery, which enfiladed their trenches; but they secured themselves from the effects of our shot in the day by the works which they threw up during the night. A brass 18-pounder in the light-house castle, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, a midshipman of the Theseus, and a party of seamen from that ship, and a 24-pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, gave the greatest annoyance to the enemy. These guns, being within the distance of grape-shot, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution. Two 68-pound carronades from the Tigre, mounted in flat boats, threw shells into the centre of the French column, which still advanced, and made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part of which had been beaten down, and its ruins falling in the ditch formed the acclivity by

which they mounted: daylight exposed to the besieged the extent of their danger.

The enemy's flag was seen flying on the outer angle of the tower: the fire of the town was much abated, that of the enemy still undiminished; and they had covered themselves from our flanking fire by two traverses in the ditch, composed of sand-bags and the bodies of their slain. This had been their night's work, and at daylight the points of their bayonets only were visible above the parapet.

At this moment the troops of Hassan Bey were in the boats, but not landed; Sir Sydney waited their arrival on the shore, and instantly led them into battle, greeted by the enthusiastic cheers of all the inhabitants of St. Jean d'Acre, who owed their safety to this timely reinforcement, animated and inspired by the presence of a British naval officer. The breach was defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missiles were large stones, with which they struck their assailants on the head, overthrowing the foremost down the slope, and impeding the progress of the rest. A succession of troops ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as breast-work for both; the muzzles of their muskets touching, and the spear-heads of their standards locked in each other. Djezzar Pacha, the governor of Acre, hearing the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket cartridges with his own hands. "This energetic old man coming behind," says Sir Sydney, "pulled us down, saying, if any harm happened to his English friends, all was lost."

The Pacha objected to admitting any troops but his Albanians into the garden of the Seraglio, now become a very important post; there were not above 200 of these men left out of 1,000. His scruples were, however, overcome by necessity; and the Chifflick regiment, of 1,000 strong, armed with bayonets, and disciplined after the European fashion, under the eye of the Sultan Selim, was admitted to the sacred asylum. This body of men had been placed by the Pacha under the immediate command of Sir Sydney, who now proposed to him to make a sally with them, and to take the enemy in flank. This was carried into effect, but failed with mutual loss. The gate of the town was protected by Mr. Bray, the carpenter of the Tigre, who had the command of the two 68-pounders. The breach was cleared, and those who had made a lodgment in the tower were destroyed by our hand-grenades. The enemy then began a new breach to the southward of the old one, and found the wall far more practicable.

Bonaparte and his generals now formed a semicircle on Richard Cœur de Lion's tower. The chief was very conspicuous, and by his gestures indicated another attack; he appeared only waiting for a reinforcement. The light ships of Hassan Bey were therefore stationed in the shoal water, and the Theseus and Tigre were placed to the northward.

A little before sunset a massive column appeared advancing with a solemn step. The Pacha had determined to admit them to a certain number within the wall, and to close with them according to the manner of the Turks.

The column mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a few minutes, the bravest amongst them fell by the sabre and the poniard of the Turks, one in each hand proving an overmatch for the bayonet. The enemy was thus compelled to retreat with great loss, leaving General Rombaud among the dead. Thus ended a contest which had lasted 24 hours; and on the 17th of May Bonaparte raised the siege of Acre, and returned to the banks of the Nile.

The deliberate murder of 1,300 unarmed men was an act, *however expedient*,* which an Englishman would not have conceived, nor an English army have executed; if to this we add that those victims were the peaceful inhabitants of a country unjustly invaded by France, the guilt and horror of the bloody deed recoil with irresistible gravity on the head of its author.

In the early part of the year 1799, the Spanish fleet showed some sparks of naval enterprise; and, taking advantage of the bad weather, which had driven our fleet from the blockade of Cadiz, they put to sea, and ran up the Mediterranean. Caught in a gale of wind, they soon became sensible of their incompetency to contend against the elements alone; many of them were dismasted, or lost at least their topmasts. A 74 put into Oran bay in the greatest confusion, her mainmast buried in her poop-deck, and, unable to furl her foresail, she let go her anchor, and brought up as she was. The Terpsichore, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain Wm. Hall Gage, and the Speedy brig, of 14 guns, were lying there, and at daylight the Spaniard cut his cable, and ran, pursued by the British vessels. It was the determination of Captain Gage to board her, one on each side; but, as the weather cleared up, they discovered the unwelcome presence of the Spanish fleet, which, though disabled, rendered the enterprise impracticable.

In the month of February Captain Wm. Moore, in the

* See "A Voice from St. Helena," in which these acts are confessed, and their justification attempted.

Transfer, a small brig of 14 guns, running with the mails from Lisbon to Gibraltar, was carrying despatches for the British blockading squadron off Cadiz; and, reaching that rendezvous before daybreak, discovered a squadron which he concluded to be British. Approaching with a confidence inspired by the stationary position of our fleet for two years before, he was far within gun-shot, when he saw by the dawn of day that he was in the midst of an enemy's fleet,—a Spanish squadron (with some valuable merchant ships), which had slipped out during the absence of our own. To attempt his escape by any sudden alteration of his course he well knew would have ensured his capture; he therefore hoisted American colours, and, steering for Cadiz, was suffered to pass unmolested. Not satisfied with this success, the daring officer boarded the sternmost vessel of the convoy, which proved to be richly laden; and the Spanish commander, concluding from the audacity of the deed that the British fleet was near, suffered the Transfer to take away her prize unmolested. From these instances we may reasonably infer that the Spaniards have no great talent for maritime achievement, and that their marine will never again be formidable to England. We must, however, in justice to them, mention a fact which proves equal good fortune, if not talent, in two Spanish officers. While our fleet lay before Cadiz in 1797 (the in-shore squadron almost within gun-shot of the light-house, the main body of the fleet about five miles off at anchor), two frigates came upon them in the night, and were reported to the captain of the flag-ship by the officer of the watch. They were supposed to be either friends or neutrals; and the Spanish captains were not sensible of their danger until, standing nearer to Cadiz, they learned from the fishing-boats that the British fleet was without them, and the advanced squadron within them. Not a moment was to be lost, and the time was well employed. They were loaded with treasure, which was instantly got on deck, put into the fishing-boats, and landed safely at Cadiz without suspicion. Daylight discovered the fortunate Spaniards after all their treasure was in safety. They were chased by Captain George Martin, in the Irresistible, of 74 guns, and the Emerald, of 36 guns. They ran into the bay of Conil, near Cape Trafalgar, where they anchored. After an action of one hour and a half they surrendered to our ships. They proved to be the Elena and Nymfa, of 36 guns each, and 320 men, from the Havanna, bound to Cadiz. The Elena, having received much damage by striking the rocks, sunk after our people had taken possession of her; the Nymfa was brought out.

In July, 1799, the Spanish fleet at Carthagena was joined

by the French, making the tremendous amount of 48 sail of the line. They appeared off Gibraltar, where Lord St. Vincent was then lying in the Argo, of 44 guns (the only ship in the bay), ready to sail for England. His lordship instantly despatched a cutter, under the orders of Lieutenant Frederick Lewis Maitland, his flag-lieutenant (the same officer who, at a subsequent period, commanded the Bellerophon on a memorable occasion, and now Rear-admiral Sir F., and second in command at Portsmouth), to reconnoitre the enemy. The cutter had on board a sum of money intended for Minorca, which it was not deemed advisable to remove, under the pressing urgency for her immediate departure. Anxious to gain the most accurate information, he approached so near the hostile fleet that the enemy chased and captured the vessel. When the British sailors found there was no chance of escape, they made an attempt to plunder the treasure, which Maitland most honourably and successfully resisted, alleging that, as public property, it was the lawful prize of the captors. I hold this up as an example of national character worthy of imitation, and wish I could give *one* similar instance of honour and integrity among our numerous enemies. I have already described the successful retreat of this immense fleet to Brest, pursued by Lord Keith.

An unfortunate accident at the siege of Acre disabled the Theseus, and deprived Great Britain of one of "the bravest of the brave." Captain Ralph Willet Miller, with many of his crew, was killed on board his own ship by the bursting of some shells, which were very imprudently laid on the quarter-deck, and set on fire by a young midshipman, who amused himself driving the fuses with a mallet and a nail. The ship was on fire in five places; but, by the exertion of the officers and men, she was saved. Besides her gallant and lamented captain, 80 men were killed and wounded.

Bonaparte, in August 1799, privately embarked on board the Carrere, French frigate, at Alexandria; and having (by a letter which he left behind him) appointed Kleber his successor, set sail for Corsica, which he reached on the 17th of September, after narrowly escaping capture by the British cruisers, and landed safely in Frejus bay on the 7th of October following.

## CHAPTER XXX.

Return of Bonaparte to Paris — A great epoch — His prudence and moderation—Threatens invasion—His letter to the King of England—Conduct to the Senate of Hamburg—Meeting of Parliament—Discussions on the subject of peace—Insincerity of Bonaparte—Speeches of Lord Grenville, Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland—In the Commons, of Mr. Dundas—La Vendée again in arms—Gallant attack of Mr. Coghlan on a French gun-brig—Sir Edward Pellew and General Maitland in the Morbihan—Ferrol expedition—Sir J. Warren and Sir James Pulteney—Vigo—Cadiz—Letter of Morla, the governor, to Lord Keith—Observations — Loss of the Marlborough—Repulse—Union between England and Ireland—Mutiny on board the Danaë—Coast of Guinea—Sir Charles Hamilton—Desperate attack on the Chevrette—Non-recoil guns—Gallant action of Lieutenant Matthew Smith — Miscellaneous — Change of ministry—Admiral Cornwallis commands Channel fleet—Lord St. Vincent first lord of the Admiralty —Negotiation for peace, and prosecution of the war.

The return of General Bonaparte from Egypt may be considered as the grand concluding event of the 18th century. He entered Paris, and changed the government of the country, wresting it from the corrupt hands of the Directory and the Councils; and, assuming the consular dignity, he gave law to the Continent, and peace to France. Having gained the army to his purpose, he had no difficulty in convincing the nation of the justice of his conduct. The troubles in La Vendée he appeased by conciliation; and, pursuing a course directly contrary to that of Robespierre and the Convention, obtained more by clemency than they had done by the sacrifice of half a million of lives, and the desolation of the fruitful provinces of the west. He established the toleration of religious worship of all persuasions, while that of the majority remained essentially Roman Catholic. He abolished the law of hostages, by which the inhabitants of a district had been made answerable for each other; and the odious law of forced loans; thus adding to his popularity. He next turned his attention to the improvement of commerce. The system upon which France had acted with respect to neutrals was acknowledged to be defective. The seizure of American vessels, and their unjust confiscation, have been already stated. Bonaparte, with more sense, if not

more honesty than his predecessors in office, saw that the system of terror which they had pursued would drive commerce from his ports; that the abundant produce of the soil of France must remain without purchasers, while she languished in vain for the luxuries of colonial growth. The system of privateering had, under the Directory, become piracy, acknowledging no law but that of the strongest; the best authenticated documents had hitherto been unavailing, and the judges of their vice-admiralty inexorable to any other argument than that of bribery.

Bonaparte either really was, or meant to be, the friend of France; but he was the bitter and implacable enemy of England. Scarcely seated in the consular chair, he addressed himself to the powerful princes of the North; and, by an appeal to their pride and their selfishness, he succeeded in detaching from our cause the Emperor of Russia, and forming another armed neutrality. Suvaroff had received a severe check at Zurich, in Switzerland; and the armies of the republic, after their reverses in Italy and on the Rhine, began to regain their former character, which, during the absence of their favourite leader in Egypt, had suffered a considerable eclipse.

One of the first acts of Bonaparte after his return to the capital was to renew the threat of invasion, and General Hedouville was insultingly named commander-in-chief of the "*Army of England;*" a term which he well knew would excite a ferment of indignation or discontent in the country, advantageous to himself and his plans. To repel such an attack must cost us vast sums in preparing and maintaining large fleets in constant service in the British Channel, in the North Seas, and in the Bay of Biscay; or, as we might justly say, from Toulon to Copenhagen. After this menace, real or affected, how could Bonaparte expect us to believe that he was sincerely desirous of peace? Yet that such were his pretended views, the following letter to the King of England will show:—

Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty.

The war, which, for eight years, has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their independence requires, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty,

who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of making it happy.

Your Majesty will see in this overture only my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for a second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove, in those which are strong, only the mutual desire of deceiving one another.

France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortunes of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted ; but I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations depends on the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

It is difficult for men in high situations to be at all times consistent. This was the misfortune of Bonaparte. The senate of Hamburg had incurred his displeasure for giving up, in consequence of the united threats of the Emperor of Russia and the King of England, Napper Tandy and his accomplice to the British Government. Bonaparte reproached them with cowardice, in the violation of hospitality. "The two unfortunate persons whom you have given up will die illustrious ; but their blood will be a greater source of evil to their persecutors than could be brought upon them by a whole army." This might have done very well, had it not been followed by an order to the same weak and defenceless city to deliver up the editors of the *Censeur*, a paper published at Hamburg, and circulated through the north of Germany. But Napper Tandy was the enemy of England; Bonaparte the enemy of the liberty of the press. The innocent inhabitants of a free city were forcibly dragged from their homes by the same hand which had condemned it to blockade for having delivered up two convicted traitors, whom they had not power to retain. Hamburg escaped with a heavy contribution,—the usual mode of compounding offences against the French republic.

On the meeting of Parliament, January 21, 1800, the proposals for peace were agreed to be taken into consideration on an early day, after which Lord Grenville briefly adverted to the accommodation of the Russian auxiliary troops in his Majesty's European dominions during the winter months; they were quartered at Guernsey and Jersey. These were the soldiers who had served in Holland in the preceding year.

Friendly as I ever have been to peace, I cannot help coinciding in opinion with Lord Grenville, who declared in the House of Lords, "that however desirous the First Consul might be to give that blessing to the world, it was only to answer a sinister view, which could not be effected during a

war. The ports of France, his lordship observed, were in strict blockade; whenever any acts of atrocity were in contemplation by the French, they were usually preceded by a suspension of arms." The proposed negotiation would relieve France from numerous and alarming difficulties; their ports would be thrown open; supplies of naval stores would replenish their exhausted arsenals; fleets would be sent to bring back troops, which were now deprived of all intercourse with the republic; in short, France would derive every benefit from the negotiation, while England would be left as she then stood; and his lordship concluded his able speech by quoting that of Mongé in the committee of elders, who had declared, speaking in the name of Bonaparte, "that the French republic and England could not exist together." His lordship's arguments were answered with much force and ability by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland. The address was, however, carried by a majority of 79 to 6.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Dundas founded "his objections to a peace with France, on the decree of the 19th of November, 1793, which he said had never been rescinded or palliated; a decree which went at once to excite every country against its legitimate government. His conduct to Hamburg, Spain, Portugal, to the Cisalpine republic, to Naples, Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, and Sardinia—in these instances the conduct of France was the conduct of Bonaparte. He entered the state of Venice under the faith of a proclamation, in which he avowed that his sole object was to protect it from falling into the hands of the house of Austria, and ended by dissolving its government, and handing the Venetian states over to the Emperor." He briefly enumerated his violation of every principle of honour as well as neutrality in his conduct to the Cisalpine republic; his invasion of Malta and Egypt, the possession of the Porte, the firm and faithful ally of France. His last act in that country was to send a letter to the Grand Vizier, saying, that he had only to desire it, and he (Bonaparte) would instantly withdraw his army; while at the same moment his instructions to Kleber were, not to evacuate the country until a general peace, that he might still have a chance of returning to renew his favourite project.

That peace was desirable to England we admit, but that it was unattainable from the French Government of 1800 we know to be true; and nothing but his desire of restoring to France "her ships, commerce, and colonies," and reorganizing his marine, would have induced Bonaparte, in the following year, to consent to the suspension of arms, or what was called the peace of Amiens.

In January, 1800, the troubles of La Vendée and Bretagne were not entirely appeased by the moderation of Bonaparte. Some of the insurgent chiefs still kept up a correspondence with England, whence they obtained some military stores and four field-pieces, with a large sum of money. A body of 10,000 Chouans received these supplies near Muzillac, a small village at the mouth of the Villaine. Attacked by a body of republicans from Vannes, they contended with them, and finally secured their prize, with the loss of about 200 killed and wounded. This disposition of the royalists, it will be seen, was supported by the British Government, which could have no reason to complain of the conduct of France towards Ireland, when it fostered a cause equally hopeless in La Vendée. The royalists still kept partially in arms, but effected nothing in the neighbourhood of the Morbihan, where the British forces had landed.

An action, singularly daring even in the annals of the British navy, was performed in April by Mr. Coghlan, a youth who had not long entered the navy, and was brought forward by Sir Edward Pellew. He commanded the Viper cutter, stationed to watch Port Louis, where a strong squadron of the enemy was lying. Having obtained from Sir Edward the assistance of a 10-oared boat, with picked men, he took with him Mr. Silas Paddon, a midshipman, and six of his own men, directing the boats of the Amethyst and Viper to follow him, but neither of these came into action.

The object of his attack was a gun-brig, the advance of the enemy, mounting three long 24-pounders and four 6-pounders, moored within pistol-shot of three batteries, surrounded by armed vessels, and within a mile of a French 74 and two frigates. With 20 men only in his 10-oared cutter, he boarded the brig on the quarter, and, it being dark, jumped into a trawl-net which was hanging to dry. Pierced through the thigh with a pike, knocked down into his boat, and several of his men wounded, Mr. Coghlan rallied them, hauled his boat farther a-head, and again boarded on the bow. Here a most determined conflict ensued, in which every French officer was either killed or wounded, and the vessel, with 87 people on board, was captured and brought out to the squadron. The enemy had 6 killed and 20 wounded: Coghlan lost but one man killed; himself, Mr. Paddon, and six men, were wounded. The vessel was called La Cerbère, and was given up entirely to the captors. Mr. Coghlan was presented by the Earl of St. Vincent with an elegant sword, and rapidly advanced to the rank of post-captain.

In June Sir Edward Pellew, in the Impétueux, had a flying squadron, on board of which was embarked General Maitland,

with a small body of troops; and on the 4th, the forts on the south point of the peninsula of Quiberon were silenced by the fire from our ships, and a party of soldiers landed under the command of Major Ramsay. The guns were destroyed, and several vessels brought off. On the morning of the 6th, before daybreak, 300 of the Queen's regiment landed in the Morbihan. The gun-launches and boats of the squadron, under the command of Lieutenant Pilford, of the Impétueux, attacked the little harbour of that place, brought out some merchantmen, took 100 prisoners, and burnt a corvette-brig of 18 guns, called L'Insolente. Our loss on this service was too trifling to mention; but the state of alarm and irritation kept up on the French coast was such as to make their Government and the war very unpopular. An attack was meditated on the island of Belleisle; but on examination it appeared that the force of the enemy was much too great, and the attempt was abandoned.

In the spring of the year 1800 a large body of land-forces was embarked on board a squadron of ships of war and transports, under the orders of Sir J. B. Warren; the troops were commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney. This armament was in the first instance sent to Quiberon Bay and Belleisle, where it was supposed the royalists had again made an effort in the cause of the Bourbons. In that quarter nothing could be effected; and Sir John, having taken Sir Edward Pellew under his orders, steered for Ferrol, which they reached on the 25th of August. The troops were immediately landed, with 16 pieces of artillery, in a small bay near Cape Prior; the seamen under the command of Sir Edward Pellew had the charge of disembarking the guns. The troops ascended the hills, and the rifle corps drove back a party of the enemy. On the following morning a considerable body of troops was defeated by Lord Cavan's brigade, so that our army had complete possession of the heights which overlook the town and arsenal of Ferrol. From this position the British general, whose words I copy, "had an opportunity of observing minutely the situation of the place, and of forming, from the reports of prisoners, an idea of the strength of the enemy. When comparing the difficulties which presented themselves, and the risk attendant on failure on the one hand, with the prospect of success and the advantage to be derived from it on the other, I came to the determination of re-embarking the troops, in order to proceed without delay on my farther destination. The embarkation was effected the same evening, in perfect order, and without loss of any kind." The place was as completely in our power as Gibraltar: they had taken the heights above the town, and the authorities had come out to deliver up the keys; they

had defeated the enemy; they had 16 pieces of artillery on shore, and might have had any number; when, with all these advantages, the general retreated, for reasons which he was not then at liberty to divulge; and we may lament, as nothing was intended to be done, that our army ever landed.

From Ferrol they went to Vigo, where the boats of the Renown and Courageux, under the command of Lieutenant Burke, cut out the French brig of war La Guêpe, of 18 guns, in the attack and defence of which greater valour was never displayed. The forces having only made a demonstration at this place, sailed for Gibraltar, where they formed a junction with those under the command of Lord Keith and General Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and although the season for military operation was nearly gone by, on the 3d of October his lordship sailed with 22 ships of the line, 27 frigates, 10 sloops of war, and 80 transports, having on board 18,000 men, for the bay of Cadiz, where he came to an anchor on the 4th, and summoned the town to surrender. This unfortunate place had a far more terrible enemy to contend with than the fleets and armies of Britain. The yellow fever, with greater malignancy than ever was known in the West Indies, carried off its inhabitants by hundreds; and Don Thomas de Morla, the governor, pleaded the cause of his people with so much eloquence, that the enterprise was abandoned, and the fleet returned to Gibraltar. The object of Lord Keith was to gain possession of the Spanish fleet in the harbour, which might have been executed with little difficulty, and, humanely judging that the attainment would not compensate for the loss of life in his forces by the fatal epidemic, he desisted. The following is Morla's letter to the British commander on the occasion. I regret to think how much the subsequent conduct of the man was at variance with the noble spirit that breathes in his statement:—

The affliction which carries off in this city and its environs thousands of victims, and which threatens not to suspend its ravages till it has cut off all who have hitherto escaped, being calculated to excite compassion, it is with surprise that I see the squadron, under the command of your Excellency, come to augment the consternation of the inhabitants. I have too exalted an opinion of the humanity of the English people, and of yours in particular, to think that you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if, in consequence of the orders your Excellency has received, you are inclined to draw down upon yourself the execration of all nations, to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence, I declare to you that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with serene countenance, and to

brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to make resistance, which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope that the answer of your Excellency will inform me whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and revenge.

May God preserve your Excellency!

T. DE MORLA.

*Oct.* 5, 1800.

Having followed this armament, under Sir James Pulteney and Sir John Warren, from Quiberon Bay to Gibraltar, and seen it retreat from four places without an effort to effect any annoyance of the enemy, it might reasonably be inquired why the British Government, after having gone to such vast expense, should have lost the six summer months in fruitless displays of strength which it never intended to bring into action? To this it is answered, that the great object was to distract the attention of the French Government, by having a large disposable force ready to strike a blow when least expected. The armies of France, under the victorious chief consul, were regaining the conquests which they had lost in the preceding year. Italy and the Rhine saw them take the strongest fortresses; and Great Britain, unable to meet them in those fields of glory, was compelled to have recourse to the less noble warfare of false alarm.

The officers intrusted with the command of our forces on these occasions had, it must be owned, an unpleasant duty to perform, and exposed their reputation to unmerited censure. The expedition to Ferrol was the subject of parliamentary inquiry, and the conduct of Sir James Pulteney severely criticised. The result however was, that the whole was declared by ministers to be a *ruse de guerre*, and that the object of the expedition was of a far more distant and important nature. If it were really so, the reputation of Sir James Pulteney was completely sacrificed to it; and officers who choose to risk their characters on such expeditions must take the consequences.

November 4th, the Captain of 74 guns, Sir Richard Strachan, and the Marlborough of 74, Captain Sotheby, were cruising between the islands of Groix and Belleisle, when, during the night, the Marlborough struck on a reef of rocks called the Birvideaux, a little to the northward of the island. Some of the guns and heavy stores were thrown overboard, and she lay aground many hours, but by great exertion was at length got off; she had, however, sustained so much damage, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be kept afloat till the

people were taken out. This was happily accomplished by the good management of Sir Richard Strachan, assisted by a Danish brig, after which the ship sunk at her anchors. Captain Sotheby was honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial.

The Repulse, of 64 guns, was lost upon the Penmarks, in a manner which reflected much disgrace upon the officers. The captain was confined to his bed, and the first lieutenant and master, deviating from their orders, ran the ship on shore. The lives of the crew were saved, but all were made prisoners. Both lieutenant and master were broke, and the latter imprisoned for two years in the Marshalsea. The court found great fault with the other officers for not having kept a reckoning. Let me earnestly impress on my young naval readers the necessity of a constant attention to the log-books and reckonings: many a ship and many lives have been sacrificed by neglect in this department; many have also been as unexpectedly snatched from destruction by the timely vigilance of a young but acute observer, whose promotion is generally the reward of such merit.

January 1st, 1801, the union between Great Britain and Ireland was proclaimed and confirmed by Act of Parliament. The day was celebrated by every demonstration of joy and loyalty throughout the empire; and from that period the turbulence of the united Irishmen gradually subsided in the navy. A very large promotion of flag-officers took place. The new standard of the empire was displayed at the mast-head of the Royal William, the flag-ship at Spithead; it blew excessively hard, and the beautiful flag was rent to atoms soon after it was hoisted. This among weak people was considered an ill omen. The new union-flag was first hoisted on this occasion, the cross of St. Patrick being introduced in red upon that of St. Andrew, which is white; both of these are diagonal, that of St. George being red and rectangular.

On the 15th of March another instance of mutiny occurred off Brest, similar to that of the Hermione, except in the treatment of the officers, none of whom lost their lives. The Danaë, of 20 guns, Captain Lord Proby, having chased a French convoy near the shore, part of the crew rose, seized the quarter-deck, by which they commanded the hatchways, and having overcome all resistance, ran into Camaret Bay, and surrendered to the French corvette La Colombe; an officer from which coming on board, Lord Proby acknowledged himself and his officers prisoners. Both vessels soon after arrived at Brest, where his lordship was treated with much kindness and hospitality by the French admiral, and soon after returned to

England on his parole. Many of the mutineers were afterward taken and executed.

Captain Sir Charles Hamilton, the senior officer on the coast of Africa, distinguished himself by his numerous attacks on the settlements of the enemy. The boats of his ship cut out and destroyed a French privateer, of 18 guns and 60 men. This capture, however, was not effected without the loss of two very gallant officers, Lieutenant Palmer, of the navy, and Vivion, of the marines, with eight men. The vessel grounded in coming out of the river, and was abandoned, being a perfect wreck. Lieutenant Dick, who commanded on this occasion, showed the greatest coolness and good conduct, encountering a tremendous surf under the fire of the enemy.

A gallant, desperate, and useless enterprise was undertaken off Ushant by Captain C. Brisbane, with the boats of the fleet, to cut out a French vessel under the batteries of Camaret Bay. The boats of the Doris, the Uranie, and Beaulieu, manned with volunteers, succeeded in boarding and bringing out the French corvette La Chevrette, of 20 guns, manned with 350 men, seamen and soldiers, and completely prepared. The combined fleets of France and Spain were the witnesses to this daring exploit. The ship was indeed taken, but at an expense of lives far above the value of the object gained. The enemy's loss was two lieutenants, three midshipmen, one officer of troops, and 85 seamen and troops killed; one lieutenant, four midshipmen, 57 seamen and troops wounded. Our loss, independently of some valuable officers, was much greater than ever was acknowledged; and the prize, being old and rotten, was broken up, and destroyed when taken into Plymouth.

How much is naval warfare changed since the days of Hawke! whose greatest glory was the pursuit of the enemy upon their own coast. It was at that time an almost invariable custom to tack and stand off the moment the French land was discovered. In 1800 Lord St. Vincent anchored his fleet off the Black rocks in 70 fathoms water, while his squadrons, under Sir James Saumarez and other officers, occupied the anchorage of Douarrinez Bay, the Glenan Islands, Quiberon, Isle D'Yeu, and Basque Roads.

Carronade guns, upon the non-recoil system, were now coming into fashion. The Milbrook schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Matthew Smith, was fitted with them, and fought a very gallant action. This vessel, which had 18 guns, and 45 men, fell in off the bar of Oporto with a French ship privateer, of 36 guns, which she could not take, but disabled her in such a manner as entirely to prevent her annoying the convoy of which she had charge. The Milbrook was too

much disabled to pursue her enemy; it proved afterward that she was La Bellone, of 36 guns, and 320 men, 60 of whom were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Smith was deservedly promoted to the rank of commander and post-captain.

The mode of using these guns was at that period thought to possess great advantages; but experience has decided against them in the navy, though they are still used in the merchant service. They are thought to destroy the upper works, to break their breechings, and to dismount themselves, besides exposing the men outside of the bulwarks in re-loading.

After the conclusion of the great national compact, the union between Great Britain and Ireland, the question of Catholic Emancipation was brought before Parliament. That Mr. Pitt and his friends were favourable to farther indulgences to that body is well known, and that the king was averse to any measure of the kind. This difference of opinion in the cabinet was made the ostensible cause of the change of ministry: but there was great reason to think that Mr. Pitt and his friends now saw the necessity of a peace, if only as a measure of experiment; and as they could not, after their former acts and declarations, enter into negotiations, and preserve the consistency of their political characters, they resigned the reins of government into the hands of Mr. Addington, the speaker of the House of Commons, who composed a ministry out of both parties. Admiral Cornwallis was sent to relieve Earl St. Vincent in the command of the Channel fleet; and his lordship, though a staunch Whig, became First Lord of the Admiralty.

Negotiations for peace were almost immediately commenced, in which both the great leaders in the House sincerely concurred, from a conviction of its absolute necessity; but while they were thus employed, the business of war was not suffered to relax; and the year 1801 was the most memorable for the greatest and bloodiest land and sea-fights that till then had been fought between the contending powers.

In the month of July the British Government, with the consent of that of Portugal, took temporary possession of the island of Madeira, which it held until the peace of Amiens.

The blockade of Brest, and the whole of the enemy's ports, continued with unremitting vigilance and equal success. A squadron of observation, under Rear-admirals Sir James Saumarez and Thornborough, anchored off the Black rocks; Sir Edward Pellew blocked up Rochefort, while a chain of frigates, from Brest to Ferrol, guarded the entrance, and intercepted the trade of every port in the semicircle of the Bay of Biscay.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Disastrous attack on the island of Elba—Blockade of Malta—Capture of Le Généreux—Nelson dissatisfied returns through Germany to England—Captain Ball takes corn-vessels by force from the port of Messina—Loss of the Queen Charlotte by fire—Noble conduct of Captain Todd and Lieutenant Bainbridge—Siege of Genoa—The black flag respected—Surrender of Savanna to the English—Battle of Marengo—Capitulation of Genoa—Capture of the Guillaume Tell—Death of Admiral Decres — Gallant and successful enterprise of Captain Hillyar at Barcelona—Surrender of Malta—Proposal of Bonaparte to exchange it with England for the island of Lampedosa.

While the armies of the republic were regaining what they had lost in Italy, the little island of Elba was the scene of the most brilliant valour and obstinate contention. This island is eight miles long, and two broad. A small number of English, driven from the dominions of Tuscany, in October 1800, took refuge at Porto Ferrajo, headed by Mr. Isaac Grant, the British vice-consul. They formed the resolution of defending themselves from the attacks of the French. The enthusiasm against Gallic tyranny and rapacity communicated itself even to the women, who took up arms to assist in the extirpation of the enemy. Three hundred soldiers were thrown into the place from the British squadron, under Sir J. B. Warren, and a body of Corsicans and Neapolitans raised the number of men in the garrison to 1,500. The town was invested on the land side by 5,000 French troops, and, batteries being erected, it was exposed to all the horrors of a bombardment. In a sally, Mr. Grant succeeded in destroying the principal works of the enemy; but these were soon replaced by others equally strong. Sir John Warren detached seven sail of the line and three frigates, with some troops, from before Toulon, to defend this island; the enemy having possession of the posts, commanding the harbour of Porto Ferrajo, our ships could not enter, but landed the troops and seamen, to the number of 3,000, in different parts, as near to the principal post as possible.

Attacked in their advance from the beach, by the French general, Martin, they were defeated with the loss of 800 killed and wounded, and about 200 taken prisoners: the English frigates, which had entered the harbour, while our troops

temporarily occupied the batteries, were compelled to retreat with loss and disorder. A simultaneous attack in the port o Marcana was equally unsuccessful. By the treaty of Luneville, Elba, which belonged jointly to Tuscany and Naples, was ceded by both those powers to France; the King of Naples receiving the principality of Piombino (the property of Tuscany) in compensation. The cession of this island was confirmed to France, at the peace of Amiens.

The blockade of Malta, and the siege of Valette, still continued; and such was the vigilance of the British cruisers that the wants of the French became daily more pressing. A squadron, consisting of the Généreux, of 74 guns, two frigates, and a store-ship, having on board 4,000 troops, and a vast quantity of provisions, sailed from Toulon, with a view to relieve the garrison. Lord Keith, aware of their approach, disposed his ships accordingly. Lord Nelson in the Foudroyant, of 80 guns, with the Alexander, Audacious, and Northumberland, seventy-fours, and the Lion, of 64 guns, Success frigate, and El Corso brig, fell in with them on the 18th of February, when the Généreux, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Perée, struck to the Alexander after little resistance, and the store-ship was also taken: the frigates escaped.

In this action, although the enemy were compelled to submit to superior numbers, we must not omit to do justice to the gallant conduct of Captain Peard, in the Success frigate of 32 guns. This I mention, not only as an act of judicious valour, but to show how much may be done by frigates similarly situated; and it is strongly recommended to young officers, intrusted with such enviable commands, to study the models placed before them in the captures of the Généreux and the Guillaume Tell, which were principally effected by the bravery, coolness, and presence of mind of two captains of frigates, Peard and Blackwood. I say this without meaning, however, to detract from the merit of Lieutenant Harrington of the Alexander. In the course of the chase, Peard, crossing the Généreux on opposite tacks, passed as near to her as he could; and gave his broadsides, receiving those of his tremendous enemy. By this fire of the Success, the French admiral was killed, and his ship thrown into a confusion from which she could not recover, and which was one great cause of her capture. Such exploits as these, and the actors in them, should never be forgotten, and never go unrewarded.* Without the honour of being personally known

* When it came to Peard's turn to be promoted to the rank of a flag-officer, he was passed over, because he had not commanded a ship since a certain period; but he was subsequently restored to his rank by his present Majesty, then Lord High Admiral.

to Admiral Peard, I most cheerfully pay this humble tribute to valour and nautical skill, united to the most unblemished private character.

The capture of the Généreux led to the surrender of Malta, and was the last act performed by Nelson in the Mediterranean before the peace of Amiens. Dissatisfied with the policy of the Italian princes, and the appointment of Sir Sydney Smith, with a broad pendant, Nelson had long been discontented with his situation: the letters of Lord St. Vincent show that he was with difficulty prevented from resigning in the preceding year. Malta, after the landing of Captain Ball, and the surrender of Goza, had been declared part of the Sicilian dominions; yet, though in a state of famine, while Sicily, the "granary of the world," was in abundance, the Government denied the exportation of its corn to the loyal Maltese and their faithful British allies. Captain Ball, one of the brightest of our naval characters, partaking of the indignation of Nelson and Trowbridge, sent Lieutenant Harrington, in the Alexander, with orders to bring out from the port of Messina a certain number of vessels loaded with grain. This manly and decided conduct relieved the wants of Malta; and the court of Palermo or Naples did not venture to remonstrate on this act of justifiable violence. Brydone, in his tour, makes some very judicious remarks on this base practice of the Italian States, a practice which had been observed from the time the island was first ceded to the knights in the middle of the 15th century.

The arrival of Lord Keith in the Mediterranean, as commander-in-chief, in the year 1800, completed the mortification of Nelson, who considered himself the rightful successor of Lord St. Vincent. He preferred returning home by land, and pursued his journey in the spring from Leghorn to Vienna. The towns of the continent, uncontaminated by the presence of the French armies, vied with each other in showing honour to the hero of the Nile. He embarked in the Elbe, and landed at North Yarmouth, where he was received by his countrymen with the highest marks of admiration and esteem; and, on his arrival in London, his Majesty and the Government heaped on him every honour and kindness which his heroic deeds deserved.

While Lord Keith, in the month of March, was on shore at Leghorn concerting with the allies for the prosecution of the campaign, he sent Captain Todd, in the Queen Charlotte, to reconnoitre the island of Cabrera. On the 17th, at six o'clock in the morning, the ship, when about four leagues from Leghorn, took fire under the half-deck, by some loose hay, as it was supposed, being accidentally thrown upon a match-tub;

for, although gun-locks were at that time in general use in the navy, every ship kept a lighted match during the night in a tub, under the care of the sentinel at the cabin-door.

The flames soon spread to the mast, catching the mainsail, which was at that time unfortunately set. The ship, in a few minutes, was in a blaze from the mainmast aft; the middle and lower decks and the forecastle only affording any space for exertion. All that prudence and fortitude could achieve was done by Captain Todd, and every officer and man in the ship, but in vain. Lord Keith was a spectator of the dreadful scene, and sent off every boat and vessel he could command to the relief of his unfortunate crew, of whom only 167 were saved out of 840. The last part of the ship which took fire was the forecastle, where the men having collected, jumped overboard and swam to the surrounding boats, some of which were kept at a great distance through fear of the guns, as they heated and discharged among them. The surviving officers and men were honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial; and we should have hoped, that the bravery, perseverance, and self-devotion of Captain Todd and Lieutenant Bainbridge, who to the last moment gave orders to save the lives of men, regardless of their own, would have secured their memory from the imputations cast on them by a contemporary historian,* who observes, that "the accident was not very creditable to the discipline of the ship." Every ship, however well regulated and conducted, is liable to these misfortunes; and when it is recollected that a vessel of war is one mass of combustible materials, we are only astonished that they do not occur more frequently.

If the Earl of Sandwich, or Captain Douglas,† deserved immortality for perishing in the flames of their own ships, why should the same honour be denied to the memory of the gallant Captain Todd and Lieutenant Bainbridge, who fell at their posts, freely sacrificing their own lives to save the crew and preserve their ship?

Lord Keith, after this fatal event, had his flag in the Audacious and Minotaur, and on the return of Nelson to England in May, shifted it to the Foudroyant.

The siege of Genoa, which in April had been invested by the combined forces of Britain and Austria, was conducted with extraordinary skill, and crowned with complete success, after the unfortunate inhabitants had been made to endure every species of privation, and to live on aliment the most abhorrent

* Mr. James's Naval History, vol. ii., p. 504, First Edition.

† See Redhead Yorke's Naval History, vol. ii., pp. 374, 391; also Burchett.

to our nature. The annals of war do not furnish a more perfect instance of military discipline and devotion to the cause of one's country, than that which is to be found in the history of this siege. The Austrian forces, which formed the semicircular blockade on the land side, were commanded by Lieutenant-general Count D'Ott; the British fleet, under Lord Keith, prevented any supply reaching the garrison; while the frigates, sloops, and gun-boats, carried their fire to the very walls of the town, and completed the misery of the wretched people. Famine began to make the most horrible ravages; and disease, its constant attendant, mercifully relieved the victims from intolerable suffering. The women and children were ordered to quit the town, but the cruel policy of war forbade it; and the helpless wretches were compelled to return to scenes of desolation and horror. The black flag displayed on the hospitals and houses appointed for the reception of the sick and wounded, guided the artillery in respecting those asylums of woe; the only indulgence that could be shown to the most complicated misery.

On the 29th of April, it having been agreed between Lord Keith and the general, Count D'Ott, that a combined attack should be made on all sides of the city, it was begun at three o'clock in the morning on the 30th. The Phœnix, Captain (L. W.) Halsted, of 36 guns, Mondovi, Entreprenante, and the launches of the squadron, supported a column of Austrians, who pressed the enemy under the walls of the town on the sea-shore. General Ott took Diu Fratelli by escalade, and blocked up Diamonti on the side of St. Martino. The French, who from the fire of our squadron in the daytime dared not follow the Austrians, regained in the evening all their posts, with the loss of about 1,500 men.

On the 2d of May they made a desperate sortie, and repeatedly advanced to the very muzzles of our guns; nor did they retire till they had lost 1,200 men, 300 of whom were made prisoners.

Captain James Nichol Morris, of the Phaeton, took 20 sail of vessels loaded with corn, and seized a large dépôt of arms; he also galled the enemy's rear through several miles of their retreat along the sea-shore.

The French burnt their magazines at Alassio, and retired to Port Maurice.

On the 6th of May, the Colde Tende, a strong post, was carried by storm, as well as many other places included in the general plan of attack. The enemy, compelled to retreat towards Nice, were pursued along the coast by the British vessels, whose fire contributed to accelerate their flight: they were forced to evacuate the territory of Genoa, with the excep-

tion of that city and Savona. The French general, Suchet, with his shattered army, passed the Var, and the Austrians took possession of Nice.

On the 15th Savona surrendered, and the troops in the garrison became prisoners of war. The reduction of this important place was owing, in a great measure, to the vigilance of the British squadron, which prevented any supplies being thrown in. Our boats, with those of the Neapolitans, rowed guard 41 nights. The blockade was conducted by Captain Hugh Downman, in the Santa Dorothea, of 36 guns. This officer signed the capitulation, and the garrison, which consisted of 800 men, was sent to France.

Bonaparte, deeply anxious to save Genoa, left nothing undone that could be achieved by the most consummate skill of a general, and the most undaunted valour of the finest army in the world. This he separated into four divisions; the first of which he commanded in person, and effected the famous passage of Mount St. Bernard; the second, third, and fourth divisions proceeded by Mount Cenis, St. Gothard, and the Simplon; and the whole prepared to meet in the plains of Lombardy, and dispute with the Austrians, not only for the kingdom of Italy, but for the German empire.

The mode adopted by Bonaparte to transport his heavy artillery over the snowy surface of the Alps was both novel and ingenious. He caused the guns to be dismounted and placed in the hollow trunks of large trees, scooped out and prepared for the purpose. By this means he transported them with ease and expedition from hill to hill, and through the deepest ravines; surmounting the most stupendous rocks, and taking fortresses, deemed till then impregnable. He appeared before Milan and Pavia, both of which surrendered, the latter on the 5th of June; and although the first object of Bonaparte was frustrated by the surrender of Genoa on the preceding day, the capitulation of that place gave him the command of a body of troops, which contributed, no doubt, to the great victory of Marengo, which he gained on the 14th.

This battle, as Mr. Pitt observed, was on the point of deciding the fate of Europe, as every good man could have wished. The valour of the Austrians was such, that for a time everything seemed propitious. Bonaparte certainly considered the day lost to France, and was standing on the field of battle in a state of mental abstraction when Desaix galloped by him, exclaiming, "Is this the way, general, to lead the armies of the Republic?" and heading a body of cavalry, he made that famous charge which cost him his life, and gained the imperial crown for his chief. The garrison of Tortona, seeing the con-

usion of the French, sallied out, and had nearly surrounded them: but the battle was lost by the over-confidence of Melas, the Austrian general, who supposed it won; and won by Bonaparte, who had supposed it lost. Such are the uncertainties of military operations.

In the course of the siege and blockade of Genoa there were some acts of valour and generosity displayed by our navy which redound much to its honour. I will mention one.

Captain Philip Beaver was intrusted by Lord Keith with the charge of the flotilla employed in the bombardment of the town, and carried his little force so close under the walls as to receive the fire of the enemy's musketry. On one occasion a large and beautiful galley, rowing 50 oars, mounting two long brass 36-pounders, with 30 brass swivels in her hold, and manned with 250 men, came out, with many other vessels, to drive away the unwelcome intruders. Captain Beaver, with a chosen band, rushed alongside of her in the dark, got on her decks, and drove the enemy below, bringing out the prize in triumph to the fleet, with only four of his men wounded.

Genoa capitulated on the 4th of June. It would never have been reduced by the Austrians without the assistance of the British navy; and never, since the surrender of Haarlem to the Spaniards, was a garrison more emaciated than that of Genoa. No means of subsistence were left; horses, dogs, and even vermin, were devoured by the famished natives. On the signing of the capitulation the living spectres rushed out in search of food, and boats were instantly procured, in which their feeble limbs scarcely enabled them to paddle off to the British ships. The crews, who were just going to their dinner, flew to the ports and gangways, and distributed all their provisions among the supplicants: the welcome supply was received with tears of gratitude. History has few instances of more affecting benevolence, or of a more sudden transition from war and hatred to peace and friendship.

After the capitulation of Genoa the French troops, with arms and baggage, were conveyed by British transports to Nice, and landed there, so that they were enabled to march at once, and join the army of Bonaparte descending from St. Bernard. If not unavoidable, this was a strangely impolitic measure on our side.

In loading the transports with what was called army clothing (but, in fact, plunder taken by the French), our sailors, not inclined to take much trouble in such a cause, put the hook between the stitches, which giving way with the weight, the bale burst, and the contents were found to be the finest Genoa velvet; an inspection accordingly took place, which led to the

discovery of much valuable property. Such, we are sorry to say, was the constant practice of the French.

March 21st, Captain Francis William Austen, in the Petterel, of 18 guns, attacked off Marseilles three armed vessels, two of which he drove on shore under the batteries; the third he brought off; she was a brig called the Ligurienne, of 16 guns and 104 men. This vessel was of a very peculiar construction, and most probably intended for the service of the Egyptian army: she was put together with screw bolts, and might be taken to pieces and set up at pleasure.

On the 30th Captain Manley Dixon, in the Lion, of 64 guns, commanded the squadron at the blockade of Malta, having under his orders the

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Foudroyant | 80 | Capt. Sir E. Berry. |
| Alexander | 74 | Lieut. Harrington, acting for Capt. A. Ball. |
| Penelope | 36 | Capt. H. Blackwood. |

With three sloops of war.

Suspecting that the Guillaume Tell was about to run from the island to Toulon, Captain Dixon stationed Captain Blackwood close off the harbour of Valette, where, about midnight, he got sight of the enemy. Despatching El Corso brig to inform the commodore, he made every signal in his power to apprize him of their position. Blackwood crowded sail in chase, and was so daring as to run up within musket-shot: he raked him, and carried away his main and mizen topmasts and main-yard. At daylight the Lion and the rest of the squadron were well up: Captain Dixon ran close alongside, pouring in his fire with great effect, then luffed across his bows, and locked the Frenchman's jib-boom in the Lion's main-rigging, still continuing to rake him. The ships were soon disengaged from this position, and in 50 minutes the Foudroyant came up. Sir Edward Berry passed within hail of the enemy, and ordered him to surrender, but Decres, not yet satisfied with the resistance he had made, renewed the action with fury, contending at once against the three ships, which in succession had brought him to action. After as gallant a defence as was ever shown, the Guillaume Tell surrendered. She was the last ship of the line of the Nile fleet, every one of which had now been taken or destroyed by the victorious Nelson and his associates.

| | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|
| The Foudroyant had | 8 | 61 |
| Lion | 7 | 38 |
| Penelope | 2 | 2 |

The Guillaume Tell, now called the Malta, mounted 86 guns,

and had on board 1,000 men. The loss of the enemy must have been very considerable. Decres gave a long and correct letter on the subject, stating that he was dismasted and overpowered. He was much esteemed for his conduct on this occasion, and the Chief Consul made him Minister of the Marine. He had many enemies, and was cruelly murdered by his own servant at Paris a few years since. The wretch concealed some gunpowder in his master's bed, which was contrived to explode with a slow match at the moment of his retiring to rest. The blow was not immediately fatal. The servant, on hearing the report, threw himself from the window, and lived only long enough to confess his crime. The unfortunate admiral expired three days after.

In the month of August, while Captain George Martin, in the Northumberland, of 74 guns, commanded the blockade of Malta, two French frigates, La Diane and La Justice, slipped out in the night; but were immediately perceived and chased, and the Diane captured by Captain Peard, in the Success. She mounted 42 guns, 18 and 9 pounders, but had only 114 men on board.

The boats of our cruisers were particularly active and successful on the Mediterranean station at this period. Those of the Mermaid frigate, Captain Robert D. Oliver, cut out six vessels, loaded with supplies for the relief of Genoa, which had run under a fort near Cape Corsette. Those of El Corso, sloop of war, were sent by Captain W. Ricketts, who had the Pigmy cutter under his orders, to attack the port of Cesenatico. The boats were placed under the command of Lieutenant James Lucas Yeo, who executed his orders with great spirit and gallantry, destroying 13 vessels and the pier-heads. This affair was conducted with unusual severity, in consequence of the municipality having arrested a British officer charged with despatches.

Captain Louis, of the Minotaur, had charge of the blockade of Barcelona, having under his orders the Niger, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain (now Sir James) Hillyar. Two Spanish corvettes, of 22 guns each, were lying in the harbour.

Captain Hillyar, with the Lieutenants Schomberg, Warrand, and Lowry, of the Minotaur, Healy, of the Niger, Jewel, of the marines, and Mr. Reid the master, volunteered to cut these vessels out.

This daring act was nobly accomplished, but has been greatly misrepresented.* It has been stated that Captain Hillyar

* Particularly in the *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, vol. vii., p. 117. There are in this work some misrepresentations too contemptible to deserve notice. This is not, however, its general character.

availed himself of the neutrality of a Swedish galliot to get into the harbour unperceived or unsuspected. The Niger was at that time armed *en flûte*, with the guns and complement of a sloop of war, and in that condition had been often attacked by the gun-boats from Barcelona. In the course of his inshore service Hillyar had well observed the situation of the enemy, who lay, as usual, under very strong batteries, guarded by 10 gun-boats and two schooners.

Sir Thomas Louis ordered eight boats, manned with volunteers, to accompany Hillyar in the attack; one of them was at that time (late in the evening), boarding a Swedish galliot *bound into the port*. To join this boat, and give directions to the officer, Captain Hillyar went alongside, and continued there with all his boats while the vessel stood in towards the mole. This act, which could have no effect in protecting him from hostility, was magnified by the Swedes and Spaniards into a serious breach of neutrality. As they approached to the distance of three quarters of a mile, or long gun-shot, Hillyar and his party quitted the vessel: two shots were at this moment fired, which passed over the galliot, and, two or three minutes after, the enemy's outer ship in Barcelona discharged her broadside at them; the shot fell short. This proved that the Spaniards did not respect the neutrality of the Swedish flag, and consequently that it did not avail in protecting the British boats, which immediately pulled in, and with such alacrity and resolution that the enemy had neither time nor inclination to reload their guns. The outer ship was immediately boarded, and carried with great opposition. The cheers of the victors announced the conquest, upon which the other ship (one of her cables being cut), opened her fire. Her fore-topsail had been loosed in order to cast her towards the mole-head, where the Spaniards intended to seek safety; the sail took the wrong way, and, as fortune often favours the brave, she was carried with complete success. The other cable was cut, and both vessels came out together, towed by the British boats, and pursued for a short time by the Spanish gun-boats. Such was the result of this little enterprise, which the Spaniards, ashamed of their defeat, attempted to prove was done under the disguise of a neutral flag, forgetting that the affair was achieved after dark, when no flag could be distinguished; and, even if the case had been as they represent, it did not prevent their firing upon a defenceless neutral. It was, however, unfortunate that the Swedish vessel was in company; for, although her presence neither contributed to the success of the enterprise nor the safety of the men, it was thought in England that the representations of the Swedish and Spanish ministers had made an im

pression to the disadvantage of Hillyar and his gallant companions. The Admiralty and Lord Nelson, after much explanation, saw it in its true light, and the latter was ever after the friend of Captain Hillyar. The vessels mounted 22 brass guns, and had cargoes, bound to Batavia. One was called La Paz, the other the Esmeralda; they were about 400 tons burden. Our loss was two killed and five wounded. The capture led to the promotion of Captain Hillyar and Lieutenant Schomberg.

The fortress of Valette, and the island of Malta, surrendered on the 20th of September to our army under General Pigott, and the blockading squadron under the command of Captain George Martin, in the Northumberland. Captain Alexander John Ball, of the Alexander, had commanded the blockade of the island, until his services were deemed of much more importance on shore, to conduct the siege of Valette, and unite the Maltese against the enemy. He had over the minds of these people a wonderful influence, and employed it so much for the benefit of his country, that to his exertions we chiefly owe the reduction of the island, and the attachment which for years afterwards the inhabitants continued to feel towards the British nation.

In the harbour of Valette was found a Maltese 64-gun ship, of a very beautiful model. She was called the Athenian, and was subsequently lost under circumstances of singular calamity.

The terms of capitulation granted to the garrison were nearly similar to those conceded to other colonies of the enemy,—the troops to march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms; the officers and non-commissioned officers to retain their swords; the garrison to be sent to Toulon at the expense of his Britannic Majesty, and not to serve against Great Britain until regularly exchanged.

After the surrender of Genoa and Malta, Lord Keith, with the fleet, went down to Gibraltar, where he found Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with 10,000 men. Here, as we before observed, he was joined by Sir John Warren and Sir James Pulteney: the latter, with 5,000 men, returned to Lisbon.

The proceedings of that vast armament have been related up to its fruitless summons of Cadiz, in the month of October, 1800.

The army, embarked in troop-ships and coppered transports, was well provided for the most difficult enterprise; and the rupture of the treaty of El Arisch gave active employment to this gallant force. To understand the history of the memorable campaign in Egypt of 1801, it will be necessary to take a slight review of the affairs of the Mediterranean and the south of Europe.

The Russians and Austrians, at the conclusion of the year 1799, had cleared Italy of the enemy; while the British navy had planted its banners on the walls of Rome, and every sea-port in the European coasts of the Mediterranean, from Constantinople to Gibraltar, was either in our possession, in alliance with us, or under the most impenetrable blockade. This fortunate state of things was soon reversed. The French once more made themselves masters of Italy, and left us no other means of annoyance than to expel them from Egypt.

The capture of Malta put us in possession of the finest harbour in the Mediterranean. The French, sensible of its value, in the course of the discussion on the treaty of peace, gravely proposed that we should exchange it for the little island of Lampedosa, lying between Malta and the coast of Africa. The question was referred by the Privy Council to the Earl of St. Vincent, then First Lord of the Admiralty. France wished that the Neapolitans should occupy Malta, and this was at one time intended by our Ministry; but a clearer insight into the politics of the Tuileries induced a change of plan. The French, his lordship said, would turn the Neapolitans out of the island at pleasure, to the destruction of our Levant trade. They also were contemplating the emancipation of the Greeks at that time, for the purpose of acquiring an influence over the richest possessions of the Turkish empire. For this end they would have commenced with attacking the Morea and the islands. The chief end, however, of the Consul in wishing to retain Malta, was to insure the success of his future plans in Egypt, which were not abandoned at the signing of the treaty of Amiens. Lord St. Vincent turned the proposal of Bonaparte into ridicule. His lordship knew that the Islands of Lampedosa were utterly worthless, and was equally well aware of the incalculable importance of Malta to Great Britain in every point of view, but in none more than in that of keeping the French out of Egypt.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Dispute with Northern Powers—Cruelty of Paul to the English—Causes—Combination—Denmark—Prussia—Negotiations—Pretended definition of a blockaded port—Declaration of armed neutrality inadmissible—Articles which were or were not contraband of war—Hostilities inevitable—Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson appointed to Baltic fleet—Loss of the Invincible—The British fleet enters the Cattegat—Passes Cronenberg—Anchors off Huin—State of the Danish defences before Copenhagen—Nelson's preparations—He enters the Channel with his squadron—Is recalled by Sir Hyde Parker—Refuses to acknowledge the signal—Battle of Copenhagen—Nelson's letter to the Prince Royal—Truce—His line of battle—Official letter—Effects of this action in Europe—Nelson leaves the squadron at Copenhagen and joins the St. George—Letter to Swedish admiral—Death of Emperor Paul—End of the armed neutrality—Emperor Alexander favourable to England and peace—Sir Hyde Parker returns to England, and leaves Nelson commander-in-chief—Nelson returns to England, and is succeeded by Sir Charles Pole—Termination of northern war—Sir Charles Pole returns to England—Reflections on the conduct of the princes of Europe—Project of invasion revived—Observations on French ports and harbours—Boulogne flotilla attacked by Nelson unsuccessfully—Last action of the war in the British channel—Renewal of negotiations for peace.

A SHORT and deceitful calm succeeded the discussion at Copenhagen upon the points in dispute between England and the northern powers; but it was evident that nothing less than an appeal to the sword would finally decide the question. Denmark had 18 sail of the line ready for commission; her seamen were hardy and numerous: Sweden had about the same force; and Russia might have sent 25 sail to sea within a few months. The British ministers at these courts gave notice of the coming storm. Concession on our part would have been followed by encroachment on theirs, until we had no longer the means of resistance; and the despot of France saw, with malignant joy, all his enemies about to destroy each other.

The Emperor Paul, whose insanity had long ceased to be doubtful, had been so wrought upon by the French faction at St. Petersburg, that he believed the English to be his greatest and most dangerous enemies, and accordingly heaped on them every insult and injury that he could devise. The property of

the merchants was seized and put under sequestration, their counting-houses were locked up, a strict embargo was laid on all British shipping, and the severest punishment denounced against those who should attempt to conceal or convey their goods out of the empire. This restriction was taken off in the month of September, and again imposed in November, when upwards of 200 sail of British vessels were detained, and their crews marched away into the interior.

Two British ships having, contrary to the ukase or edict of the Emperor, made their escape from the port of Narva, his Imperial Majesty was pleased to order all British vessels remaining in that port to be burnt. The surrender of Malta to the arms of Great Britain about this period was mentioned by the Emperor in the same edict in terms of the highest indignation, and more particularly that the English flag *alone* should be hoisted on the island, contrary to treaties concluded in 1798; and his Majesty ended by declaring that the embargo should not be taken off until the conditions of the last convention were punctually fulfilled.

In pursuance of this barbarous decree, the whole of the masters and crews found in the detained ships, amounting to between 1,500 and 2,000 men, were marched away in the dead of winter to different villages and towns in the interior of the empire, as far as the confines of Siberia. The allowance made by the Russian Government to these unfortunate victims of despotic madness was about three halfpence a day; and had it not been for the watchful humanity of Mr. Sharp, and some British merchants residing at the different sea-ports of the Russian empire, they must inevitably have perished with cold and hunger. The merchants at St. Petersburg, whose names I am sorry I cannot furnish, subscribed the sum of 40,000 rubles, by which they were enabled to procure for them all the comforts of warm clothing and wholesome diet, of which they stood so much in need. Carts were procured for the captains and some old men; the others were forced to walk to the places of their destination. Happily for them, and for mankind, the author of their calamity shortly terminated his inglorious reign, and was succeeded by a prince of a very opposite character. Paul assigned three reasons for his hostility towards Great Britain: the first, our violence towards the Danish frigates and their convoys; the second, that a British fleet had passed the Sound, thereby endangering the *trade* of the Baltic—ignorant that but for the consumption of the produce of the countries bordering on that sea by the British nation and navy, the trade of the Baltic would not be worth carrying on, nine-tenths at least being done in British bottoms, and with British capital.

The third was our retention of the island of Malta, to which Paul, as grand master of the order, considered he had exclusive claims.

His preparations to support the cause in which he had embarked were proportioned to his threats and his cruelty towards the unfortunate English who happened to be in his dominions. His army under Suvaroff having been defeated in Switzerland completed the measure of *our* iniquities, for to *us* he imputed his disgrace.

Great Britain had now to contend with far more powerful enemies than had ever been united against her since the first establishment of the monarchy. It is true that, in the year 1780, the same powers had coalesced for the same ends, although the northern potentates never unsheathed the sword, nor was France so powerful at that period as at the one now under consideration. But the spirit of George the Third and his Ministers remained firm and undaunted, and the British nation nobly supported them in resisting a combination which threatened to destroy the best interests of the country.

The King of Denmark and the French party at Copenhagen conceived that this was the time to establish the freedom of the seas, and by a great and decided measure to evince their hostility to Britain. With the hypocritical plea of defending the helpless neutral, and the Machiavelian policy of the new republic, his Majesty commanded Prince Charles of Hesse to advance with an army of 15,000 men, and take possession of the city of Hamburg. This city was one of the most opulent and powerful of the famous Hanseatic league, which the violence and injustice of France had entirely ruined. His Danish Majesty did indeed triumph for a short time over these defenceless people; but, like all acts of injustice, this was repaid with serious, if not rapid retribution.

The King of Prussia, Frederick the Third, joined himself to our enemies. Prussia, it has been observed, had no marine; but possessing the port of Dantzic, at the mouth of the Vistula, her ill-gotten plunder from unhappy Poland, and also the country of East Friesland, with the command of the river Ems, she lent her flag to cover the enormous floating property of the belligerents, which under this protection found eventually, though circuitously, its way from their colonies to the ports of Europe. His Prussian Majesty, therefore, strongly partook of those feelings excited in Denmark by the searching of the convoys, and added his name to the formidable combination. Frederick marched a body of Prussian troops to the mouth of the Elbe, and took possession of the town and fortress of Cuxhaven, as guardian of the tranquillity and *neutrality* of the

north of Germany. The feeble reason assigned for this violation of the rights of neutrals, under the plea of protecting them, was, that a vessel bearing a Prussian flag had been detained by a British cruiser, and had been by stress of weather obliged to take shelter in the port of Cuxhaven, under the dominion and government of the city of Hamburg. Restitution was demanded by Prussia, and refused by the Senate. Upon investigation, however, it appeared that the vessel in question had been taken when entering the port of the Texel loaded with a contraband cargo, and that the officer having charge actually delivered her up as soon as he received a proper authority from his superior so to do. This was more than Prussia had any right to demand or expect, and was decidedly contrary to the case of the prizes taken out of the ports of Norway by the Phœnix, in 1796. Still, notwithstanding this concession, the King chose to violate the territory of Hamburg, occupy its forts, and quarter his soldiers upon a free, but defenceless, people.

Lord Carysfort, the British envoy at the court of Berlin, as soon as he became acquainted with the measures pursued by the King of Prussia against the territory and subjects of the Senate of Hamburg, claimed the neutrality of its ports in behalf of the shipping and commerce of Great Britain, and hinted that, in consequence of the immediate release of the Prussian vessels, his majesty would be expected to suspend the occupation of Cuxhaven until the two courts of London and Berlin could mutually explain themselves to each other. The answer of Count Haugwitz to the notes of his lordship was at once satirical and uncomplying, and plainly evinced the influence which our inveterate enemies, the French, had obtained at the Prussian court. The letter of the count concludes by saying, that his Prussian Majesty reserved the privilege of explaining himself farther, and in a suitable manner, "to those who might *be entitled* to such an explanation."

The Emperor of Russia issued a manifesto stating the views of himself and his colleagues in forming the second armed neutrality. His Imperial Majesty declared that, on ascending his throne, he found his states involved in a war provoked by a great nation (France), which had fallen into a state of disorganization; that, conceiving the coalition a mere measure of preservation, he had joined it, and, relying on the sincerity of his allies, he did not think an armed neutrality at that time necessary to secure the flag of the northern powers from insult. But being disappointed in this expectation by the conduct of another great power (England), which had sought to destroy the liberties of the seas by capturing Danish convoys, the inde-

pendence of the maritime powers of the North appeared to him to be openly menaced, and could only be protected by a second armed neutrality.

The allies set forth in pompous terms the rights of neutrals, and the fixed and firm resolutions of the high contracting parties, "the good effects of which they had before experienced, and from the principles of which they were *never* to depart." At no period were the liberties of the seas or of Europe in greater danger than by the pretended defenders of those sacred rights.

While the northern confederacy affected a regard to political justice by admitting the right of a belligerent to blockade the port of an enemy, it presumed to determine, by the most vague and *indeterminate* expressions, what constituted a blockaded port.

"Such denomination shall be admitted to apply only where the disposition and number of the ships by which it is invested shall be such as to render it *apparently* hazardous to enter."

A more explicit, certainly more definable, and not more arbitrary mode of proceeding would have been at once to say what number and force of ships of war should be ordered by the British Government to blockade the ports of France, Spain, and Holland.

The confederacy held the principle that property at sea was protected by the flag of a neutral, or, in other words, that "free bottoms made free goods." This proposition went directly to the subversion of the British power on the ocean. No enemy's property from that moment could have been detected; and it was well observed by Lord Whitworth, "that if this principle were once admitted, a neutral might, by means of the smallest ship of war, have afforded protection to the commerce of the enemy in all parts of the world: it would only be necessary to find a neutral state, no matter how small or contemptible." Thus in fact we saw the flags of Pappenburg, Oldenburg, and many other lordships in the neighbourhood of the Ems and Weser, afford their protection to the colonial produce of the belligerents, whose flags we had swept from the ocean; and the Portuguese, our *faithful* allies, in the year 1798, protected the property of Spain by affording convoy from South America to the Spanish galleons. A British cruiser discovered one of them off Lisbon in company with a Portuguese rear-admiral and his convoy. The English captain* applied to the officer to know whether he meant to afford her his protection; the latter made answer that he should, and sent his boats to her,

* The present Rear-admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton.

filled with armed men. During this transaction the fleet stood in for the Tagus, and when within the reach of the batteries the Spaniard hoisted his *true* colours. It is to be observed that the Portuguese was a 74, the English a brig of 14 guns. A representation of this affair was made to Earl St. Vincent, the admiral on the station; but such was the influence of the court of Lisbon that no notice was taken of it, nor could the commander-in-chief himself have obtained redress. Considering the political state of Europe at that time, it would perhaps have been unwise to agitate a question which might have embroiled us with the only continental power, except Turkey, with whom we had the semblance of friendship.

The first article of this northern state paper sets out with declaring that their Majesties will strictly prohibit, in time of war, the exportation from their dominions of any contraband merchandise whatsoever; and, in order to prevent all doubts as to the meaning and extent of the term *contraband*, they are pleased to enumerate such articles as in their opinion should come under that denomination. They are as follow: cannon, mortars, fire-arms, balls, flint-stones, matches, gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, hangers, cartridge-boxes, saddles, and bridles. The whole of these articles, it is to be observed, being the production or manufacture of France or England, could not have been required by them from other countries; and, though occasional cargoes might be sent to the colonies, they were seldom an object of much traffic: but the articles most important to the belligerents, and most carefully excluded from the list, were indispensable to naval warfare. France could not procure them from other countries, while England by her maritime superiority might have obtained a supply without going to the Baltic. Masts, yards, planks, hemp, iron, cordage, tallow, and hides, the produce of the north of Europe, *we* considered contraband of war; the others we should certainly have prohibited had we met with them. The British Government never viewed their exportation with any degree of alarm, well knowing that the soil and manufactures of France would produce the whole of the interdicted articles; and the prohibition of importing saddles and flint-stones into France was trifling with the dignity of diplomatic forms, and an insult to the government to which it was addressed. A declaration among others equally violent, that neutral ships might freely navigate from one port to another on the coast of a belligerent, was, in few words, to assert the right of a neutral nation to carry on, under the cover of its flag, the trade of an enemy whose naval power had been destroyed by his rival; and it farther added that, with the exception of the goods enu-

merated as contraband of war, all others, the property of belligerents, should be free. This was at once taking from Great Britain every advantage she had acquired by her naval victories and the valour and superior skill of her seamen, and a presumptuous attempt to dictate the law to a mighty empire. It is true that the armed neutrality did admit of our liberty to blockade an enemy's port, but in such vague and indefinite terms that it might always remain a question whether the force employed on that service was such as to bear the full construction and meaning of what might be by them deemed a sufficient blockade. The declaration farther stated that, in case of detention of neutral ships by British cruisers, except such as shall be detained upon *just grounds* and *evident reasons*, sentence should be pronounced without delay; the proceedings against them should be uniform, prompt, and lawful; over and above the indemnity to which they should be entitled for damage sustained, complete satisfaction should be given for the insult offered to the flag of their Majesties. That the declaration of an officer commanding a neutral ship of war, and having neutral vessels under his convoy, that there were no articles on board any of those vessels contraband of war, should be *deemed sufficient*, and that after such a declaration *no search should be made*. The ships of one neutral coalesced power to afford protection in case of need to the *merchant vessels of another power*. The ships of the neutral powers were by the same decrees required to be regular in their origin, equipment, and papers, and never to assume a flag which did not belong to them.

In justice to the King of Sweden, it must be observed that he prohibited the entrance into his ports of any privateers with their prizes; and, in case of being driven in by stress of weather, they were to sail as soon as circumstances would permit, without disposing of any part of their cargo.

The court of Denmark having acceded to this convention, Mr. Drummond, the British minister, addressed a very spirited note, on the 27th of December, to Count Bernstoff, the Danish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, demanding an explanation of the views and intentions of his Cabinet. The answer returned was both unmanly and evasive: afraid to acknowledge, yet ashamed to deny, that his master was a party concerned in the combination, he attempted to palliate the conduct of his court. But the mask was soon thrown off. War with the northern confederacy was inevitable, and the winter months were passed in the most active preparations for a great naval campaign.

Early in the month of March a large fleet assembled in

Yarmouth roads, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, an officer of no mean abilities, but unqualified for such a situation from age and bodily infirmity. Sir Hyde was the favourite of a party; but the King, the Earl of St. Vincent, and the nation, looked to Nelson for the success of the campaign.

It was on this occasion that the genius and courage of our immortal hero shone with peculiar splendour. On the 14th of January an embargo was laid on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish ships in the ports of the United Kingdom; and on the 12th of March, 1801, Sir Hyde Parker sailed from Yarmouth roads, in the London, of 98 guns, and a fleet consisting of 17 sail of the line, several frigates, gun-brigs, and fire-vessels. A train of heavy artillery, with two companies of the rifle corps, were embarked in the fleet, with the 49th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Brook: the whole of the land forces were under the command of Colonel Stewart. Nelson had his flag in the St. George, of 98 guns. Rear-admiral Totty had his flag in the Invincible, of 74 guns, but that ship was lost before she reached her destination; having sailed alone from Yarmouth after the fleet, the same afternoon, blowing strong from the south-west, with a flood tide, she ran on a sand-bank, called the Ridge, off Cromer, where she soon after sank, with Captain Rennie, and above 400 of her crew: the remainder, about 200, were picked up by colliers and fishing-vessels; the admiral was saved in one of the boats of the Invincible.

Rear-admiral Thomas Graves had his flag in the Defiance, of 74 guns.

As soon as the British fleet entered the Cattegat, the commander-in-chief addressed a letter to the governor of the castle of Cronenberg, which stands on the point of the island of Zealand, approaching nearest to the Swedish coast, from which it is distant something less than three English miles. The purport of the letter was to know whether his excellency had received orders to fire on the British fleet on passing the castle. The officer replied, with great spirit and propriety, that he certainly should not permit a fleet, whose destination and object were not known to him, to pass by the post he commanded without using his utmost endeavours to prevent it. To this Sir Hyde Parker again replied that he considered the governor's message a declaration of war, and that in conformity with his instructions he should commence hostilities. This correspondence, and the bad weather which intervened, detained the fleet three days at its anchorage, outside of the narrows or pass into the Baltic; but on the 30th the admiral weighed,

and the British fleet, led by the Monarch, of 74 guns, commanded by the gallant and lamented Captain Mosse, passed triumphantly through, under a heavy but ineffectual fire from the castle of Cronenberg, while that of Helsingfors, on the Swedish shore, was perfectly silent: perhaps the officer on that side saw that to fire would only be a useless expenditure of ammunition, since the shot from either side could not meet each other; shells might have been more annoying, but none of those fired by the Danes took effect. The admiral, having now passed the batteries, conducted his fleet to an anchorage, about five miles from the island of Huin, when himself, Lord Nelson, and Admiral Graves, went in a small vessel to reconnoitre the strength and position of the enemy's fleet and defences before the city of Copenhagen. Having gained all the local knowledge which circumstances would permit, it was decided to make the attack from the southward, and Nelson volunteered to conduct it; for which purpose he shifted his flag from the St. George, of 98 guns, to the Elephant, of 74, carrying a lighter draught of water, and therefore better adapted for the service.

The approaches to Copenhagen are shoal and intricate, and Nelson had been at great pains in sounding and buoying off the channel, in which he was well assisted by Captains Edward Riou and Charles Brisbane. This work being finished, he proceeded with the ships placed under his immediate orders to Draco Point, whence he issued his instructions to his captains, and made his arrangements for the attack. Each ship and vessel had a particular duty assigned: the gun-boats were so placed as to rake the enemy's hulks, and the bombs were to throw their shells into the town; a flat-bottomed boat, well manned and armed, was stationed on the off side of each ship, to act as occasion might require; another detachment of boats from the ships not in action was ordered to keep as near the Elephant as possible, but not within the line of fire. Four of the ships' launches, with anchors and cables in them, were in readiness to act, and render assistance to ships getting on shore.

The command of the frigates and sloops was intrusted to Riou, of the Amazon, whom I have before mentioned in terms of admiration. His glorious career was now drawing to a termination worthy of his former name.

The strength of the Danish line of defence and batteries was such as might have been pronounced by the best judges capable of resisting any naval force that could be brought to act against them. They had six sail of the line, and 11 floating batteries, mounting on one side from 26 24-pounders to 18 18-pounders; one bomb ship, and many gun-vessels:

these were supported by the forts on the island of Amac and the two Crown batteries, which deserve particular attention; they consisted of artificial islands raised on the mud banks near the arsenal, with innumerable piles filled in with earth, and mounting 80 pieces of heavy cannon, nearly flush with the water; and, as I have before observed, the most destructive and dangerous for shipping: the hulks had no masts, and consequently were freed from the encumbrance and great annoyance of sails and rigging falling on their decks.

It was in presence of this tremendous force, in an intricate channel, with a light breeze of wind, and within a proper fighting distance, that the hero of the Nile had to take up his position, bring his ships to anchor, furl his sails, put springs to his cables, and at the same moment receive the well-directed fire of an enemy who fancied himself in comparative security. The Crown Prince and the citizens of Copenhagen were spectators of the scene, while a strong division of the British fleet in the offing beheld with envy the daring feats of their brethren in arms.

Sir Hyde Parker supposed, after a more deliberate view of the enemy's force, that Nelson would be overmatched, and recalled him from action; but the latter refused to acknowledge the signal, taking upon himself in this awful moment the additional responsibility, in case of failure, of having acted in direct disobedience of orders. Thus success justifies an action which defeat would stamp with unmerited disgrace and infamy. Nelson was here consistent with his own maxim, "when in doubt, *fight*."

On the morning of the 2d of April Nelson made the signal to prepare for battle. The day was very fine, but the wind light. The line of battle was led by one of the best and bravest officers in the fleet of Nelson; this was Captain George Murray, in the Edgar, of 74 guns. The ships, as in the battle of the Nile, anchored by the stern. On their way into action, the Russel and the Bellona, of 74 guns, took the ground, and in such a position as to render their assistance nearly ineffectual to the fleet, lying at the same time exposed to the fire of the Crown batteries; the Agamemnon, of 64 guns, also took the ground, but was entirely out of gun-shot. A little before 10 o'clock in the morning of the 2d of April the action began. The Danes had the honour and safety of their Prince, their capital city, their wives and families, at stake. The whole population of Copenhagen, and perhaps of the island of Zealand, on which it stands, were witnesses to the heart-rending scene,—the fruits of a mistaken policy on the part of their Government. Denmark, of all the European powers, is certainly

that which, from ties of blood and political considerations, we should be the least willing to offend; and this appears to have been the first instance, for a very long period, of blood being drawn between the two nations.

The conflict was one of the most determined and sanguinary that had ever been fought; it lasted four hours, and ended with the total capture and destruction of the enemy's line of defence. The Danish bombs and smaller vessels made their escape. The unfortunate accident which happened to the Bellona and Russel prevented those ships occupying the stations which Nelson had assigned to them; in consequence of which his line was not so extensive as it would have been; and those ships, though much exposed to the fire of the Crown batteries, were not in a situation to render that support which their gallant captains would have wished; their places were, in some measure, occupied by the frigates: and the Amazon, Blanche, and Désirée, received very severe damage from being opposed to a greater force than they were calculated to contend with. Our sloops and smaller vessels went in and attacked the vessels lying at the harbour's mouth, and did great execution, with proportionable loss; the bomb-vessels stationed outside of the Elephant threw shells with great effect into the city of Copenhagen and the Crown batteries.

About two o'clock, Nelson, to whose conduct no pen can do justice, perceiving the fire of the enemy to slacken, and that the floating batteries and block-ships had all surrendered, though the Crown batteries still kept up their fire, seized the fortunate moment; and, while the work of death was going on around him, sat down in his cabin and wrote the following letter to the Crown Prince, which he sent to his royal highness by an officer, with a flag of truce.

"Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark when no longer resisting; but, if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson must be obliged to set fire to all the floating batteries he has taken, without having it in his power to save the brave Danes who have defended them."

When he had finished his letter an aide-de-camp presented him with a wafer. "No," said the hero; "they will think we are afraid: let us have a candle, and seal it with wax."

The letter was accordingly sealed and despatched. The Prince Royal sent off Adjutant-general Lindholm to know the object of the British admiral in sending the flag of truce: to which Nelson replied that his object was humanity; and he therefore consented that hostilities should cease, that the wounded Danes might be taken on shore, and that he should

burn or carry off the vessels he had taken as he should think fit. He added, with his humble duty to the Prince Royal of Denmark, that he should consider this the greatest victory he had ever gained if it might be the means of a happy reconciliation between his most gracious Sovereign and his Majesty the King of Denmark.

The Danish Government having agreed to the suspension of arms, the firing ceased on both sides, and Nelson went on shore for the purpose of opening a negotiation. On his landing he was received with the loudest acclamations, and the most flattering testimonials of esteem, from all ranks of the people, who thronged around to get a view of the hero of the Nile. The Prince Royal showed him all the respect due to so distinguished a character.

While the Danes gazed with wonder on the British admiral, the boats of his fleet were busily employed removing their wounded countrymen from the burning block-ships, and warping our squadron out of the scene of action.

Hostilities having entirely ceased between the two powers of Denmark and Britain, by which one member of the Northern confederacy was detached from the cause, an armistice was concluded on the 9th, wherein it was agreed that Denmark should not disarm, but retain her warlike position with respect to her ships and forces; but that the treaty of armed neutrality should be suspended as long as the armistice should remain in force, and the British fleet was to abstain from all hostility towards the subjects of the King of Denmark.

We now give the official correspondence, and the returns of killed and wounded.

## LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

### Extract of a Letter from Vice-admiral Lord Viscount Nelson to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker.

*Elephant, off Copenhagen,*
*April* 3, 1801.

Sir,

In obedience to your directions to report the proceedings of the squadron named in the margin,* which you did me the honour to place under my command, I beg leave to inform you that having, by the assistance of that able officer, Captain Riou, and the unremitting exertions of Captain Brisbane, and the masters of the Amazon and Cruiser, in particular, buoyed the channel of the Outer Deep, and the position of the Middle Ground, the squadron passed in safety, and anchored off Draco the evening of the 1st; and that yesterday morning I made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line,

* See list annexed.

11 floating batteries, mounting from 26 24-pounders to 18 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels.

These were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting 88 cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries on the island of Amak.

The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape; the other 17 sail are sunk, burnt, or taken, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown Islands, after a battle of four hours.

From the very intricate navigation the Bellona and Russel unfortunately grounded, but, although not in the situation assigned them, yet so placed as to be of great service. The Agamemnon could not weather the shoal of the middle, and was obliged to anchor, but not the smallest blame can be attached to Captain Fancourt; it was an event to which all the ships were liable. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three ships before mentioned, who would, I am confident, have silenced the Crown Islands, the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and prevented the heavy loss in the Defiance and Monarch, and which unhappily threw the gallant and good Captain Riou (to whom I had given the command of the frigates and sloops named in the margin,* to assist in the attack of the ships in the harbour's mouth) under a very heavy fire; the consequence has been the death of Captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops.

The bombs were directed and took their stations abreast the Elephant, and threw some shells into the arsenal.

Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did every thing that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too strong for them to be of service during the action; but not the less merit is due to Captain Rose, and, I believe, all the officers and crews of the gun-brigs, for their exertions.

The boats of those ships of the fleet who were not ordered on the attack afforded us every assistance; and the officers and men who were in them merit my warmest approbation.

The Désirée took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship of the line, and performed the greatest service.

The action began at five minutes past ten. The van was led by Captain George Murray, of the Edgar, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was as well followed up by every captain, officer, and man in the squadron.

It is my duty to state to you the high and distinguished merit and gallantry of Rear-admiral Graves.

To Captain Foley, who permitted me the honour of hoisting my flag in the Elephant, I feel under the greatest obligation; his advice was necessary on many and important occasions during the battle.

I beg leave to express how much I feel indebted to every captain, officer, and man, for their zeal and distinguished bravery on this occasion. The Honourable Colonel Stewart did me the favour to be

* Blanche, Alcmene, Arrow, Zephyr, and Otter.

on board the Elephant; and himself, with every officer and soldier under his orders, shared with pleasure the toils and dangers of the day.

The loss in battle has naturally been very heavy. Amongst many brave officers and men who were killed, I have, with sorrow, to place the name of Captain Mosse, of the Monarch, who has left a wife and six children to lament his loss; and among the wounded that of Captain Sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the Bellona.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

LINE OF BATTLE AT COPENHAGEN.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elephant | Capt. Thomas Foley | 74 | 590 | 8 | 11 |
| Defiance | Rear-adm. T. Graves / Capt. R. Retalick | 74 | 590 | 22 | 47 |
| Monarch | —*Robert Mosse | 74 | 590 | 55 | 155 |
| Bellona | —†Sir T.B.Thompson | 74 | 590 | 11 | 63 |
| Edgar | — G. Murray | 74 | 590 | 29 | 104 |
| Russel | — W. Cumming | 74 | 590 | 0 | 6 |
| Ganges | — J. F. Freemantle | 74 | 590 | 5 | 1 |
| Glatton | — W. Bligh | 56 | 350 | 17 | 34 |
| Isis | — James Walker | 50 | 350 | 28 | 84 |
| Agamemnon | — R. D. Fancourt | 64 | 491 | — | — |
| Polyphemus | — John Lawford | 64 | 491 | 5 | 24 |
| Ardent | — Thomas Bertie | 64 | 491 | 29 | 64 |
| Amazon | —*Edward Riou | 38 | 284 | 11 | 21 |
| Désirée | — H. Inman | 36 | 264 | — | 3 |
| Blanche | — G. E. Hamond | 32 | 254 | 7 | 9 |
| Alcmene | — Samuel Sutton | 32 | 254 | 5 | 14 |
| *Sloops.* | | | | | |
| Dart | Capt. J. F. Devonshire | 18 | 121 | 2 | 1 |
| Arrow | — T. C. Brodie | 18 | 121 | — | — |
| Cruiser | — James Brisbane | 18 | 121 | — | — |
| Harpy | — W. Birchall | 18 | 121 | — | — |
| | Total | | | 234 | 644 |

*Fire Ships.*

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|
| Zephyr | Capt. Clotworthy Upton. |
| Otter | — George M'Kinley. |

*Bomb Vessels.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Discovery | Capt. John Conn. |
| Sulphur | — H. Whitter. |
| Hecla | — Thomas Hand. |
| Explosion | — John Henry Martin. |
| Zebra | — George Ralph Collier. |
| Terror | — Samuel Campbell Rowley. |
| Volcano | — Joseph Brodie. |

* Killed, † Wounded.

A curious circumstance attended the capture of the Holstein, a Danish 74; she had ceased firing long before the action was discontinued in other parts of the line—her colours were down—and she was, at the conclusion of the day, claimed as prize, and refused by the Danish officers to be given up to us, her pendant being still at the mast-head. Two British Captains had been sent to demand her, but both returned without effecting their purpose. Nelson requested Sir Hyde Parker would send Captain R. W. Otway on this service, and he was despatched accordingly. As he went alongside the ship he ordered the cockswain of his boat, a bold, brazen-faced, impudent fellow, to go up into the maintop of the Holstein and bring away the pendant with him while Captain Otway was talking with the commanding officer. The man punctually executed his order, coming down from the mast-head with the pendant in his bosom, and placing himself in his boat with the most perfect composure. The mission having again failed, Captain Otway repeated that the ship had struck her colours, and was a prize; it was at length agreed to refer the question to the Danish commodore, then in the arsenal, and close to the Holstein. The commodore, in reply to Captain Otway's demand, said that the ship had not struck her colours, that her ensign had been shot away, but that her pendant was still flying, and begged Captain Otway to look *at it*. Captain Otway soon convinced the mortified and astonished commodore that the pendant was not flying, and he was compelled to own that the ship was British property. Otway lost not a moment, but, with the assistance of the Ealing schooner, cut the cables, and towed her out from under the Crown batteries, where she lay. The Danes found out the trick of the pendant, and were very indignant; but the ship having struck in the action, the conduct of Captain Otway and his cockswain was highly applauded.

One singularity attending this celebrated action seems to have escaped the public notice,—the denial of any mark of royal approbation to Nelson and his captains. Rear-admiral Graves was created a knight of the Bath; the first lieutenants of the ships of the line in action promoted to the rank of commanders; and the usual thanks of Parliament voted; but no medals were given, or other honours conferred. I can only account for the omission by supposing that his Majesty, nearly allied by ties of blood to the crown of Denmark, wished to bury the unhappy quarrel in oblivion; but Nelson, to the hour of his death, complained of the injustice done to his captains at Copenhagen.

The effects of this victory were incalculable: as soon as it was known in Sweden, that power withdrew from the confede-

racy, glad to save itself from the impending chastisement of the fleet under the command of Sir Hyde Parker, who was waiting in the offing, in sight of Copenhagen, the result of Nelson's efforts before that place. On the conclusion of the armistice, which it was confidently anticipated would end in a peace, the British fleet was admitted to the ports of Zealand, and received every refreshment and supply of which they stood in need. The loss of men and damage sustained by Nelson's division was so great as to render the return of some of the ships to England absolutely necessary. The number of killed and wounded amounted on our side to nearly 900 men; nor is it any consolation to say that that of the Danes was almost double: such were the cool aim and destructive effects of the fire on both sides. Seventeen sail of ships and block-vessels were taken: only one of them (the Holstein, of 74 guns) was fit for service; all the rest were consequently destroyed.

Sir Hyde Parker, after the termination of this affair, proceeded off Carlscrona in search of the Swedish fleet, supposed to be in that port, leaving Nelson with his division to repair his ships, and follow him with all speed. Nelson neither knew nor cared about the repairing of ships; his business he thought was to lead them into action, and leave them to do their duty. As soon, therefore, as he discovered that Sir Hyde Parker had thoughts of farther hostility, he left the Elephant in an open boat, not taking with him even a cloak, so eager was he to share in the glories of another battle, and he got on board the St. George during the ensuing night. Having with much difficulty and danger conducted his fleet over the shoals between the island of Amag and Saltholm, Sir Hyde Parker arrived off Carlscrona on the 19th of April, where he found the Swedish squadron lying under the protection of their batteries. He immediately sent a letter to the Swedish admiral, acquainting him with the result of the attack on Copenhagen, and desiring to know whether his excellency proposed adhering to or abandoning the cause embraced by the armed neutrality against the rights and interests of Great Britain.

The answer returned to this message was, that the King of Sweden would never abandon the cause in which he had embarked, or separate his interests from those of his allies, but that he was ready to listen to any proposals for the accommodation of the dispute. This letter was dated the 22d of April, and on the 23d another letter arrived from the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen, addressed to Sir Hyde Parker, announcing the death of the Emperor Paul, and containing proposals for a peace with the Northern powers.

The unfortunate Paul, it appears, had ended his life on the

night of the 22d of March, having been found dead in his water-closet, murdered, it was feared, by his attendants, under circumstances of barbarity unexampled in modern history. His death caused an immediate change in the politics of the court of Russia. The young Emperor Alexander,* a prince as mild and amiable as his father and predecessor had been ferocious and cruel, gave orders to recall all the unhappy exiles from their distant scenes of banishment; and those of our countrymen who had not fallen victims to the severity of a Russian winter, and its concomitant privations, were restored to their country; but much of the confiscated property remains to this day unaccounted for.

The letter which announced to the admiral the great event that had taken place at St. Petersburg was accompanied by a declaration of the new Emperor, stating, in substance, that his Imperial Majesty was anxious to bring the differences in question to an amicable termination; but that, faithful to the engagements he had entered into with the courts of Berlin, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, he had signified his determination not to act but in conjunction with them in whatever might concern the interests of his allies; and that his Imperial Majesty could not have expected that Great Britain would have undertaken a hostile attack upon Denmark at the very time when its envoy at the court of Berlin was authorized to enter into conferences with the Russian minister residing there; that the measures taken by his Imperial Majesty were only in consequence of a wish for peace; and that his intentions would, by the attack on Copenhagen, have been completely frustrated, had he not been certain that the British fleet had sailed from England before his Majesty's accession to the throne.

The declaration further stated that the British admiral was desired to cease from all further hostilities until he should hear from his own sovereign; otherwise that the admiral must be personally responsible for all the consequences that might ensue from the farther prosecution of the war.

On the receipt of this paper Sir Hyde Parker gave orders to suspend hostilities towards the Northern powers, and repaired with his fleet to Kioge bay, where early in the month of May he resigned the command to Lord Nelson, and returned to England.

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* I am no stranger to the vile imputations cast on the memory of Alexander by the adherents of Napoleon, but I can never believe that such a Prince would, under any consideration, have connived at the murder of his own parent. That Napoleon keenly felt the death of his brother tyrant, and dreaded the same fate, we may see by the Memoirs of Fouché, vol. i., p. 237. "'Quoi,' s'écria-t-il, 'un Empereur n'est pas en sûreté au milieu de ses gardes?'—'C'en est fait de la Ligue du Nord contre l'Angleterre.'"

Nelson, on taking the command, wrote a letter to the Swedish admiral at Carlscrona, informing him that as he (Nelson) was instructed by orders from home not to abstain from attacking the Swedish fleet should he fall in with it at sea, he should recommend the admiral to keep his ships in port until final arrangements were agreed on between their respective governments. He then detached Captain George Murray in the Edgar, of 74 guns, with six other ships of the line, off that port, and sent a squadron of frigates to cruise off Bornholm, while he proceeded with the remainder of his fleet to Revel, off which he anchored on the 14th of May: he sailed thence on the 17th, and wrote a letter to Admiral Cronstadt, the commander-in-chief of the Swedish fleet, to know whether he had received orders to abstain from hostilities towards the trade of England? Being answered in the affirmative, Nelson replied to him by a friendly and congratulatory letter, and on the 18th of June resigned the command of the fleet to Vice-admiral Sir Charles Pole, and returned to England, having previously written home requesting to be superseded.

Nelson, who plainly saw a termination of the northern war, had been obliged to adopt this step from ill health, and he took a kind farewell of his companions in arms by a general memorandum, issued from on board the St. George, in Kioge bay; in which, after enumerating their services, and thanking them for their support, he says he shall "feel proud on some future day to go with them in pursuit of farther glory, and to assist in making the name of our King respected throughout the world."

The fleet being no longer required in the Baltic, Admiral Pole received orders to proceed with it to Spithead, and, knowing the difficulty of passing over the grounds with the large ships, he deemed it advisable, as well as advantageous, to seize this opportunity of exploring the channel through the Great Belt, which was successfully executed by the fleet, led by the St. George, of 90 guns, which bore the admiral's flag. Thus another important entrance to the Baltic for the largest ships of war was satisfactorily proved. On the arrival of the ships at Spithead the vice-admiral found orders to take the command of the squadron off Cadiz, to which station he proceeded, and continued the blockade of that port until the war ceased, when he returned in the Ramilies to England. Soon after the peace (1803) an Act of Parliament passed appointing Commissioners of Naval Inquiry; under the authority of this Act Admiral Pole was named one of the said commissioners, which appointment he held until called to a seat at the Board of Admiralty.

In the mean time the embargo at home had been taken off

from the ships and vessels of the Northern powers; and those of Great Britain detained in the ports of Russia, and which had escaped the fury of the late emperor, were suffered to depart, and peace was restored between Great Britain and the Northern powers.

Subsequent events have torn aside the veil, and shown the real motives of the ruler of France in fomenting this fatal quarrel. Regardless of the warning voice of Mr. Pitt and his able colleagues, the powers of the North, in an evil hour, lent themselves to the great enemy of the liberties of mankind, and received in due time the reward of their infatuation. Prussia lost the best part of her dominions in the rich country of Silesia, the most fruitful of all her provinces, and the King became no more than the military prefect of his kingdom, holding even that office under the good pleasure of Bonaparte.

Denmark, in the loss of her trade and colonies, her entire fleet of ships of the line, with the mischiefs occasioned by two bombardments to her capital, had sufficient reason to deplore her fatal connexion with France.

Sweden, long a prey to internal faction, at last made her peace by driving from her throne the successor of the great Gustavus, and substituting in his place a fortunate general of the school of Napoleon; and the Emperor Paul, after humbling himself and his empire to serve the purposes of the French Government, lost the affections of his people, his crown, and his life, from the effects of his pernicious policy.

On the failure of this confederacy, upon which Bonaparte had built all his hopes of the conquest of England, his plans were greatly disconcerted; he still, however, affected to persevere in his real or pretended project of invasion; and, had the efforts of the Northern powers succeeded to his wishes, it is more than probable that he would have made the attempt. The probable expenditure of human life was no obstacle to his profligate ambition.

While he was preparing his legions to desolate the fair country, or find their graves in the soil of England, he held out the olive-branch and offered terms of peace, which after a while were accepted; but not till he had paraded his flotilla before Boulogne, and made an ostentatious display of his contemptible naval armament, while "the *army of England*," consisting of 100,000 men, was encamped over the town on the heights of Ambleteuse. To make Boulogne a port of sufficient depth and capacity had long been a favourite project with Bonaparte. France is remarkable, considering the extent of her sea-coast, for having very few good harbours: Toulon is the best—but even that is not extensive: Brest is the second in point of

excellence; though I am informed by naval officers who have been in it, that it is very ill calculated for the reception of large vessels; it is certain that some very serious accidents have happened in the outer road to the ships of war. Rochefort and L'Orient are shoal and narrow; and from Ushant to Dunkirk there is not a port of safety for a vessel of more than 400 tons, if we except the harbour of Cherbourg, which has been made by the industry of man, at an enormous expense, and is not thought to answer the purpose for which it was intended.

Bonaparte, whose acuteness and observation nothing escaped, resolved to supply this defect of nature. His whole attention for a time appears to have been turned to the attainment and perfection of this great object. Thousands of his soldiers were employed in widening and deepening the port of Boulogne. A new basin was formed, piers constructed, and a strong battery raised on piles, forming an island at high water, was built on the sands, about half a mile from the mouth of the harbour. The gun-brigs, praams, and horse-boats, intended for the conveyance and convoy of the army, were all assembled in and before the harbour's mouth; and such appeared to be the state of preparations, that it excited the alarm of the British Government. The Earl of St. Vincent was then at the head of the Admiralty, and Nelson had just returned from his command in the Baltic. The hero was therefore again called into action, but with a much smaller force than his vast genius had been accustomed to wield; his name, however, satisfied the public mind, and calmed all its fears. A squadron of frigates, with gun-brigs and fire-vessels, was assembled in the Downs, and Nelson took the chief command, hoisting his flag on board the Medusa frigate, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain (now Vice-admiral Sir John) Gore. The orders to the chief were concise—"Sink, burn, and destroy;" and St. Vincent dismissed him with a friendly verbal hint, "to send them to the devil in his own way." The flotilla, which was to be the object of the attack, was moored in a crescent in front of the harbour, and under cover of the batteries, within the reach of grape and musketry; their numbers were from 80 to 100 sail, consisting mostly of brigs and schooners, with heavy artillery and full of soldiers.

The force placed at the disposal of Nelson was not equal, nor intended to attack the whole line, but the weathermost part only, by burning some, and setting them adrift with the tide upon the others. The destruction of the flotilla was attempted with the boats of the ships of war, well manned and armed. The squadron sailed from the Downs about the 1st of August,

and at half past 11 at night put off from the Medusa. At one o'clock A. M. the attack began. The boats went in four divisions, intending to support each other, but they were separated, owing to the darkness of the night, and the natural though unforeseen effect of tide and half-tide; in consequence of which Captain Parker's division found itself entirely unsupported; though, as Nelson observed in his public letter, without the smallest blame attaching to any person in the other divisions. All the boats boarded, and made various impressions in different parts of the line where they happened to fall in; the fourth division did not get into action till daylight. Many of the vessels were taken possession of, but they were aground and chained to each other; and while they were bravely defended by the troops on board of them, those on shore poured in a destructive fire, regardless of the safety of their countrymen,—thus exposed to their friends in the rear, and their enemies in front. It was impossible to remain on board long enough to burn them, but, says Nelson in his public letter to the Board of Admiralty, "Allow me to say, who have seen much service, that more determined bravery I never witnessed." Captain Parker, a youth of about 21 years of age, was mortally wounded, and died a few days after at Deal Hospital. The Captains Somerville, Jones, Cotgrave, and Conn, who respectively commanded in the boats, received the praises of their admiral. About 20 prisoners were brought away; and this little effort, though not crowned with success, convinced the French as well as the English nation, that unless protected by a fleet of ships of the line, the flotilla dared not venture out of the reach of their own batteries. This was the last action in the British seas previous to the peace of Amiens, the preliminaries of which were soon after signed; and the British Government, more in compliance with the wishes of the nation than a conviction of its necessity, was about to make the experiment whether she could remain at peace with that of France, headed by the chief consul, Napoleon Bonaparte.

In the month of January, 1801, Captain Samuel Hood Linzie, in the Oiseau, fell in with a French frigate, which he chased; and, on the following day, being joined by the Sirius, Captain King, and the Amethyst, Captain Cook, they succeeded in taking her, when within about two miles of Cape Belum, on the coast of Portugal. She was called La Dédaigneuse, had 36 guns, 12-pounders, 300 men, and was quite new.

On the sailing of Admiral Gantheaume from Brest, Admiral Cornwallis, the commander-in-chief, dispatched Sir Robert

Calder to the West Indies in search of him. That officer, after running down all the islands from Barbadoes to Cuba, returned to his station through the gulf of Florida, and rejoined the admiral off Brest.

The impatient feeling among seamen usual on the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace broke out on this occasion. To be released from the confinement of a ship of war, and to be at liberty to engage with the merchants in what they call the best employment, are desires natural enough; and sufficient allowance is rarely made for the ebullition of temper displayed by them, when, after a cessation of hostilities, the ships are ordered abroad on a war establishment.

The suspicions entertained by the British Government of the sincerity of the chief consul, and his determination to reconquer the colony of St. Domingo as soon as peace in Europe would allow of a sufficient force being sent out, placed the court of Great Britain in a very singular situation, and compelled it to adopt the ruinous measure of an armed neutrality, until the definitive treaty should be signed, and the return of the French fleet from the West Indies have dispelled all fears for the safety of Jamaica. The ships of the Channel fleet had been very judiciously divided into three or four squadrons; one of which remained off Ushant, another went to Torbay, and a third to Bantry-bay, under the orders of Vice-admiral Mitchell, who was instructed to detach Rear-admiral Campbell with a squadron to Barbadoes. Some imprudent conversation among the officers speedily reached the ears of the ship's company. The former had been heard to say, "that they would not serve in the West Indies in time of peace;" and the latter, conceiving they had at least as good a right to make their election, roundly declared, when the signal was made for sailing, that *they would not go*. This spirit of mutiny was principally confined to the Téméraire, the flag-ship of Rear-admiral Campbell, who, with his officers, immediately restored order; and, having secured the ringleaders, proceeded with his squadron to Spithead to have them tried for the offence.

Sixteen of the finest seamen I ever saw were put upon their trial, and a more affecting scene of the kind was never witnessed. Their noble, honest, and dauntless features impressed every spectator with a deep interest in their behalf. The facts were, however, too clearly proved, and their violence had been too great to pass unpunished, at a time when the enemy, by breaking off the negotiation, might have taken advantage of our weakness to strike a fatal blow. These considerations were supposed to render example necessary, and six of those unfor-

tunate men were executed on board the ships at Spithead, while the squadron of Admiral Campbell dropped down to St. Helen's, preparatory to their sailing for Barbadoes.

On the trial an incident happened not unworthy of notice. The vice-admiral presiding at the court-martial was informed that a person was in court taking notes. The young man, on being desired, advanced with great modesty and diffidence, said that he was a reporter for one of the London papers, and knew not that he was transgressing the rules of the court, at the same time presenting very respectfully the memorandum-book, which was snatched from his hand, torn, and thrown under the table by the president, who observed that the public ought not to be in possession of the facts until sentence was passed! The alleged motive for this proceeding was to guard the public mind from prejudice against the prisoners. In civil cases for high crimes I know that such is the practice, and the same reason is assigned; but from my knowledge of the constitution of naval courts-martial, I will venture to assert, that the prisoners were much more likely to derive benefit from the publicity of the facts than otherwise. Naval officers are generally on the side of mercy towards the seamen, and their friends on shore *always*. It is therefore most probable that the publication, if it had produced any effect, would have been favourable to the prisoners. After witnessing this melancholy execution, which I shall lament to the latest hour of my life, (for although I had nothing to do with it, I think it might have been avoided,) the squadron, under Admiral Campbell, sailed for its destination on the 2d of February, 1802.* His ships were the

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Téméraire | 98 | With the admiral's flag. |
| Formidable | 98 | Francis Fayerman. |
| Orion | 74 | |
| Resolution | 74 | Honourable A. H. Gardner. |
| Majestic | 74 | Davidge Gould. |
| Theseus | 74 | John Bligh. |
| Désirée | 36 | |
| Morgiana (brig) | 16 | |

The French, in the month of April, 1801, had suddenly evacuated the island of St. Eustatia. It was taken possession

* I was at that time third lieutenant of the Theseus, with my late excellent friend Rear-admiral John Bligh, and soon after our arrival at Jamaica I was promoted to the rank of commander, and appointed to the Lark sloop of war, in which I returned to England in August 1802.

of by Colonel Blunt and Captain Perkins of the Arab. By one of the articles of the treaty of Amiens, the French were to be permitted to send a large force to reconquer the island of St. Domingo. Hopeless attempt! but, nevertheless, at the instigation of the planters, it was undertaken. The army of Le Clerc, consisting of 30,000 men, was embarked in ships of war and transports, and sailed for their fatal destination, whence few, if any, were ever to return. It was said that the Chief Consul was willing thus to dispose of a supernumerary body of men, which the leisure of peace did not permit him to employ at home. This was the army which had fought under Moreau, of whom Bonaparte was supposed to be very jealous. He therefore sent these men, under the command of General Le Clerc, to St. Domingo. It was a forlorn hope, and he knew that, whether successful or not, one great object would be gained.

Rear-admiral Campbell was followed by Commodore Stopford with seven more ships, in the month of March. These squadrons, having touched at Barbadoes and Martinique, ran down to Jamaica, where Sir John Duckworth, having formed a fleet of 22 sail of the line, sent them, under the orders of Rear-admiral Campbell, to cruise off the Navassa, a small island between Point Morant and Cape Doña Maria. This service lasted until the month of July, when the news arrived of the signing of the definitive treaty. The fleet was divided into squadrons, one of which was sent to England, another to Halifax, and a third, consisting of the best ships, was retained upon the station until the renewal of the war in the following year. Commodore the Hon. Robert Stopford remained commander-in-chief at Martinique, Rear-admiral Totty having died of the yellow fever on his passage home.

The peace of Amiens, though short, was productive of great benefit to the naval service, and consequently to the country. The seamen having being eight or nine years crowded together in the same ship, with very little relaxation from the severe duties of their profession, it became necessary to allow them to return to their friends, and renew their former ties of affection. In behalf of these brave and hardy men, the most deserving of all the lower orders, I must beg leave to offer a suggestion, which, on some future occasion, may be useful to them and the nation. I mean, that on a prospect or certainty of peace, discharges should gradually take place from the fleet, according to seniority of servitude and good conduct, whether of men impressed or of volunteers. I have already related the injustice done to the seamen who entered at the beginning of the war,

by the enormous quota bounty given to the latest comers, and acting as a premium for holding back from service; it were equally unjust to discharge the man who came in 1797 at the same moment with him who came in 1793. Certificates of long and faithful servitude I know are generally attended to by our merchants and ship-owners, and by such an equitable arrangement the best men and the oldest servants of the state would be the first provided for.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Phœbe and Africaine—Speedy and Gamo—Capture of the Speedy—Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez takes the command off Cadiz—Attacks the squadron of Admiral Linois in Algeziras-bay—Loss of the Hannibal—Particulars of that action—Sir James retires to Gibraltar—Repairs his damages—Wonderful exertions of British seamen—The French squadron in Algeziras is joined by a Spanish squadron—The whole sail, and are pursued by Sir James, who attacks them—The Superb takes the San Antonio—The Hermenegildo and Real Carlos are burnt—The Cæsar and Venerable continue the chase of the enemy—The Venerable brings the Formidable to action, but, grounding on the shoals of Conil, is dismasted, and the enemy escapes—Noble conduct of Captain Samuel Hood—Thanks of Parliament—Speech of Earl St. Vincent, and of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence—Official letters—Captain Halsted, with a squadron of frigates, retakes the Success—Captain Cockburn, in the Minerve, chases the Bravoure and destroys her—Attack on the island of Elba.

On the 19th of February Captain, now Sir Robert Barlow, in the Phœbe, of 36 guns, while off Gibraltar, discovered an enemy's frigate on the Barbary shore, under Ceuta: at half-past seven in the evening he brought her to action, and continued to engage her closely for two hours, during which he had so much the advantage, that he scarcely received a shot, while the slaughter among the enemy was almost incredible. Reduced to a perfect wreck, with five feet of water in her hold, she surrendered, and the scene on board of her exceeded, in proportion, that witnessed in the Ça-ira and Censeur. Her decks were encumbered with 200 dead, and 143 wounded men; more by 60 than the whole crew of the Phœbe. Her name was the Africaine; she mounted 44 guns, and had at the commencement of the action 315 seamen and 400 soldiers and artificers on board, besides the general of division, Desfourneaux, with other superior officers; six brass field-pieces, many thousand stand of arms, ammunition, and implements of agriculture. She was bound to Egypt, and commanded by Commodore Majendie. The Phœbe had two men killed, and Mr. John Wentworth Holland, the first lieutenant, Mr. Griffiths, the master, and 10 seamen wounded. The great inequality in damage may be attributed to this cause; the

enemy, who attempted to board the Phœbe, was out-manœuvred, and kept at a proper distance, by which means her supernumeraries became only lumber on her decks, and prevented the commodore and his seamen from making a proper application of their force, while the useless hands, who crowded the decks and rigging, were mowed down at every broadside or discharge of musketry from the Phœbe. For this action Captain Barlow was knighted, and Mr. John Wentworth Holland, the first lieutenant, promoted to the rank of commander, and soon after posted.

On the 5th of May the Speedy brig, of 14 guns, and having only 54 men and boys, commanded by that daring and eccentric officer, Lord Cochrane,* met off Barcelona with a Spanish xebec. The magnitude of the enemy had no effect on the nerves of the British captain. He told his crew that he intended to board her; they swore to follow wherever he might lead; *not a man or boy* was off the deck. The surgeon, Mr. James Guthrie, took the wheel, and the little audacious vessel was laid alongside of the towering Spaniard. The British sailors, led by their captain, mounted the rigging and leaped on her decks, dealing death at every blow. The astonished Spaniards, after some resistance, fled, and gave up their ship, which proved to be the Gamo, of 32 guns,—22 long 12-pounders, eight 9-pounders, and two heavy carronades; she was manned with 319 men, of whom the captain and 14 were killed, and 41 wounded: Mr. Parker, the first lieutenant of the Speedy, and eight men, were wounded, and three were killed.

In the month of June following, in the same vessel, and in company with the Kangaroo brig, commanded by Captain Pulling, Lord Cochrane defeated a very superior force, sunk two vessels, and brought off three others loaded with provisions, having silenced the batteries under which they had vainly sought protection.

The career of the Speedy was closed by her capture a few days after these exploits. Falling in with the squadron under Rear-admiral Linois, there was no device or manœuvre which Cochrane did not employ to evade the pursuit of the enemy, but in vain; he was at length secured, and the Speedy was carried to Algeziras.

* This gallant officer, whose character I have always admired when in the presence of the enemies of his country, was peculiarly happy in the *équivoque* he passed upon the Spanish officer who succeeded to the command of the Gamo. He required from Lord Cochrane a certificate that he had done his duty: his Lordship immediately wrote, "I do hereby certify that Don —— (with many high-sounding names) *conducted himself like a real Spaniard.*" This precious document was received with every mark of respect and gratitude.

In the month of June Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez was sent from England to maintain the blockade of Cadiz, Sir Richard Bickerton's squadron having gone to Egypt. The force under the orders of Sir James Saumarez was as follows:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Venerable | 74 | Capt. Samuel Hood. |
| Pompée | 74 | —— Charles Sterling. |
| Audacious | 74 | —— Shuldham Peard. |
| Cæsar (flag) | 80 | —— Jahleel Brenton. |
| Spencer | 74 | —— Henry D. Darby. |
| Hannibal | 74 | —— Solomon Ferris. |

On the 5th of July Sir James received intelligence, by means of an advice-boat from Gibraltar, that a French squadron, of three sail of the line and one frigate, had anchored at Algeziras, within four miles of the rock of Gibraltar.

The rear-admiral instantly decided upon attacking the enemy, in the sanguine hope of being able to capture these ships, and resume his station off Cadiz, before the Spanish squadron he was then blockading could be in readiness to avail themselves of his absence. For this purpose he directed the Thames, then off San Lucar, to recall the Superb from her station to the westward, and then follow the squadron, which made all sail for the entrance of the Straits. The wind, which had been easterly during the night, became favourable in the course of the afternoon. The signal was made to prepare for battle, and for anchoring by the stern, in imitation of the example of Nelson in the battle of the Nile. The squadron, entering the Straits in the evening, had little wind during the night, but at daylight a fresh breeze sprang up from the westward. All sail was instantly made; and, at 45 minutes after seven, the Venerable, having got abreast of Cabrita Point, made the signal for seeing the enemy,* and was directed by the admiral to anchor between the batteries of Algeziras

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* *British Squadron.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Cæsar (flag) | 80 | Capt. J. Brenton. |
| Audacious | 74 | —— S. Peard. |
| Venerable | 74 | —— S. Hood. |
| Spencer | 74 | —— H. D. Darby. |
| Hannibal | 74 | —— S. Ferris. |
| Pompée | 74 | —— C. Sterling. |

*French.*

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Formidable | 80 | Rear-admiral Linois. |
| 2. Dessaix | 84 | |
| 3. Indomptable | 74 | |
| 4. Meuron (frigate) | 44 | |

and Green Island. At 25 minutes past eight the action began with the headmost ship, and at nine it became general. The Venerable, on approaching the enemy's ships, with an intention of getting as close as possible, unfortunately broke round off by a flaw of wind; and Captain Hood, apprehensive of not being able to obtain a nearer position, let go his anchor at the distance of about two cables' length from the Indomptable, and opened a gallant fire upon her. The Pompée, preserving the wind in its original direction, succeeded in obtaining a most admirable situation on the bow of the French admiral, within pistol-shot, and raked him with great effect. The Audacious, passing under the lee of the Venerable, took up her anchorage in a line ahead of her; as the Cæsar immediately did ahead of the Audacious. The Hannibal and Spencer being becalmed to leeward of the Cæsar, their signals were made to tow into action. On a breeze springing up, Captain Ferris eagerly availed himself of it, by making sail towards the Orange-grove, tacking in shore, and keeping a close luff, in the hope of being able to lay the French admiral on board on the side next the shore. This daring attempt was frustrated by his ship taking the ground, immediately abreast of the battery of San Jago, and within a short distance of the Formidable, in such a position as to be exposed to a destructive fire from that ship. Until this period the advantage seemed entirely on the side of the British squadron; but by a flaw of wind the Pompée broke her sheer, and, instead of raking the French admiral's ship, was raked by him with a most destructive fire. She was obliged to cut her cables, and was towed off by the boats of the squadron. A fresh breeze springing up at this time from the N.W. the Cæsar cut her cable, and, veering round, attacked the Dessaix and Green Island battery, supported by the Audacious and Venerable; the Hannibal at the same time engaging the Formidable, and the batteries. The ships remained here for nearly two hours, under every disadvantage of calm, light, and baffling airs, with their heads all round the compass; the boats were incessantly employed in towing them, so as to bring their broadsides to bear, until called away to assist the Hannibal, now immoveably fixed upon the shoal, whence no effort could extricate her. Seventy men lying dead on his decks, with a great number wounded, about 12 o'clock Captain Ferris struck his colours and surrendered. The admiral, however, still continued the action in the Cæsar, supported by the Venerable and Audacious, until half-past one, when, finding all prospect of success had entirely vanished, he slowly and reluctantly retired to the mole of Gibraltar, to repair his damages, leaving the Hannibal

in possession of the enemy. Such was the issue of a conflict, which, at its commencement, promised the most brilliant success. Every effort was made to overcome the obstacles which presented themselves; every change of wind served only to renew the undaunted exertions, and to stimulate the enterprise of the gallant admiral; and it was not till every hope of success had vanished that the object was abandoned. Nothing could exceed the decision and intrepidity of Captain Ferris, although the result of his manœuvre was unfortunate: it is, however, due to Sir James Saumarez to state that the squadron did not withdraw from action until the Hannibal had surrendered. A contrary assertion is made in the narrative of Captain Ferris; an unaccountable error, proving that the most correct officers may sometimes be deceived, and the more to be lamented in this instance, as bearing the sanction of an official document. In this action there were some animating examples of valour and patriotism; and, viewing the subsequent conduct of the ships' companies composing that squadron, we will venture to say that history cannot produce any thing surpassing their devotion to the cause of their King and country, and thorough determination to revenge their recent defeat.

When, in the hottest part of the action, the Cæsar broke her sheer, and could not get her guns to bear on the enemy, the captain ordered a cutter to be lowered down from the stern to convey a warp to the Audacious, but the boat was found to be knocked to pieces by the enemy's shot. Before other means could be resorted to, Michael Collins, a young sailor, belonging to the Cæsar's mizen-top, seized the end of a lead-line, and, exclaiming, "You shall soon have a warp," darted from the tafrail, and swam with the line to the Audacious, where it was received, and by that means a halser run out, which answered the intended purpose.

During the action the French admiral (Linois), not confiding in the bravery of his men or the firmness of his allies, was busily employed warping his ships as close to the shore as the depth of water would admit.

On the following morning the ships of the squadron were employed in landing the wounded at the hospital, and repairing their damages, which were very considerable. The Pompée was in such a state as to require new lower masts, and the Cæsar's mainmast was rendered unserviceable.

Sir James Saumarez sent his captain over to Algeziras with a flag of truce to the French admiral, proposing an exchange of prisoners, which M. Linois declined, alleging that it was not in his power to consent to such a measure without first receiving the sanction of the minister of marine at Paris, to whom he

had despatched a courier immediately after the termination of the action.

On the afternoon of the 9th the Paisley brig was seen standing into the bay, with the signal flying for an enemy; and shortly after the Superb and Thames appeared, chased by a Spanish squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates, which, on these ships reaching their anchorage, hauled round Cabrita Point, and joined the French ships in Algeziras. It appeared evident to Sir James Saumarez that the design of this junction was to remove the French ships and their prize to Cadiz, as a port of safety; and that the enemy would use every exertion to effect so important an object with the utmost celerity, under a very natural expectation that the British admiral would be unable to molest them; but this heroic officer immediately formed the daring resolution of attacking the enemy, even with his very inadequate and crippled force, the moment they moved from under their batteries.

The damages sustained by the Pompée, commanded by Captain Sterling, were such as precluded the hope of her being ready within any reasonable time to proceed to sea; the hands were therefore turned over to assist in the repairs of the other ships.

The Cæsar lay in the mole in so shattered a state that the admiral gave her up also, and, hoisting his flag on board the Audacious, expressed his intention of distributing her men to the effective ships. Captain Brenton requested that his people might remain on board as long as possible, and, addressing them, stated the admiral's intention in case the ship could not be got ready: they answered, with three cheers, "All hands to work day and night till she is ready." The captain ordered them to work all day, and watch all night; by these means they accomplished what has probably never been exceeded. On the 8th they warped her into the mole, and stripped the lower masts; on the 9th they got their new mainmast in. On the 11th the enemy showed symptoms of sailing, which only increased, if possible, the energies of the seamen. On Sunday the 12th, at dawn of day, the enemy loosed sails; the Cæsar still refitting in the mole, receiving powder, shot, and other stores, and preparing to come out of the mole.

At noon the enemy began to move: the wind was fresh from the eastward, and as they cleared the bay they took up stations off Cabrita Point, which appeared to be the rendezvous on which they were to form their line of battle.

At one o'clock the enemy's squadron was nearly all under way; the Spanish ships Réal Carlos and Hermenegildo, of 112 guns each, off Cabrita Point: the Cæsar was warping out

of the mole. The day was clear: the whole population of the Rock came out to witness the scene; the line-wall, mole-head, and batteries, were crowded from the dock-yard to the ragged staff, the Cæsar's band playing, "Come cheer up, my lads, 'tis to glory we steer;" the military band of the garrison answering with "Britons, strike home!" The effect of this scene it is difficult to describe: Englishmen were proud of their country; and foreigners, who beheld the scene, wished to be Englishmen. So general was the enthusiasm amongst our gallant countrymen, that even the wounded men begged to be taken on board, to share in the honours of the approaching conflict.

At three o'clock the Cæsar, having left the mole, passed under the stern of the Audacious, hoisted the admiral's flag once more, and made the signal for the squadron to weigh and prepare for battle.

Thus, after one of the severest engagements ever known, the British squadron, in the short space of five days, repaired its damages, and again sought the enemy, whose force had become tripled by the junction of the squadron from Cadiz.

With such men, and in such a cause, victory seemed certain, notwithstanding the great disparity of force;* and the enemy appeared to have a strong presentiment of a tremendous struggle.

The Spanish and French admirals had carried their flags into one frigate, that they might arrange their plans, and direct the movements of their combined force. By this unprecedented union of two commanders-in-chief in one ship, the Spanish admiral, who commanded the largest force, consented to become the aide-de-camp, or something less, of the French admiral; but with that unhappy country all went from bad to worse, until their fleet received its death-blow at Trafalgar.

The Cæsar brought-to off Europa Point; the British squa-

| * English. | | Combined. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* | | |
| Cæsar | 80 | Hermenegildo | 112 | | |
| Superb | 74 | Real Carlos | 112 | | |
| Venerable | 74 | Neptuno | 90 | | |
| Audacious | 74 | San Fernando Arrogante | 80 | | |
| Spencer | 74 | †San Antonio | 74 | *Spanish.* | |
| Thames | 32 | St. Augustine | 74 | *Spanish.* | |
| Calpe (polacre) | 14 | Three frigates | 36 | *Spanish.* | |
| | | | 36 | *Spanish.* | |
| | | | 36 | *Spanish.* | |
| | | Formidable | 84 | | |
| | | Dessaix | 84 | | |
| | | Indomptable | 74 | *French.* | |
| | | Meuron | 40 | *French.* | |

† Under French colours.

dron, as they weighed, closed round her; at five the admiral made the interrogatory signal, to know if they were ready for action? which was answered in the negative, but at 35 minutes past six it was notified that all was ready, and the signal was immediately made to observe the admiral's motions after dark, and keep in close order of sailing. At five minutes after eight the enemy was seen to bear up to the westward, and the British admiral, burning a blue light to attract attention to his motions, instantly gave chase. The Superb, from her superior sailing, and the ardent zeal of her commander, was soon abreast of the Cæsar, and received the admiral's direction to bring the northernmost ship of the enemy to action, in order to keep them as much as possible from the Spanish shore, which he most readily obeyed. At five minutes past eleven he opened his fire upon a Spanish three-decker, which threw that ship, and her second in the line, into such confusion that they fell on board of each other. The fore-topmost of the weathermost going, as she was firing into the one to leeward, supposing her to be an enemy, the sail fell over the guns, and took fire between the two ships, at the moment the Cæsar was rounding-to, to open her broadside upon them. The flames, with awful and inconceivable rapidity, flew to the mast-head of each; and the Cæsar had scarcely time to get out of the direction of them by shifting her helm. Leaving these unfortunate ships to their fate, the admiral pushed on to support the Superb, then engaged with the San Antonio, a Spanish ship under French colours, which was, however, already beaten, and surrendered when the Cæsar came abreast of her. Sir James Saumarez, therefore, followed by the Venerable, went in pursuit of the flying enemy. At midnight the wind increased to a gale, and the Cæsar's masts, from the celerity of her refit, began to complain so much, that it was necessary to close reef the main-topsail, and to take in the fore-topsail. At twelve one of the three-deckers blew up, and a quarter of an hour afterward the other suffered the same fate. At three the Venerable came up, and brought-to on the lee-bow of the Cæsar. At 45 minutes past three they saw one of the enemy's ships on the lee-bow, and the Venerable in chase of her, the Spencer coming up astern; at five the Venerable brought the enemy to action. The wind had very nearly failed; there were only light airs, and the Cæsar's boats were endeavouring to tow her into action. Shortly after it became entirely calm; and at six, a light breeze coming off the land, and dispersing the smoke from the ships engaged, discovered the Venerable with her main-mast gone, and her opponent making off, firing her stern-chase guns. The Venerable's foremast went over the side about eight, and she was drifting in

upon the Pedro shoals. Every effort was made by the squadron to assist her, but Sir James Saumarez observing the remainder of the enemy's ships, amounting to five sail of the line and four frigates, coming down from the westward, despatched his captain in the gig to the Venerable, with discretionary orders to Captain Hood to withdraw his men from the ship, and destroy her. The Thames was ordered to close for the purpose of receiving the people; but the gallant Hood had still his resources, of which he most nobly availed himself. The mizen-mast fell just as the Cæsar's boats reached her; the shot from the Formidable were still flying over her; the ship a wreck, and striking heavily on the rocks. Captain Hood requested the admiral would depend upon his preventing the enemy getting possession of the Venerable, and kept the Thames by him for the purpose of making use of her in case of necessity. The enemy, observing the Superb and Audacious joining from the southward, hauled up for Cadiz. The Venerable got off the shoals, was taken in tow by the Spencer, and, before sunset, was going round Cape Trafalgar *under jury-masts, and in such efficient order as to be fit for action had an enemy appeared.* Can I say more in honour of her captain, officers, and crew?

Thus ended the first battle of Trafalgar, in which the enemy lost three sail of the line; nearly 2,400 men perished in the flames of the ships, besides those that were taken prisoners. The burning of the Hermenegildo and Real Carlos is one of the most tragical events recorded in history.

This contest for naval supremacy might be said to have lasted from the 5th to the 13th of July, on which day it terminated to the honour and advantage of Britain; and I am confident I shall receive the sanction of my countrymen in upholding the examples of the admiral, his captains, and brave followers, as unsurpassed in the annals of naval warfare, and worthy of the imitation of posterity. Keats, in particular, I commend for the gallant manner in which he arrested the flight of the enemy; and Hood, in addition to the high character which he had acquired for valour, displayed a coolness and judgment in the hour of difficulty and danger which rendered his quarter-deck, on that day, the first school for naval instruction ever exhibited to an admiring and applauding nation.

The thanks of Parliament, proposed in the House of Lords by Earl St. Vincent, who was at that time First Lord of the Admiralty, were unanimously carried. His lordship stated the merits of the action in the bay of Algeziras, in which, though a ship was lost, no honour was lost to the flag; and though Sir James's squadron was so greatly crippled, he was

enabled, by the most wonderful exertions, to meet the enemy, who had put to sea with an augmented force; while his own was diminished in the same ratio by the loss of the Hannibal, the disabled state of the Pompée, and the separation of the Spencer and Audacious.

"This gallant achievement," said the Earl, "surpasses everything I have met with in reading or service; and when the news of it arrived, the whole Board, at which I have the honour to preside, were struck with astonishment to find that Sir James Saumarez, in so very short a time after the affair of Algeziras, had been able, with three ships only, and one of them disabled, especially his own, to come up with the enemy, and with unparalleled bravery to attack them, and obtain a victory highly honourable to himself, and essentially conducive to the national glory." Lord Nelson rose to second the observations of Earl St. Vincent, and was followed by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence (his present most gracious Majesty), who gave his testimony in favour of Sir James and his captains, officers, and men, in the most elegant and ample manner; and the admiral was requested to make known the vote of the House to his squadron.

Previously to his sailing from England, in the month of June, Sir James Saumarez, for his long and meritorious services, was created a baronet; and for this action a pension of £1,200 per annum was settled on him for life, and he was created a peer soon after the accession of his present Majesty.

I close this narrative with an extract from the official letters of the admiral to Evan Nepean, Esq., dated on board his Majesty's ship Cæsar, at Gibraltar, the 6th of July.

## LONDON GAZETTE.

SIR, *August* 1, 1801.

I have to request you will be pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, conformably to my letter of yesterday's date, I stood through the Straits, with his Majesty's squadron under my orders, with the intention of attacking three French line-of-battle ships and a frigate, that I had received information of, being at anchor off Algeziras. On opening Cabrita Point I found the ships lay at a considerable distance from the enemy's batteries, and, having a leading wind up to them, afforded every reasonable hope of success in the attack.

I had previously directed Captain Hood, in the Venerable, from his experience and knowledge of the anchorage, to lead the squadron, which he executed with his accustomed gallantry; and, although it was not intended he should anchor, he found himself under the necessity so to do, from the winds failing (a circumstance so much to be apprehended in this country), and from which circumstance I

have to regret the want of success in this well-intended enterprise. Captain Sterling anchored opposite to the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompée to action in the most spirited and gallant manner, which was also followed by the commanders of every ship in the squadron.

Captains Darby and Ferris, owing to light winds, were prevented for a considerable time from coming into action; at length, the Hannibal getting a breeze, Captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of being alongside one of the enemy's ships, when the Hannibal unfortunately took the ground; and I am extremely concerned to acquaint their lordships that, after having made every possible effort with this ship and the Audacious, to cover her from the enemy, I was under the necessity to make sail, being at the time only three cables' length from one of the enemy's batteries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES SAUMAREZ.

*Cæsar, off Cape Trafalgar, July* 13, 1801.

SIR,

It has pleased the Almighty to crown the exertions of this squadron with the most decisive success over the enemies of their country.

The three French line-of-battle ships disabled in the action of the 6th instant, off Algeziras, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line-of-battle ships, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, and a French ship of 74 guns, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels; and got under sail yesterday morning, together with his Majesty's late ship Hannibal, which they had succeeded in getting off the shoal on which she struck.

I almost despaired of having a sufficient force in readiness to oppose to such numbers; but, through the great exertions of Captain Brenton, the officers and men belonging to the Cæsar, the ship was in readiness to warp out of the mole yesterday morning, and got under weigh immediately after, with all the squadron, except the Pompée, which ship had not time to get in her masts.

Confiding in the zeal and intrepidity of the officers and men I had the happiness to serve with, I determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of this very powerful force to Cadiz. Late in the evening I observed the enemy's ships to have cleared Cabrita Point, and at eight I bore up with the squadron, to stand after them. His Majesty's ship Superb being stationed ahead of the Cæsar, I directed Captain Keats to make sail and attack the sternmost ships in the enemy's rear, using his endeavours to keep in shore of them. At eleven the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships, and on the Cæsar's coming up, and preparing to engage a three-decker that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, both were seen in a blaze, and presented a most awful sight. No possibility existing of offering the least assistance in so distressing a situation, the Cæsar passed to close with the ship engaged by the

Superb; but by the cool and determined fire kept upon her, which must ever reflect the highest credit on that ship, the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and soon after hauled down her colours.

The Venerable and Spencer having at this time come up, I bore up after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail, standing out of the Straits, and lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till daylight; and in the morning the only ships in company were the Venerable and Thames, ahead of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships at some distance from them, standing towards the shoal of Conil, besides the Spencer astern coming up.

All the ships immediately made sail, with a fresh breeze; but as we approached, the wind suddenly failing, the Venerable was alone able to bring her to action, which Captain Hood did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced the French ship, when his main-mast (which had been before wounded) was unfortunately shot away, and it coming nearly calm, the enemy's ship was enabled to get off, without any possibility of following her.

The highest praise is due to Captain Hood, the officers and men of the Venerable, for their spirit and gallantry in the action, which entitled them to better success. The French ship was an 84, with additional guns on the gunwale.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

*Evan Nepean, Esq.* J. Saumarez.

List of the Spanish squadron which arrived at Cadiz from Ferrol on the 25th of April, under the command of Don Joaquin De Moreno (lieutenant-general), as vice-admiral, and which proceeded to Algeziras bay the 9th of July, 1801.

| *Ships.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Real Carlos | Capt. Don J. Esquerra | 112 | burnt. |
| San Hermenegildo | —— Don J. Emparar | 112 | burnt. |
| San Fernando | —— Don J. Malina. | 80 | |
| Argonauta | —— Don J. Harrera | 80 | |
| San Augustina | —— Don R. Jopete. | 74 | |
| San Antonio (under French colours) | | 74 | taken by the Superb. |
| Wanton (French lugger) | | 12 | |

The Spaniards, flattered by the French admiral and their own vanity, gave themselves a large share of credit for the capture of the Hannibal; and when the squadron of Moreno was ordered to Algeziras to conduct the fatal prize to Cadiz, the young aristocracy of Spain crowded on board of the Hermenegildo and Real Carlos to share in the honour of another victory. The sudden conflagration on board of these ships produced a scene of horror which no pen can describe. The agonized screams of the unhappy crews, deserted by their own

countrymen and allies in that dreadful hour, pierced the hearts of their brave conquerors, but to assist them was impossible while a hostile flag was in sight. Seven sail of the line, besides the Hannibal, still flying before a squadron of not half their force, it was the duty of the British admiral to leave the burning ships to their fate, and pursue the others till their destruction was completed. Out of 2,400 men, of which the crews of the ships consisted, only 70 escaped in one of their launches. I once asked Lord De Saumarez whether, during the conflagration which was consuming the two Spanish three-deckers, he felt any inclination, or had any intention of affording them assistance? To the best of my recollection, his lordship's reply was, "I could not have done so consistently with my duty or my orders, which were to sink, burn, and destroy; and, as long as a hostile flag was in sight, I had no alternative."

In August the squadron of frigates, under the orders of Captain Halsted, of the Phœnix, captured, off Port Longone, the French frigate La Carrere, of 44 guns (18-pounders), and 356 men. The first ship that brought her to action was the Pomone, which had two men killed and four wounded.

Captain Cockburn, in the Minerve, having joined this squadron on the 2d of September, with the signal flying for some enemy's frigates, running towards Leghorn, the British ships pursued them so closely that one of the enemy ran on shore, on the rocks of Vada: she was taken and brought off. Her name was the Success, of 32 guns, which had been captured by Gantheaume, in February. Another frigate was driven on shore by the Minerve, near the batteries of Leghorn: she struck her colours, and her masts fell over the side. Captain Cockburn boarded her under a heavy fire, brought away many prisoners, and would have set the ship on fire but for the wounded men with which her decks were covered. She was called La Bravoure, an 18-pound frigate, mounting 44 guns, and having 283 men. The capture of this squadron, which had been employed in the attack on Porto Ferrajo, reduced the enemy to great distress, and caused their ultimate surrender of that garrison to our land and sea forces.

The little island of Elba had long been the scene of contention between the French and English. Captain John Ballard, in the Pearl, was sent to relieve the British garrison, which was besieged in the fortress of Porto Ferrajo. Lieutenant Laurence, of the marines, belonging to the Pearl, defended that fortress, with his little party from the frigate, from the 24th June to the 18th of September, 1801. This enterprising young officer found, on his landing and entering the port, that no one within it knew how to cut a fuse; and their shells had been often seen

to pass over the besiegers, or to burst on leaving the mortar. Lieutenant Laurence quickly introduced a new mode of annoyance; and, having been seconded by the squadron under Sir J. B. Warren, the enemy were finally driven out of the island.

Captain Rogers, of the Mercury frigate, sent Lieutenant Mather with the boats into the mole of Ancona, to cut out the Bull-dog sloop of war, which had been recently taken by the enemy. Mr. Mather boarded her, drove the Frenchmen below, and secured them; then cut her cables, which were made fast to the shore, and towed her out under a heavy fire of round, grape, and musketry, from the batteries. But fortune was not favourable to his valour: it fell calm; the vessel, drifted by the current back to the shore, was retaken by a swarm of gun-boats. Lieutenant Mather was more fortunate, shortly after, in boarding a pirate among the rocks of Turmite, in the Adriatic. She was called Le Tigre, of eight guns and 60 men; lay aground, and was defended by a fort. This being silenced by Lieutenant Wilson, of the marines, with a party of his men, and the boats of El Corso, sloop of war, the vessel was hove off and taken out, without loss on our side.

In the month of September following the Bull-dog was boarded and brought out from under the batteries of Gallipoli, by the boats of the Champion, commanded by Lord William Stewart.

Lieutenant W. Wooldridge, in the Pasley, armed brig, boarded off Cape de Gatt a Spanish privateer polacre, called the Virgine del Rosario, pierced for 20 guns, mounting only 10, two of which were long 24-pounders, and eight long twelves, with 94 men. The Spanish captain, first and second lieutenants, with 18 men, were killed, and 13 wounded. The Pasley had three killed and seven wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Wooldridge, who for this action was deservedly promoted to the rank of commander.

Captain Francis Newcome was honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial for the loss of the Albanaise, a bomb-ketch, the crew of which had risen upon him and carried the vessel into an enemy's port. Captain Newcome, after being severely wounded, was overpowered, and his officers were confined below. In the course of the trial Lieutenant Kent refused to give his evidence on oath from some religious scruples, and the court expressed an opinion that he was unfit to hold a commission in his Majesty's service. I have ever been of opinion that the word of honour was quite sufficient for any officer to give; we *now* take the *affirmation* of the Quakers.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Treaty of El Arisch—Rejected by Lord Keith—Answer of Kleber—Observations—Letter of Sir S. Smith to Poussielgue—Of Lord Keith to Kleber—Death of the latter—Forces destined for the invasion of Egypt—Assemble in Tetuan bay—Proceed to Minorca and Malta—Sail thence for Marmorice bay—Sail thence, and arrive in Aboukir Bay—List of regiments and officers under command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie—Daring enterprise—Escape of the Régénérée—Landing of the British army effected—Severe action and loss of our troops—Battles of the 13th and 21st of March—Death of Sir R. Abercrombie—Surrender of Aboukir castle—The English cut the canal of Alexandria, and render the lake Mareotis navigable—Junction of Turkish forces—Allies advance with British gun-boats to Rosetta—Naval force in the Mediterranean—The surrender of Rhamanie—Capitulation of Cairo—Rear-admiral Blanket in the Red Sea—Indian army arrives at Suez under General Baird, and ships of war with troops from England enter the Red Sea Danger and disasters in that navigation—Disappointment of Menou, on the surrender of Belliard—History of Gantheaume's expedition to relieve Egypt—He is unsuccessful, but captures the Swiftsure, and returns to Toulon- The Iphigenia burnt—Reinforcements arrive from England—Belliard's army embarked, and siege of Alexandria commenced—General Coote lands on the west side of the city—Surrender of Marabout—English ships enter the harbour—Capitulation of Alexandria—Observations—Official letters.

In the *London Gazette* of the 29th of March, 1800, we find it notified, that a convention had been signed between the commissioners of the Sublime Porte, appointed by the Grand Vizier, and General Dessaix and M. Poussielgue, appointed by General Kleber, by which it was agreed that the French troops should evacuate Egypt and return to France. This treaty, known by the name of El Arisch, was acceded to by Sir Sydney Smith, and brought home by Major Douglas, of the marines, who had gained a great share of honour to himself and his corps for the services rendered to the allies in that country. The Turkish vice-admiral, Patrona Bey, had been assassinated in a mutiny of the Janissaries, at Cyprus; and Sir Sydney, having restored order, in conjunction with the next Turkish naval officer in command, Seid Ali Bey, proceeded to the Damietta branch of the Nile, where great events were in preparation. The following were the articles of the treaty:—

1. That the Porte restore to France all possessions which she may have taken from her during the war.

2. That the relations between the Ottoman empire and the French republic be re-established on the same footing as before the war.

3. That the French army evacuate Egypt, with arms and baggage, whenever the necessary means for such evacuation shall have been procured, and withdraw to the ports which shall be agreed upon.

*On board the Tigre, 8th Nivose, year 8th* (29*th December*, 1799).

(A true copy). POUSSIELGUE AND DESSAIX.
SYDNEY SMITH.

Considering the situation of the continent in 1799 and 1800, it certainly was desirable that the army of Kleber should not be added to the forces contending against the allies on the Rhine, in Switzerland, and Italy. Lord Keith, furnished with instructions founded on these sentiments of the British Government, and unknown to Sir Sydney Smith, had taken the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Here, receiving official information of the treaty of El Arisch, he refused his ratification as far as it regarded Great Britain, and addressed the following letter to Kleber :—

SIR, *Queen Charlotte, February* 8, 1800.

I inform you that I have received positive orders from his Majesty to consent to no capitulation with the French army under your command in Egypt and Syria unless they lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, abandoning all the ships and the stores in the port and citadel of Alexandria to the allied powers ; and that, in case of such capitulation, I am not at liberty to allow any troops to return to France before they are exchanged.

I think it also proper to inform you, that all the ships having French troops on board, and sailing from that country, furnished with passports signed by others than those that have a right to grant them, will be forced by the officers of the ships which I command to remain at Alexandria. In short, the vessels which shall be met returning to Europe with passports granted in consequence of a separate treaty with any of the allied powers shall be detained as prizes, and all persons on board considered as prisoners of war.

(Signed) KEITH.

The letter of Lord Keith was given by Kleber in public orders to his army, and accompanied with the following laconic remark :—

Soldiers, we know how to reply to such insolence : prepare for battle.

(Signed) KLEBER.

The threat of the French general was followed by the most intrepid acts. He defeated the Turks, and regained many

important posts, which he had either evacuated or left in an unguarded state; and the British Government, seeing their error too late, now wished to ratify the treaty of El Arisch. The rejection of it was certainly unfortunate. Had the whole army of Kleber been upon the Rhine or in Italy, it could not have caused so much expense of blood and treasure as did its forcible expulsion from Egypt. It diverted also the employment of a vast armament, naval and military, from the more immediate necessities of the state in the Baltic and on the coast of France.

It appears to have been the determination of the British Government that, as the French had sent an army to Egypt, in that country it should remain till the last man had perished, unless France consented to make a peace upon fair and honourable terms. Whatever may have been the motives of our Government, the act certainly placed Sir Sydney Smith in an unpleasant predicament. He wrote immediately to Poussielgue explaining the facts which had led to the unfortunate misunderstanding.

Lord Keith had in the interval received fresh instructions, and on the 23d of April his lordship addressed the following letter to Monsieur Poussielgue:—

Sir,

I have given no orders or authority against the observance of the convention between the Grand Vizier and General Kleber, having received no orders on this head from the King's ministers. Accordingly, I was of opinion that his Majesty should not take part in it; but since the treaty has been concluded, his Majesty being desirous o. showing his respect for his allies, I have received instructions to allow a passage for the French troops, and I lost not a moment in sending to Egypt orders to permit them to return to France without disturbance. At the same time I thought it my duty to my King, and those of his allies, whose states lie in the seas through which they are to pass, to require that they should not return in a mass, nor in ships of war, nor in armed ships. I wished likewise that the cartels should carry no merchandise which would be contrary to the law of nations. I have likewise asked of General Kleber his word of honour that neither he nor his army would commit any hostilities against the coalesced powers; and I doubt not that General Kleber will find the conditions perfectly reasonable. Captain Hay* has received my orders to allow you to proceed to France with Adjutant-general Cambis, as soon as he arrives at Leghorn.

(Signed) Keith.

This letter produced no farther amicable arrangement. The French army continued its operations, and the British squadron

* The late Captain John Baker Hay, of the Royal Navy.

blockaded the coast of Egypt until the following year, the intermediate time being occupied in the siege and blockade of Genoa and Malta, and the fruitless summons of Cadiz; after which the British fleet and its numerous convoy of transports went over to Tetuan bay, on the coast of Barbary, to complete its water and obtain a supply of fresh provisions. Here they met with so much bad weather that the ships lost between 60 and 80 anchors and cables. In the mean time the brave but unfortunate Kleber fell by the hand of an assassin,—an event which completed the ruin of the French cause in Egypt.

It was long doubtful how this fine army should be employed; but the surrender of Malta and the battle of Hohenlinden, where Moreau, in the December preceding, had defeated the Austrians, probably decided the British Cabinet to prepare for the invasion of Egypt.

In few events of our history has the military honour of Britain been carried to a greater degree of splendour than in the expedition to Egypt, where they landed in presence of a superior force. It was on the sands of Egypt that the French first learned in recent times to form a proper estimate of the character of a British soldier.

France can never blot from her history her shameful treatment towards that unhappy country, whose wrongs were avenged by British valour. That Bonaparte's ultimate aim was the conquest of India there can be no doubt. The British Government of India was soon made sensible of this intention, and by a timely treaty with Aly Khan, the Shah of Persia, opposed an effectual barrier by land against the inroads of the French armies. This treaty had at the same time the effect of checking a meditated expedition of the Afghans, who were preparing to invade Hindoostan.*

Our forces were ordered to rendezvous during the winter months at Minorca and Malta. About the middle of December, 1800, Lord Keith, accompanied by Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, had collected the whole of the force in the harbour of Valette; whence, on the 20th, the first division sailed for the harbour of Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania, in Asia Minor. The second division arrived on the 31st of January, and the commanders-in-chief lost no time in putting their men and ships into the most efficient state for the intended campaign. The ships of war and transports were immediately supplied with as much fuel and water as they could stow; the troops were exercised in the mode of getting into the boats, landing and retreating in every variety of cir-

* *Vide* Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, 4to., vol. iii., p. 316.

cumstances. This judicious management, while it conduced both to the health of the men and their perfection in the art of war, allowed the agents of transports time to clean and ventilate their vessels. A great part of the troops were landed and placed under tents, and the novel sight of a British fleet at anchor in this noble harbour excited the admiration and astonishment of the Asiatics. Three weeks were profitably employed in this manner; and on the 20th of February the fleet unmoored, and sailed on the 23d for the coast of Egypt. The number of vessels assembled on this occasion, including hired Greeks, amounted to 175 sail. A gale of wind soon compelled the Greeks, and some of the smaller vessels, to run for Cyprus; while the admiral continued his course to the place of his destination, where he was to expect an unhealthy climate, with every local disadvantage and every possible privation. Maps and charts of the coast or interior were scarce, and not to be depended on. The only persons acquainted with the coast were Captain the Honourable Courtney Boyle, who had been shipwrecked near Damietta, and taken prisoner by the French, and Sir Sydney Smith, who was serving with Lord Keith in the expedition.

The following are the names of the ships, with their captains, employed:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Captains.* |
|---|---|---|
| Foudroyant | 80 | Admiral Lord Keith, W. Young, P. Beaver. |
| Ajax | 80 | Honourable A. F. Cochrane. |
| Minotaur | 74 | Thomas Louis. |
| Northumberland | 74 | George Martin. |
| Tigre | 74 | Sir W. Sydney Smith, Knight. |
| Swiftsure (taken in June by Gantheaume) | 74 | Benjamin Hallowell. |
| Kent | 78 | Rear-admiral Sir R. Bickerton, William Hope. |
| Flora | 36 | Robert Middleton. |
| Penelope | 36 | Henry Blackwood. |
| Trusty | 50 | Alexander Wilson. |
| Pique | 36 | James Young. |
| Greyhound | 32 | Charles Ogle. |
| Déterminée | 32 | John Clarke Serle. |
| Dictator | 64 | James Hardy. |
| Delft (flute) | 64 | Robert Reduill. |
| Inflexible (ditto) | 64 | Benjamin William Page. |
| Europa (ditto) | 50 | James Stephenson. |
| Stately | 64 | George Scott. |
| Braakel (flute) | 54 | George Clarke. |
| Santa Dorotea | 36 | Hugh Downman. |
| Diadem | 64 | John Larmour. |

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Captains.* |
|---|---|---|
| Florentina | 36 | John Broughton. |
| Renown | 74 | Rear-admiral Sir J. Warren,* F. L. Maitland. |
| | | *Commanders.* |
| Expedition (flute) | 44 | Thomas Wilson. |
| Charon (ditto) | 44 | Richard Bridges. |
| Renommée (ditto) | 36 | Peter M'Kellar. |
| Tonterelle (ditto) | 32 | John Furgusson. |
| Modeste (ditto) | 36 | Martin Hinton. |
| Cynthia (ditto) | 18 | John Dick. |
| Astrea (ditto) | 32 | Peter Riboleau. |
| Tartarus (bomb) | | Thomas Hand. |
| Termagant | 18 | William Skipsey. |
| Eurus (flute) | 32 | Dan. Oliv. Guion. |
| Druid (ditto) | 32 | Charles Apthorpe. |
| Resource (ditto) | 28 | John Crispo. |
| Alligator (ditto) | 28 | George Bowen. |
| Romulus (ditto) | 36 | John Culverhouse. |
| Vestal (ditto) | 28 | Valentine Collard. |
| Thetis (ditto) | 36 | Henry E. R. Baker. |
| Regulus (ditto) | 44 | Thomas Pressland. |
| Inconstant (ditto) | 36 | John Ayscough. |
| Thisbe (ditto) | 28 | John Morrison. |
| Hebe (ditto) | 38 | George Reynolds. |
| Winchelsea (ditto) | 32 | John Hatley. |
| Transfer (sloop) | | John Nicholas. |
| Roebuck (flute) | 44 | John Buchanan. |
| Experiment (ditto) | 44 | John G. Saville. |
| Cyclops (ditto) | 28 | John Fyffe. |
| Pallas (ditto) | 32 | Joseph Edmonds. |
| Heroine (ditto) | 32 | John Hill. |
| Ulysses (ditto) | 44 | George Sayer. |
| Dido (ditto) | 28 | David Colby. |
| Fury (bomb) | | Richard Curry. |
| Dolphin (flute) | 44 | James Dalrymple. |
| Minorca (sloop) | 16 | George Millar. |
| Blonde (flute) | 32 | John Burn. |
| Victorieuse (sloop) | 14 | John Richards. |
| Port Mahon (ditto) | 16 | William Buchanan. |
| Pegasus (flute) | 28 | John Pengelly. |
| Iphigenia (ditto) | 32 | Hassard Stackpoole. |
| Niger (ditto) | 32 | James Hillyar. |
| Petterel (sloop) | 18 | Charles Inglis. |
| Cameleon (ditto) | | Edward O'Bryen. |
| Mondovi (ditto) | | John Stewart. |
| Ceres (flute) | 32 | James Russell. |

* Joined the fleet in May; there were some other ships with him, but their names we cannot obtain.

The forces under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie amounted to about 15,000 men, of whom not more than 12,000 were fit to take the field.

*List of the Regiments and General Officers employed in Egypt, in* 1801:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Guards | Major-general Ludlow. |
| 1st or Royal, 2d Battalion | Major-general Coote. |
| 2 Battalions, 54th | |
| 92d | |
| 8th | Major-general Craddock. |
| 13th | |
| 90th | |
| 2d, or Queen's | Major-general Lord Cavan. |
| 50th | |
| 79th | |
| 18th | Brigadier-general Doyle. |
| 30th | |
| 44th | |
| 89th | |
| Minorca | Major-general Stuart. |
| De Rolle's | |
| Dillon's | |

*Reserve.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 40th, Flank Company | Major-general Moore. |
| 23d | |
| 28th | |
| 42d | |
| 58th | Brigadier-general Dilkes. |
| Corsican Rangers | |
| Detachment, 11th Dragoons | |
| Ditto, Hompesch's Regiment | |
| 12th Dragoons | Brigadier-general Finch. |
| 26th Dragoons | |
| Artillery and Pioneers | Brigadier-general Lawson. |

According to the "Memoirs of Napoleon," vol. i. p. 97, we are to believe that Menou, who had succeeded Kleber in the command of the army, had in different garrisons of Egypt 30,000 men.

It must be allowed, even according to the calculation of the supposed strength of the enemy, that to attack, with such a force as ours, the possessors of a country strengthened by the advantages of fortified posts, a numerous cavalry, a powerful artillery, and a perfect acquaintance with those few points where a debarkation was practicable, was an enterprise of the most desperate character. What, then, must be the astonishment of all military men at the success of the expedition, when the real force of the enemy is ascertained?

Soon after the British fleet had sailed, one of the Greek transports foundered with a cargo of mules; and others, under the same flag, parted company from bad sailing; so that our force was still farther reduced in number of cavalry and artillery horses, with which these vessels were laden.

On the 26th of February the fleet was joined by his Majesty's ship La Pique, commanded by Captain Young, who had under his orders a number of transports laden with provisions. On the 1st of March the look-out ship made the Arab's Tower, and on the following morning the fleet anchored in Aboukir bay, the ships of war lying nearly on the spot where the battle was fought, and the cables of the Foudroyant were said to have been chafed by the wreck of the Orient. It was a serious loss to the army, and a bad omen of its future success, to learn, on its arrival, that Major Makarras, an enterprising officer, who had been dispatched to gain intelligence, had been killed, and Major Fletcher, who accompanied him, had been taken prisoner.

On the morning of the 2d of March a French frigate was seen running into Alexandria, where she anchored in safety. It appeared afterward that her name was the Régénérée; that she had been in company with the British fleet the whole of the preceding day, having joined them in the night; that she had answered all the signals, and was so admirably conducted as never once to excite suspicion. She brought with her 600 artillerymen, besides ordnance and other stores,—a supply of vast importance at that time to Menou. The frigates Egyptienne and Justice had got in a short time previously, with similar cargoes; and on the night between the 2d and 3d the Lodi brig also got into the same port.

The continuance of bad weather prevented any movement among the troops or boats for one week; a misfortune to us, and an advantage to the enemy, of which they ably availed themselves. On the morning of the 8th, at two o'clock, the first division of the army, consisting of the reserve, under the orders of Major-general Moore, the brigade of Guards under Major-general Ludlow, with some other battalions, amounting to about 5,000 men, the whole commanded by Major-general Coote, assembled in the boats; while the remainder of the first and second brigades were placed on board of ships near the shore, in order to be ready to give immediate support after the first landing was effected. So great was the extent of ground occupied by the fleet, that it was not till nine o'clock in the morning that the whole of these gallant men were prepared to land, in face of an enemy on a commanding height.

The bay of Aboukir appears to have been the only spot

known to the admiral on the coast of Egypt adapted for the disembarkation, and where a constant intercourse could be kept up with the fleet, on which the army was entirely dependent for its support. Sir Sydney Smith, who had previously reconnoitred the ground, instructed the men that where date-trees grew they would find fresh water by digging; and this proved to be invariably the case.

The arrangement for landing the troops was completed under the superintendence and management of Captain William Young; who, on joining the admiral, received the temporary appointment of captain of the fleet,—a situation which he filled with great advantage to the service.

The number of flat boats was 60, each conveying 50 soldiers; there were 93 launches or long boats, each conveying on an average 30 soldiers; 142 rowing-boats, each containing (besides their crews) 8 soldiers; 14 launches, each having a field-piece and her own carronade, 25 seamen, and 8 artillerymen, besides boats' crews; and 14 rowing-boats to tow them.

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of troops landed was . . . | 6,544 |
| Seamen and artillerymen . . . . | 462 |
| Total . . . . | 7,006 |

Six launches were in the centre, two on each wing, and two between the wing and the centre. These were all towed by the boats of the ships of war, and kept in exact line with the flat boats, landing at the same moment. All long boats and launches, having either troops or ordnance stores, were towed by the ships' boats in the rear of the flat boats; and these were also followed by other rowing-boats, to pick up men in case of accidents. The flat boats were not towed, but rowed by the crews appointed to them.

The boats carrying the same regiments were next to each other, so that each company on landing found itself as it should stand on parade; and the exact line abreast was so well preserved, that all the boats with troops and guns touched the beach at the same moment. The men formed in line, fired, charged, and advanced, with a coolness and precision that must have had a powerful effect in checking the ardour of their opponents. The field-pieces, placed on skids in the launches, were landed with ease and celerity, and commenced firing almost at the same moment with the infantry. These guns were brought into action by the seamen, 25 being attached to each, with drag-ropes.

Captain the Honourable A. Cochrane, of the Ajax, led this division in his gig: from the centre he gave the signal to advance, and was answered by the animating cheers of the soldiers and sailors; the boats gallantly rushing in, and the crews vying with each other to gain the beach, and be the first to land. The care of the artillery was intrusted to Sir Sydney Smith, of the Tigre, with the Captains Riboleau, Guion, Saville, Burn, and Hillyar. The Tartarus and Fury bombs threw shells into the enemy's camp, while the Petterel, Cameleon, and Minorca sloops, with their broadsides to the beach, kept up a constant fire on the French columns.

Captains Stephenson, Scott, Larmour, Apthorpe, and Morrison, of the Europa, Stately, Diadem, Druid, and Thisbe troopships, conducted their respective subdivisions.

The French were not idle spectators of this beautiful and animating scene, and their arrangements were well adapted to meet the meditated attack. The ascent from the water's edge was a steep and loose sand, terminating in broken rock. On the top of this ridge they had placed heavy guns and mortars, filling up the intervals between each battery with strong bodies of infantry, who were concealed by the sandhills, so that their position was not known till they fired. Their flanks were protected by a body of cavalry, a force with which our army was at that time unprovided; and heavy artillery enfiladed the beach from each wing of their intrenchments.

This grand display of military parade and valour was never perhaps surpassed in interest in the annals of war; and awful was the short suspense between the putting off from the Mondovi, and the opening of the enemy's fire. The first three shots were to try the distance; and, when it was ascertained that the boats were within the reach of grape, the whole line of artillery from right to left began a fire which converted the surface of the water into a sheet of foam. Shot and shells fell in showers among the boats; broke the oars, wounded some men, killed others, and sank one boat, with 50 of the Coldstream Guards. The answer to this salute was three cheers, and "Huzza, my boys! give way,* and let's be at them." Redoubling their energy, and straining every sinew, the seamen plied their oars; the soldiers backed them, impatient to reach the land; and, scarcely giving the boats time to touch the beach, they leaped on the shore, formed in line, received a charge from the enemy's cavalry, dispersed it, pushed forward, gained the summit, and routed the infantry while the rest of the army

* "Give way," or "give the boats head-way," means exert yourselves, to increase the way or velocity of the boat.

were disembarking. The seamen, having landed their guns and stores, instantly returned to the ships for the second division.

The French, it must be admitted, met their invaders with the same gallantry as the Britons encountered the first Roman army on the shores of Kent. They came down so close as to use their sabres; and a soldier placed the muzzle of his piece to the head of Lieutenant H. Jolliffe, of the Guards; the ball passed through his hat, and the daring Frenchman fell dead, pierced with British bayonets.

The troops which first ascended the hills were the 23d regiment, and four flank companies of the 40th, under the command of Colonel Spencer. The 28th and 42d landed under the command of Brigadier-general Oakes, who was attached to the reserve, under Major-general Moore. The disembarkation was completed on the 8th; and the body which first landed, moving forward immediately, came within sight of the enemy, who were drawn up on an advantageous ridge, with their right to the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea. After some skirmishing, but no regular engagement, the French fled, leaving the British masters of the narrow field of battle.

The whole of the first division, having landed before night, were joined by General Sir Ralph Abercrombie; from the castle of Aboukir on his right, and the cut of the isthmus on his left, he advanced with his army three miles on the neck of sand lying between the sea and the lake of Aboukir, leaving a distance of about four miles between the British and the French camps. In this position the armies remained till the 13th, when the British marched forward to attack the French, who occupied a strong position on some rising ground. Our troops moved in two lines from the left, the reserve covering the movement on the right. A division of gun-boats and launches, with carronades, under the command of Captains Maitland and Hillyar, accompanied the army, and covered its wings on the lake of Aboukir and the sea.

The enemy's cavalry descended from the heights, and made a furious charge, which was repelled by the 90th and 92d regiments. The British steadily advancing, the French retreated to their lines on the heights before Alexandria; in effecting which they were charged by Dillon's regiment, who took two of their guns, which were immediately turned against their former possessors.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, determined to pursue his advantage, pressed on, and was nobly seconded by the Generals Hutchinson and Moore. General Hutchinson, instantly occupying an eminence, detached the 44th regiment to carry a bridge on the

canal of Alexandria, which was accomplished in high military style: but here the French made a stand, and our gallant troops, exposed to a most destructive fire, were mowed down by their artillery with almost comparative impunity. After sustaining the murderous cannonading during the greater part of the day, the general retreated at sunset with very severe loss.

The castle of Aboukir capitulated on the 18th, and on the same day the Capitan Bey arrived with a Turkish squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, four frigates and corvettes, and some smaller vessels.

On the 20th a column of infantry and cavalry was seen entering Alexandria. An Arab chief, it is said, sent a letter to Sir Sydney Smith, informing him of the arrival of General Menou, with a large army, and that it was his intention to attack and surprise the British camp the next morning. Although this intelligence did not receive much credit at head-quarters, it was soon amply confirmed.

At half past three on the morning of the 21st the enemy attacked the right of our army, and the action became general. Never was British valour more conspicuous, never were men more fatally undeceived than the French on this occasion, when, judging from the events in Holland and Belgium, they had fondly flattered themselves that they should drive the "*cowardly English into the sea.*" Although possessing an immense superiority of cavalry and artillery, the French were at all points defeated; and, but for the want of ammunition on our side, their army would have been annihilated. Menou retired in good order, and the action ceased at ten o'clock in the morning, our troops being left masters of the field of battle, although with a victory dearly purchased.

The captains of the navy serving on shore with the army attended to the artillery in the great battery. The sailors carried the ammunition, and kept up the supply as well as a deep sand and the distance of transportation would admit. The Turks also assisted at this work, but were much retarded by their timid custom of lying down to avoid a shot.

Captain M'Kellar, of the royal navy, commanded the division of gun-boats at the entrance of the lake. The division stationed on the right of the army, under the command of Captain Maitland, of the royal navy, was attacked by a body of the enemy, sent for the express purpose, and who, on a commanding elevation within half musket-shot, poured a heavy fire upon them. They, however, kept their position, and compelled their assailants to retreat.

Sir Sydney Smith having broken his sword, Sir Ralph

Abercrombie presented him with his own on the field of battle; a precious memorial, if we associate with the gift itself the character of the men, the scene, the occasion, and the events! The general and Sir Sydney were both wounded; but the gallant Abercrombie was doomed never to revisit the land for which he had fought and bled. He received a musket-shot in the upper part of his thigh, and was soon after removed to the Foudroyant, where he expired on the 28th of March: his body was conveyed to Malta, and was interred with military honours. Besides the lamented chief, we lost in the different battles as follows:—

*Return of Killed and Wounded in the Battles.*

| | Officers. | | Non-commissioned. | | Rank and File, including Drummers. | | Naval Officers. | | Seamen. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | K. | W. | K. | W. | K. | W. | K. | W. | K. | W. |
| March 8 . | 4 | 26 | 4 | 34 | 94 | 455 | .. | .. | 20 | 63 |
| March 13. | 6 | 67 | 6 | 65 | 144 | 953 | .. | 1 | 5 | 18 |
| March 21. | 10 | 60 | 9 | 48 | 224 | 1,082 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 18 |

The forces of the contending armies on that day, by the most accurate returns, were as follow:—

| | |
|---|---|
| French, including 1,500 cavalry . . . . . | 9,700 |
| British, by reduction from various casualties, did not amount, including 300 cavalry, to . . . . . | 10,000 |

The fate of Egypt was not decided by this victory, although it must be admitted that our army derived great advantages from their success. The Arabs who beheld the battle, were convinced that the British forces would remain masters of Egypt, and they flocked into the camp with provisions of every kind.

Our forces by land and sea owed their success in some measure to circumstances of apparently local disadvantage, but which by accident and ingenuity were converted into sources of annoyance and discomfiture to the enemy. In the recent affair of the 21st General Roiz had fallen, and in his pocket was found a letter from Menou, expressing a fear that the English had cut the dyke of the canal of Alexandria, and thus let the waters of the Mediterranean into Lake Mareotis. From that moment the project was decided on: though the commander-in-chief gave his consent with great reluctance, it was hailed with the unanimous shouts of both army and navy as the certain precursor of destruction to the enemy. No sooner

were the gaps completed than the water rushed in with an impetuosity almost terrific to the spectators.

The city of Alexandria now became invested—on the north by sea and the British fleet; on the south by the waters of the lake, covered with our gun-boats and armed launches; on the east of the town, occupying the breadth of the peninsula, was the army of General Hutchinson. The west only remained open, and on that side we shall soon see the enemy enclosed, and the investment completed.

A marine battalion served in Egypt, formed by detachments from the different ships of war, and commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Smith: they were attached to the brigade of Major-general Coote.

On the 25th of March the Capitan Pacha, with five sail of the line, and 5,000 Turks and Albanians, arrived in the bay of Aboukir. Colonel Spencer was detached to Rosetta with 4,000 Turks and a body of British troops. On the 9th of May he defeated General La Grange, at Rhamanie, and entered that place without opposition. The land forces were attended in their progress up the Nile by a strong escort of British gun-boats and launches, under the command of Captain Stephenson, supported by Captains Morrison, Curry, and Hillyar, of the royal navy. These valuable auxiliaries proceeded with courage and success, and were so fortunate as to bring their guns to bear on the French cavalry, which they greatly annoyed in its retreat. Lieutenant Hobbs, of the Delft, of 64 guns, was killed, with some of his men; but in other respects the loss was trifling, when compared with the advantages derived from the combined movement. The fleet under the command of Lord Keith, employed at this time in the Mediterranean station, consisted of

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | ships of | 80 guns |
| 11 | ,, | 74 |
| 7 | ,, | 64 |
| 4 | ,, | 50 |
| 11 | ,, | 44 |
| 40 | frigates, from | 38 to 24 |
| 16 | sloops, from | 18 to 16 |
| 91 | sail. | |

Three bombs, and a number of gun-boats and schooners; besides the Turkish auxiliaries of five sail of the line, frigates, and sloops.

Most of the sixty-fours, fifties, forty-fours, and many of the frigates, were fitted as troop-ships, with a short complement of men, only half their guns, and with light masts and yards.

The advantage of this mode of transporting an army was admirably displayed in this memorable campaign.

By our possession of Rhamanie the movements of the French in Egypt were considerably impeded; communication between the armies of Belliard at Cairo, and Menou at Alexandria, was effectually cut off; and the passage of the Nile was guarded by our naval force, and our heavy artillery on its banks. Thus the happy co-operation of the army and navy prepared the way for the final evacuation of Egypt by the French, who, from the time of their embarking at Toulon, had experienced nothing but misfortune, disgrace, and misery.

On the 14th of May a valuable convoy of Dgermes, loaded with wine, spirits, clothing, and specie for the army, was intercepted by our forces, on its way down the Nile; and on the 17th the army effected the capture of a body of 600 men, and a convoy of 550 camels, laden with provisions.

The French were still in Cairo, and held Geza, with other strong places. The British general advancing upon them, in conjunction with the Grand Vizier, his Turkish ally, and the army under his command, compelled Belliard to sign the capitulation of Cairo on the 27th of June; and to evacuate that place and Geza on the 15th of July, just a fortnight before the inundations of the Nile would have put a stop to the operations of a besieging army.

The French, who landed in Egypt with the hopes of expelling us from India, little expected that a British army from that quarter of the world would help to drive them back to Europe. As soon as the Marquis Wellesley heard of the object of the French general, he desisted from an expedition against Manilla, which he had in contemplation. An overland despatch too from England having reached Admiral Rainier at the same time, acquainting him that the French intended setting up the frames of ships of war at Suez, previously prepared in France, he despatched the Centurion, of 50 guns, Captain J. S. Rainier, from Bombay. She arrived at Mocha in December, 1798, and found there the Albatross brig of war. From reports which came down from Egypt, Captain Rainier judged it expedient to proceed up to Suez; and these were, we believe, the first British vessels of war that had ever visited the head of the Red Sea. On his return from Suez Captain Rainier found Rear-admiral Blanket at Mocha, in the Leopard, of 50 guns, with the Dædalus, of 32, and the Orestes, of 18 guns.

Rear-admiral Blanket having acquired much local knowledge by this voyage, was sent again in the following year to conduct the Indian army, when he was joined by Sir Home Popham, in the Romney. Admiral Blanket dying soon after, Captain

Surridge, who commanded the Leopard, returned to Bombay, leaving the direction of the naval forces under the able management of Sir Home Popham. The squadron was three months working up to Suez, which it did not reach till April. Colonel Lloyd, who commanded the detachment in these ships, instantly proceeded to join the British forces on the banks of the Nile before Cairo, and effected the junction after one of the most painful marches ever accomplished, some of his men having perished with thirst in the desert. The distance from Suez to Cairo is about 58 miles; but he was advised by the guides to make it more circuitous, in order to avoid a superior force of the enemy.

The army of General Baird, which had been collected from Bengal and Madras, for the purpose of joining the British army in Egypt, rendezvoused at Columbo, in the island of Ceylon, and had a very long passage to the place of its destination. It was not till the 30th of June that the general reached Kenneh, on the banks of the Nile; nor till the latter end of July that he had assembled the principal part of his forces, which amounted to 6,000 rank and file, including the royal and Bengal horse artillery. The junction of Sir Home Popham, in the Romney, and Captain Sauce, in the Sensible, of 32 guns, with a detachment from the Cape of Good Hope, proves the admirable arrangement of our Government to carry its plans into execution.

The vessels sailed from the Cape on the 28th of February, 1801, and were followed on the 30th of March by the Sheerness, of 44, armed *en flûte*, commanded by Captain J. S. Carden, and the Wilhelmina, by the late Sir James Lind. The 61st regiment, which they conveyed to Cossier, landed on the 10th of July, after a passage of 16 weeks from England, and had scarcely one sick man out of 900. The army of General Baird immediately marched for Cairo, sending forward Captain Mahany with a party to dig wells—a precaution from which they derived important benefit.

The navigation of the Red Sea, hitherto so little known, was found by our officers to be a more arduous undertaking than any other they had encountered. Rocks and shoals innumerable opposed their passage, so that to run in the night time was impossible; and in spite of every exertion of skill and seamanship, 17 sail of vessels were lost: the remainder reached Mocha and Cossier with the greatest difficulty. At the latter place, on the west side of the Red Sea, the army disembarked, and marched through the desert to join the British army on the banks of the Nile. Mocha and Cossier are but indifferent harbours; the latter is shoal, and open on the east and south.

None of the harbours in the Red Sea are good; that of Jedda appears to be the best, but its entrance is so narrow as to render it dangerous to the most skilful pilots, and La Forte, a noble English frigate, was wrecked on the sunken rock which nearly blocks up the entrance. On the 23d of June another reinforcement of 1,500 men, Chasseurs Britanniques, and Watteville's, arrived in the bay of Aboukir from Malta; and on the 16th of August General Sir John Hutchinson landed from the Foudroyant, and took the command of the forces besieging Alexandria.

In the meanwhile the French army of Cairo embarked at Rosetta, and the British army beheld with astonishment near 10,000 men, with 50 pieces of artillery and ammunition, defile before them, besides an irregular body of natives. The arms and artillery remained with us.

Nothing could exceed the mortification and disappointment of Menou when made acquainted with the surrender of Cairo. He had calculated, and with much reason, on the firmness of that garrison, until the inundation of the Nile should have compelled our army to embark, and the expected arrival of Gantheaume with succours would have enabled him to bid defiance to our united forces of army and navy; but the French unanimously desired to return to their country. Brave as the troops of that nation certainly are, they could not endure to face death in the horrible shapes with which it made its appearance on the shores of Egypt; nor could the promises of reward, or the fear of punishment, restrain the army of Belliard from open demonstrations of their wishes.

Admiral Gantheaume, it appears, sailed from Brest on the 23d of January, 1801, with a squadron of seven sail* of the line and two frigates, having on board a land force of 5,000 men, and a quantity of provisions. With these his orders were to proceed to Egypt, and to put them on shore at all hazards. Dispersed by a gale of wind on the night of their departure, they were seen by the Concorde, which engaged the Bravoure, and gave the account of their escape to Sir Henry Harvey, off Ushant; and while Sir Robert Calder, detached in pursuit of him, steered for Barbadoes, Gantheaume on the 6th of February entered the Mediterranean, and rejoined all his

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| * L'Indomptable | 80 | Le Dessaix | 74 |
| Le Formidable | 80 | Le Jean Bart | 74 |
| L'Indivisible | 80 | La Bravoure | 40 |
| La Constitution | 74 | La Créole | 40 |
| Le Dix Août | 74 | Le Vautour (lugger). | |

*Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, vol. vii. p. 96.

squadron on the 10th off Cape de Gat. Sir John Warren, who lay in the bay of Gibraltar, unprepared for sea, dispatched the Incendiary sloop to watch his motions; but that vessel was captured, together with the Success frigate and Sprightly cutter, and by them the French admiral was informed that Lord Keith had already arrived in Aboukir bay. This false intelligence was the cause of his failure: he hauled over from the coast of Africa to the shores of Europe, and entered Toulon with his prizes. Sailing again on the 19th of March, he was now closely pursued by Sir John Warren, who, reaching the coast of Egypt on the 25th of April, obliged the flying admiral to abandon his design, and return once more to Toulon.

After the siege of Porto Ferrajo, at which he assisted, Gantheaume again set sail for Egypt, taking with him three Neapolitan frigates, which the peace between France and Naples had put into his power; but sickness, from the crowded state of his ships, obliged him to send back Rear-admiral Linois with three sail of the line and a frigate. This officer, after some refreshment at Toulon, was ordered to Cadiz; but on his way thither, learning that the port was blockaded by Sir James Saumarez, he put into Algeziras, where that gallant officer attacked him, as we have already related. The persevering Gantheaume, still eluding the search of Sir John Warren, attempted, about the 8th of June, to land his troops four leagues to the westward of the Arabs' Tower; but being discovered by the cruisers of Lord Keith, he cut his cables and put to sea with great precipitation. Five of his transports were taken on the 7th of May: they had no troops on board, but artists of all kinds. Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, with three English and one Turkish line of battle ship, went in pursuit of him, but without success.

Returning from his third and last attempt, he fell in on the 24th of June with the Swiftsure, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain (now Sir Benjamin) Hallowell. They were between the coast of Africa and the island of Candia. The British ship was much out of repair, her copper off, and her sails and rigging worn out by long service. Captain Hallowell did his utmost to avoid the enemy on such unequal terms; but was very soon left without an alternative, and brought to close action, which he kept up for an hour, when, finding resistance vain, he surrendered. Gantheaume received his prisoner with a nobleness creditable to both parties. Respecting Captain Hallowell for his brave defence, he gave him on his coming on board a guard of honour, with permission to distribute his men in the French ships as he might judge most convenient, with authority also to regulate, and if necessary to punish them; and

he was scrupulously exact as to the private property of the prisoners.

The conduct of Gantheaume is the more praiseworthy, as he had been thrice repulsed from his object by the persevering vigilance of our navy. In all instances like this I shall never fail to do justice to the virtues of our enemy, and which are most honourable to our common nature, and most cheering in the melancholy recital of the sufferings that war necessarily entails.

After the surrender of Cairo the plague had broken out at Aboukir, and carried off some of our countrymen, and the ophthalmia began to make dreadful ravages among our troops.

On the 20th of June the Iphigenia, a British frigate of 32 guns, armed *en flûte*, took fire and blew up in the bay; but no lives were lost. Reinforcements continued to arrive from England: the Leda and Active frigates, the Madras, of 54 guns, and Agincourt, of 64, all came in succession with troops, money, and stores. On the 18th the Monmouth, of 64 guns, brought the 24th regiment, and a convoy from Minorca, with a considerable reinforcement; increasing the army under General Coote, before Alexandria, to 9,000 effective men.

The nearer our army approached to Alexandria, the louder Menou proclaimed, as all French generals under similar circumstances do, that he meant to bury himself in the ruins of the city, which was now held in the most rigorous blockade by land and sea. Such a declaration is usually the prelude to a surrender.

Nothing remained for our forces to complete their arduous labours but the reduction of this place, which contained within its walls, and its harbour, all the French force in Egypt of men or ships, the wreck of that mighty host which had landed from Toulon in 1798. Scarcely had our army, with the French that had surrendered at Cairo, reached Rosetta, when the Nile rose 30 feet. The embarkation of this force was completed on the 7th of July, when General Hutchinson detached Major-general Coote to occupy the isthmus on the west side of Alexandria, thus completing the investment of the town. Coote's division consisted of 4,000 men, and was embarked on the 16th, at seven in the evening, but the landing did not take place till the next morning at ten o'clock, between the town and the castle of Marabout, the siege of which instantly commenced.

It is worthy of remark, that the lake on which Major-general Coote embarked in near 400 boats of different descriptions, was passable at the period of the action of the 21st of March for infantry, cavalry, and artillery; but by

cutting through the canal of Alexandria, the waters of Lake Aboukir soon restored Lake Mareotis to its former extent. The waters of the Mareotis, previously to this cut, by the English, having no supply from exterior sources, had nearly evaporated.*

The French set fire to their flotilla on the lake, attempting to destroy our vessels with them; but the project failed. Marabout stands on a small island at the western side of the harbour, commanding one of the channels of entrance. The principal one having been buoyed off by the officers of the ships of war, the French, on the night of the 20th, removed these buoys. The tower of Marabout surrendered on the same day; and Captain the Honourable A. Cochrane,† of the Ajax, entered the harbour with four British and three Turkish corvettes. As General Coote advanced towards Alexandria, the gun-boats under the command of Captain Stephenson, of the Europa, constantly attended him, and rendered important services. The navy had now the possession of the harbour so far as to co-operate with the army, which had taken up a position within 1,400 yards of the town. The place was pressed and hemmed in on every side; the army of General Hutchinson east and west, the navy north and south, in the harbour, and on the lake. Menou began to feel that his power was at an end; as the probability of relief from France was too distant to afford a ray of hope. He demanded an armistice, which very soon led to a final capitulation; hastened no doubt by the welcome intelligence, which reached the British camp, that the forces from India, under the command of General Baird, were within two days' march of Rosetta. The capitulation was ratified on the 2d of September by Lord Keith and General Hutchinson; and the French general and his army were to embark for France, upon the same terms as had been granted to the garrison of Cairo.

The number of effective men found in Alexandria amounted to 9,000, exclusively of sick and staff; there were also 312 pieces of cannon, 14,000 filled cartridges, and 195,000 pounds of powder.

Thus terminated this unjust invasion. The vast armament, which in May, 1798, had sailed from Toulon, was first defeated by Nelson, checked in its advance to Syria by Sir Sydney Smith, routed on shore by the immortal Abercrombie, followed up by Lord Keith and General Hutchinson to Cairo, and finally compelled to surrender by the well-concerted operation

* Walsh's Campaigns in Egypt, p. 212.

† The gallant and respected Admiral Sir Alexander Inglis Cochrane.

of the army of India and that sent from England, both effectively supported by the British navy.

Bonaparte consoled himself under these misfortunes by assuring France that the army of Abercrombie must have been defeated if Kleber had lived. "How material was the weight of a young fanatic of 24, acting on the faith of a doubtful passage of the Koran, in the general balance of the world!"—(*Vide Historical Miscellanies*, vol. i., p. 37.) There is in the same work (p. 64) a curious observation on the subject of the "*naval armistice*" proposed by Bonaparte in 1800. "Lord Grenville, the English minister, evinced much surprise at it;" and no wonder: it appears we had consented that provisions should be admitted into the three blockaded fortresses of Malta, Alexandria, and Belle Isle; but of these only Malta stood in need—"the other *two could have supplied England!*" The *only* advantage which France could have derived from this naval armistice, would have been the re-establishment of her commercial relations between *all her ports and her colonies.* England refused this with respect to Malta and Egypt. At last France proposed, as an ultimatum, that *in lieu of raising* the blockade of Alexandria, *six frigates* fitted up as storeships should be allowed to enter it under a cartel. Thus a reinforcement of 4,000 men would have been sent to the army in Egypt! Surely the chief Consul must have had a very contemptible opinion of our ministers, to make a proposal so utterly inconsistent with common sense. In these Memoirs the reader will find an admirable picture of the state of the French army in Egypt, and the views of Bonaparte and the Directory.

Bonaparte, having been in possession of the despatches from Egypt long before they reached England, had a great advantage over the British ministers in the negotiation for peace; the preliminary treaty of which was signed, under the impression in England that we had still everything to contend for, while Bonaparte knew that his defeated army was then on its way home. Had the events in Egypt been earlier known to us, we should probably never have consented to relinquish the Cape of Good Hope, which was given up in the treaty of Amiens, and which we might afterwards have been forced to reconquer with a large sacrifice of blood and treasure.

The army of Belliard was embarked in three separate divisions, amounting to between 13,000 and 14,000 soldiers of all descriptions.

The prizes taken in the harbour were divided between Lord Keith and the Captain Pacha.

The prizes taken here were thus disposed of:—

Captain Pacha.—Cause, 64; Justice, 46; No. 1, Venetian, 26.
Lord Keith.—L'Egyptienne, 50; Régénérée, 32; No. 2, Venetian, 26.

The Turkish corvettes to be given to the Captain Pacha, but to be previously valued.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

King's speech on meeting of Parliament—Treaties of peace with Russia —Definition of articles contraband of war unsatisfactory—Of blockaded ports—Of stopping neutrals—Of the right of search admitted; but still abounding with difficulties—Heavy responsibility of the captors—Ships of war with convoy not to resist by force the right of search, or detention of their convoy—National flag proved by the captain and one-half the crew, and papers—Indemnification for illegal detention—Treaty with France—All foreign settlements to be restored by us, except Trinidad and Ceylon—Cape to be a free port—Malta to be evacuated by British troops, and restored to the knights of Jerusalem—French to evacuate Naples and Roman territory—Republic of Seven Islands acknowledged —Private claims—Fisheries—Fortifications—Treaties between France, Austria, Naples, Spain, Portugal, Algiers, and the Porte—Foreboding calm—St. Domingo—Prussians in Hanover—Turkish empire—Paswan Oglou—Seven Islands—East Indies—State of Europe, as described by Thibadeau—Remarks on the peace—Observations—Dissolution of armed neutrality—Remarks on privateers.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued on the 2d of July by commission, met again on the 29th of October, when the King opened the session in person, and was graciously pleased to communicate to his people that his endeavours to bring about a peace had been successful; that the differences with the Northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede; and that the essential rights, for which we had contended, having been thereby secured, provision was made that the exercise of them should be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties; that preliminaries of peace had also been concluded between his Majesty and the French Republic; and his Majesty trusted, that while the important arrangement manifested the justice and moderation of his views, it would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of the country, and honourable to the British character.

France, nearly at the same time, made peace with Austria and Naples, Spain and Portugal, and concluded a treaty with the Dey of Algiers. On the arrival of the ratified preliminaries with England, Bonaparte immediately signed a treaty with the Ottoman Porte; and England having in the summer settled all her differences with the Northern powers, a dark but foreboding calm, like that which intervenes between a gale and a hurricane, prevailed in Europe. In St. Domingo the flame of discord was still unextinguished, and short was the interval of repose allowed to suffering humanity; but that interval Great Britain em-

ployed in healing the wounds inflicted by the contest, while France prepared to send forth fresh armies and fleets, and to renew her threats of invasion almost as soon as the ratifications were exchanged.

The King of Prussia, who had entered Hanover as guardian of the neutrality of the North of Germany, was so much flattered with the temporary enjoyment of his power, that it was with some difficulty, and probably under feelings of disappointment, that he was compelled to relinquish the possession.

The Turkish empire, corrupt, feeble, and tyrannical, seemed tottering to its fall. Paswan Oglou was still in rebellion, and gaining advantages. The Janizaries of Belgrade, become the terror of their own masters, revolted, murdered the bashaw, and usurped the government of the city: a fatal example to their brethren of the surrounding districts.

The Republic of the Seven Islands, newly formed under the guarantee of the great powers, was shaken by internal discord, the natural and invariable consequence of sudden political change; but the interference of Britain, Russia, and Turkey, soon silenced any open expression of discontent.

In the East Indies our empire, by singular good fortune, aided by political sagacity and military energy, was at once extended and consolidated. The sword, it is true, had been used, but with moderation; and the natives gladly submitted to the mild and equitable administration of the laws of England, under British superintendence, in preference to the despotism of their own princes.

On the 13th of November, 1802, when the Earl of Darnley moved an address to his Majesty, approving of the conduct of Ministers in the late negotiation with Russia, Lord Grenville made some observations which I conceive so completely applicable to naval history, and our rights as a maritime power, that I give his lordship's own words:—

"It was impossible," he said, "for him to agree in the approbation recommended by the noble lord who had just spoken. In the first place, he conceived it highly premature to give their assent to a treaty which must still be a subject of discussion between this country and the Northern powers (the ratification of all those powers not being certain): but he had another and much more forcible objection; it did not secure for this country the objects for which the war was commenced, and which the treaty professed to have obtained. The consideration of this treaty was widely different from that of the treaty lately concluded with France. The latter, being a treaty of peace made with an enemy, was absolutely binding on the national faith, and Parliament had little more to consider than the conduct of Ministers in making it. This, however, being a con-

vention with a state in amity, if there were anything defective in the treaty, it might be a subject of farther explanation and amicable arrangement; he therefore felt particularly desirous of pointing out the consequences which would result from the treaty in its present shape, and anxious that his Majesty's Ministers should settle, by future arrangement, what was defective in the present. As the question of neutral rights had been agitated, he wished it might be for ever put to rest, and that the treaty should constitute a code of laws, which might be appealed to on any future occasion. In order to judge whether, in the present treaty, we had succeeded in obtaining the objects of the contest with the Northern powers, he should state what those objects were, which he thought might be reduced to five distinct points.

"The first asserted on the part of this country was, that neutral nations should not be permitted, in war-time, either to carry coastwise, from one port of an enemy's country to another, the commodities of that country, or convey home to an enemy's country the produce of its colonies; and that such property, although in a neutral bottom, was seizable under the maritime law of nations. Were neutrals allowed to exercise such privileges with respect to belligerent powers, the enemy could carry on every species of commerce without the least interruption or annoyance from this country in war-time.

"The second point was, that free ships did not make free goods. If the contrary principle, which the Northern powers contended for, was once admitted, France could in war-time derive supplies of everything necessary for her support, in defiance of all our efforts to prevent them.

"The third principle related to the contraband of war, by which neutral nations were not to be allowed to supply an enemy with those necessaries of war which it might be in want of, either for offence or defence; and among these articles *naval stores* are the most important.

"The fourth point related to convoy; and under this it was asserted that neutral vessels, even sailing under convoy, should not be exempted from the liability of search.

"The fifth point related to blockaded ports. The principle which we contended for under this point was, that no vessel should be suffered to enter a port blockaded by a cruising squadron, inasmuch as by throwing in supplies they might enable the port to hold out longer against us; and that any vessel attempting to enter, and bound to such blockaded port, was liable to seizure. The neutral powers, on the other hand, wished to restrict the signification of a blockaded port to that before which a blockading squadron was so placed as to render it apparently unsafe for a vessel to enter."

Having recapitulated these, as the grounds of the original contest between Great Britain and the Northern powers, his lordship proceeded to consider how far the terms in the present treaty went towards obtaining them. In the first place, he observed that the expressions used in this treaty were ambiguous, and drawn from a document most hostile to us, namely, the convention of the armed neutrality. One of the articles would, from its wording, secure the free conveyance of the colonial produce of the enemy, on the ground of its being the acquired property of neutrals. Although this appeared to be only conceded to Russia, yet Sweden and Denmark would derive the same power, if that was made the basis of a general treaty, and in their hands this privilege would be essentially injurious to the country. Another advantage which this clause gave to neutrals was, that by it they acquired privileges in war which they had not in peace, namely, that of transporting the produce of the colonies to the mother country; a privilege which the navigation laws of every state possessing colonies reserved to the mother country. As to the second point, the renunciation of the claim that "free bottoms make free goods," this certainly had been obtained, which was only a confirmation of the existing law of nations. As to the third point, that of contraband of war, he was sorry to see that this part of the treaty went on the ground of the treaty with Russia in 1797. With Russia, a power that had no mercantile navigation, it was an object of no moment; but to grant the same indulgence to other powers would be most dangerous. It was also most strange, in the enumeration of warlike stores, to leave out those articles which Russia might be expected to supply, namely, pitch, tar, hemp, cordage, canvass, ship-timber, and even ships themselves. The fourth point, respecting blockaded ports, had been, in a great measure, abandoned by this treaty. Formerly a port was considered to be blockaded when it was declared to be so in consequence of a squadron cruising before it for that purpose, even although that squadron should be driven off for a while by a gale of wind, or any other cause. By the present treaty a port is not considered blockaded unless there is a stationary force before it. The next article, as to the right of search, he considered equally injurious to us. By this article, ships were not to be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts. We had always before exercised the right of search upon good cause of suspicion, and not upon the evidence of facts. It is often impossible to get at facts in the first instance; they usually come out in the search. Notwithstanding the many complaints which had been made against this right of search, it usually proved, when those complaints came to be examined, that they were ill founded. He had no objection, however, to

depriving privateers of this right, but with ships o fwar it ought to be maintained in its full extent. The causes for detention and seizure seldom appeared till the search was made; they were not to be perceived at a distance by a telescope. He would suppose, in war-time, a Danish frigate was going with a convoy into the port of Brest; the papers on board the frigate convoying them might be perfectly regular, and yet the ships full of naval stores. His lordship concluded by saying, that he found, in every part of the treaty, so much ambiguity and concession, so much variance from the established practice, that he felt himself obliged to deliver his opinion, in hopes, even yet, before it came to be the definitive law for the government of our navigation and marine, that it might be modified and rendered more consonant with our ancient claims, our invariable practice, our national dignity, and our maritime power.

The treaty was defended by the Lord Chancellor, who said that he had himself been a party consenting to its adoption. The settlement, his lordship said, had been obtained on a great and liberal basis, which showed to the world that Great Britain was not intolerant in her power. The points we had gained were, that free bottoms did *not* make free goods; that ships of war had the right of search; that the blockade of ports should be recognised as legitimate; that the exercise of those rights should be regulated by clear, intelligible, and liberal rules; and what was of more consequence than all, that any casual violation of these rules should not be a ground of quarrel, but should be determined by the tribunals of the country. He considered that the wording of the treaty was sufficiently explicit to prevent the neutrals from carrying on either the coasting or colonial trade of the enemy. France had at one time during the war broached the monstrous doctrine, that they had a right to seize and confiscate the property of neutrals, if of British produce. This treaty went on a different principle, and declared that Great Britain would not consider as enemy's property such goods as, having formerly belonged to the enemy, had since become the property of neutrals.

Although we, therefore, permitted the neutrals to acquire the colonial productions of an enemy, *we did not permit them to carry on the colonial trade*. This was a treaty, his lordship said, concluded with Russia separately, and it was not to be supposed that all the other neutral nations were to come under this arrangement. *Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and America were no parties to it.*

Lord Grenville explained; he did not mean that the article with respect to "contraband of war," which was introduced into this treaty with Russia, would be extended to Sweden and Denmark, but he meant that in this treaty it should be put out

of all doubt *that England generally considers naval stores as contraband of war.* Holland and America might again suppose, from the wording of this treaty, that by the law of nations on which they stood, naval stores were not contraband of war.

The neutral merchant, previously to placing his vessel under convoy, was expected to produce the most accurate proofs of the nature of his cargo, and the purpose of his voyage; and should it so happen that "a ship of war having a merchant ship, or ships, under convoy, shall meet with a ship of war, of either contracting party who shall then be in a state of war, in order to avoid all disorder, they shall *keep out of cannon-shot.*"

The whole of the third article seems to be so complex and contradictory, that the duty of the captain becomes more arduous and difficult, and an appeal to the cannon more probable than before; inasmuch as two officers, "jealous of honour," are set to decipher papers written in a language which it is most probable one or the other could not understand; and which, with a carelessness or design not unusual in legal and diplomatic forms, may be left to bear such construction as may best suit the views of either party.

The fifth article prohibits any ship of war *resisting* by *force* the detention of one of his convoy; and lays heavy responsibility on the captain detaining without *sufficient cause.* Of this we have long been aware; and some of our naval officers know, by sad experience, that the detention of a neutral is often fatal to their fortunes. A powerful maritime nation will never concede to its enemy a supply of naval stores: and as such articles are the staple of the north of Europe, we may expect a renewal of these disputes at no very distant period; the same causes ever producing the same effects. Under the numerous provisions of this treaty, the duties of a blockade are so much increased as to baffle the powers of the most efficient and active marine.

The law of war is, after all, the law of the strongest. When Britain has no longer the power to do herself justice, she will seek it in vain from the magnanimity of her friends or the generosity of her enemies.

It appears impossible that human wisdom should devise a code of laws to which all the nations of Europe would readily submit. Interests varying with times and circumstances, and combined with power, overthrow the wisest institutions; and the weak will look in vain for justice from the powerful. Still we see no reason to suppose that by this treaty the neutral is permitted to carry on the colonial trade of the enemy. My own experience in the latter part of the war proves that no such indulgence was intended, although the contrary doctrine had its supporters both in and out of Parliament. From the year 1807 to 1812, the Americans and other neutrals suffered most

severely for their adventurous speculations in this branch of commerce.

There was an important note from Lord St. Helen's to Lord Hawkesbury, which might have gratified the pride and quieted the fears of the most scrupulous supporters of the honour of their country, proving the infallible efficacy of the timely and temperate application of force where argument has failed. It is as follows:

*Petersburg, April* 2, 1802.

I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your Lordship the Swedish act of accession to the convention of the 17th of June, 1801, which was signed (with its duplicate) on the 30th past, by myself and the Baron de Stedingk; and instruments of a like tenor were at the same time interchanged between that minister and the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty. I have moreover the satisfaction of being enabled to assure your Lordship, that the Swedish ambassador has been distinctly informed by the Count de Kotschoubey, that as the motives which had occasioned the late revival of the system of the armed neutrality were now happily done away, that system is considered by this court as completely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning of a specific engagement between the Russians and the other confederates.

One stipulation in this treaty is deserving of notice and commendation,—the right of search conceded to ships of war was denied to that disgraceful species of national force, that universal annoyance, *the privateers;* and it is sincerely to be wished that the belligerents would, in future wars, deny to individuals those commissions by which, in the name and under the flag of their government, they frequently commit the most barbarous spoliation and outrage on property and persons. This right of search was, however, only denied to privateers while the merchant-vessel was under the protection of a ship of war; at all other times the licensed pirate was at liberty to pursue his career of plunder with impunity. I have no objection to letters of marque being granted to reputable merchant ships in the East and West Indies, or other actual traders. These have so often bravely defended themselves, that it would ill become a naval officer to deny their merit or deny them their rewards; but I cannot think that a vessel fitted out by private individuals, and frequently commanded and manned by the most desperate and worthless characters, ought to be intrusted with the sword of the state or countenanced by a nation which boasts of her justice and humanity, and has now the undisputed title of mistress of the seas. Let it be remembered also that those privateers deprive the navy of seamen, while they diminish the fair prospects and compensation of its services.

Our amicable intercourse with Portugal had been interrupted in 1800 by the successful intrigues of Bonaparte, aided by the weak subserviency of the court of Madrid. Portugal, next to India, was considered by our enemies as "the most *valuable colony* of England;" although the Count de Dumas, in his *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, vol. vii. p. 58, says, "Notwithstanding the advantages England derived from her commerce, the flag of Portugal was as much insulted as that of any other nation." This is not correct, and many instances could be adduced in support of a contrary assertion. Charles IV. of Spain, and his wicked minister Godoy, were, at the instigation of France, pursuing a line of policy which led to those calamities which soon after afflicted the Peninsula, and the effects of which that unhappy country is still suffering.

A French army, under St. Cyr, entered Spain early in 1801, when the Consul issued his imperious commands to the impotent monarch who submitted to his will. The British army, which in the spring of 1800 had been embarked under the command of Sir James Pulteney, and conducted by Sir John Warren, might have been intended to land on the shores of the Tagus; and the Count de Dumas supposes that it was prevented by a disagreement between the courts of London and Lisbon. I rather suppose, however, that the British Cabinet thought the best way to defend its ally was to threaten Spain, and therefore made the attempts on Ferrol, Vigo, and Cadiz, which have been related. These transactions, which preceded the battle of Hohenlinden, produced no effect on the councils of the Spanish King, who, in the month of February, 1801, declared war against Portugal, and Godoy entered the province of Alemtejo, which he entirely overran. This induced the Prince Regent of Portugal to make peace with Spain in the month of June following: and one of the conditions was, that British shipping and commerce should be excluded from all his ports; and the same is repeated in a treaty which soon followed between France and Portugal. It was in consequence of these treaties that the British Government seized the island of Madeira and placed garrisons in all the colonies and factories of the Portuguese in the East Indies, except Macao. The treaty of Badajos, which terminated hostilities between Spain and Portugal, having been concluded by Godoy without the sanction of Bonaparte, was made the pretence by the latter for ceding Trinidad to Great Britain at the peace of Amiens. Napoleon seldom hesitated to satisfy the demands of his enemies out of the pockets of his friends: in other words, where he had the will, he always found the way.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

Causes of renewal of the war—Illegal seizure and condemnation of four British vessels—State of preparation in England and the colonies—Committee of supply—Observations of Mr. Grenville—Chancellor of the Exchequer—Comparison of naval forces—Sir Sydney Smith—Right Hon. C. Yorke—His observations on the land forces of France and England—King's message to Parliament of 8th March—Ditto, 16th May, announcing war with France—Ditto, 17th June, respecting Holland—Malta—Remarks in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Clarence, Lords Mulgrave and Melville—Disposition of the naval forces—State of the dock-yards as to naval stores—Acts of hostility—Doris takes Affronteur—Minotaur the Franchise—Naiad the Impatiente—Loire the Venteux—Capture of the Minerve—Gallant conduct of Honourable Lieutenant Walpole—Anecdote of a wounded sailor—Treatment of prisoners of war—Cruelty and injustice of French Government—Generosity of individuals towards English prisoners—Monsieur Dubois—Peregaux—Anecdote of Captain Hallowell—Détenus—Shameful treatment of them by French—Cruelty to crew of Minerve—Relieved by the British Government and their own officers—French Government *forbid* relief to prisoners—Refuse an exchange—Comparison between French and English officers in care of their men while prisoners—Observation in refutation of Monsieur Dupin—Pontons, causes of suffering, owing to the French only—Captain Boyce's narrative of captivity—Reflections.

The intemperate demands of Bonaparte increased in proportion as the Government of Great Britain in 1802 manifested a desire of conciliation; and the best informed men of the empire were not so much surprised at the preparations for the coming war as at the long forbearance of the King and his ministers in declaring it. The order for seizing French property, which did not issue till May, ought, in their opinion, to have preceded the signing of the definitive treaty; the measure was no more than an act of just retaliation for the unlawful seizure and condemnation, in the ports of France, of four British vessels.

The Fame, a packet from Southampton to Guernsey, was forced by stress of weather into Cherbourg; and in pursuance of a former decree of the infamous Robespierre, was confiscated, and the captain condemned to six months' imprisonment, although his entry into the port was from distress, and on the very day, December 19, 1801, that the French fleet, by our permission, sailed for St. Domingo! In January following another vessel, the Jennies, Captain Muckle, freighted in England with coals for Charente, and other merchandise for Spain, was, on her arrival at Rochefort, seized and confiscated, under pretence of her having on board *prohibited* or *British*

merchandise. In July following, after the definitive treaty had been signed, the Nancy, an English vessel, bound to Rotterdam with a cargo of *foreign* merchandise, which had been made prize of during the war, legally condemned and sold, with the proper cautions to the purchaser that it was for exportation, was driven by stress of weather into Flushing, where she was seized by *the French*, and confiscated. The last case we shall mention is that of the brig George, which had arrived at Charente, *in ballast*, purposing to return with a cargo of brandy. This vessel was seized under pretence of having English goods on board; these were the plates, knives, and forks of the captain's mess, and not more than sufficient for himself and passengers. All the representations of Lord Whitworth, Mr. Merry, and Mr. Jackson, to the minister Talleyrand, were unavailing. The Chief Consul observed, with the most insolent contempt of every right of nations, "that *justice must* take its course."

The history of Sebastiani's Egyptian tour is well known, and not less so is that of the gang of spies, or "commercial agents," as they were called. These gentlemen were distributed in all the sea-ports of the United Kingdom; their whole system was one tissue of intrigue and deception. They were not called by name in the dispatches of the French Government, but by number, as 1, in London; 2, in Dublin, &c. Their orders were to make themselves acquainted with the nature of our commerce, the number of vessels in each port, and the state of the manufactures. This was fair and justifiable, but they went farther, being enjoined to furnish *a plan of* the harbours, the depth of water, and the winds required to take a vessel in and out; all which they accomplished.

These people carried on their inquiries not unknown to our Government, whose patience or apathy appears to have exceeded all just bounds; and we can account for such conduct only by supposing that those who made the peace were resolved to keep it.

Many and grievous were the insults put upon us both as a nation and individually. Captain D'Auvergne, known by the title of Prince of Bouillon, a captain in the British navy, was arrested and imprisoned in Paris, and after six days' confinement ordered to quit France without delay. The last, though not the least affront, was an attack on the liberty of our press; the British Government being desired by the Chief Consul to prevent that determined condemnation of his measures with which our periodical publications abounded, particularly one called the *Ambigu*, by Peltier, a French refugee, on whose writings the author of Fouché's Memoirs makes a very wise

remark (vol. i. p. 299), that Bonaparte, by prosecuting this man for a libel, induced the people of England to make a large subscription, whereby Peltier was enabled to carry on a serious *guerre de plume* against the Consul. M. Otto, too, the French minister, was offended at meeting in the drawing-room of St. James's the unhappy princes of the house of Bourbon, decorated with the orders of their murdered monarch! From a continuance of conduct like this, it was evident that peace could not be long maintained. War was unavoidable, if we would then preserve the honour, and even the existence, of the empire. Ministers at length, roused to indignation by the voice of the people, put forth the energies of the nation, and France was made to feel the danger of disturbing the slumbers of the British lion. It was a fortunate circumstance that the detachment of British ships sent to the West Indies in 1802, to watch the movements of the French fleet, was not ordered home on the signing of the definitive treaty. Some, indeed, were sent to England, and others to Halifax, in Nova Scotia; but the best of them remained on the station, where their services were soon required. To the early and impolitic display of his temper and views, on the signing of the preliminary treaty, the Chief Consul might attribute the abortion of his plans. Some portion of St. Domingo might have been reconquered by the army of Le Clerc, had the French not been viewed with a jealous eye by the British Admiral; and Pondicherry, in the East Indies, might have received a French garrison. The British fleet would have been paid off, and our army disbanded, had the First Consul not been thrown off his guard, at the Tuileries, and disclosed his plans prematurely.

On the 8th of December, 1802, the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, having laid the estimates before the House, acknowledged that they were calculated for a much larger military establishment than had been usual in time of peace; the question was, whether existing circumstances would justify such an increase. And upon this question the facts brought forward by the Ministers were so strong and so conclusive, that the majority of the House and the nation acquiesced in the necessity of the measure.

After these public declarations, together with the statement of our forces and their distribution, taken in conjunction with the known views of the Chief Consul, the nation was not surprised at his Majesty's message respecting the armaments in France and Holland. It was as follows:—

GEORGE R. *March* 8, 1803.

His Majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that, as very considerable military preparations are carrying

on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. Though the preparations to which his Majesty refers are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet, as discussions of great importance are subsisting between his Majesty and the French Government, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his Majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful Commons, in the full persuasion that, whilst they partake of his Majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely, with perfect confidence, on their public spirit and liberality to enable his Majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require, for supporting the honour of his Crown and the essential interests of his people.

This message appeared, and in fact did amount to, a declaration of war. The English who were travelling in France rushed in multitudes to the sea-coast, though some imprudent persons, listening to the fallacious promises of Talleyrand, delayed their departure, of which they had the bitterest cause to repent.*

His Majesty was graciously pleased, by his message of the 16th May, to announce a war with France.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that the discussions which he announced to them in his message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his Majesty and the French Government, have been terminated; that the conduct of the French Government has obliged his Majesty to recall his ambassador from Paris, and that the ambassador from the French republic has left London.

His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information to his Parliament at this important conjuncture.

It is a consolation to his Majesty to reflect that no endeavours have been wanting on his part to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace; but, under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his Majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful Commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination to employ the powers and resources of the nation in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment which at present actuates the councils of France, in upholding the dignity of his Crown, and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his people.

* I was at Paris about April, 1802, when I received a note from a near relative in England; it ran thus:—"I have accepted the command of a frigate: make haste back." I took the hint.

His Majesty's message announcing war with Holland, June 17, 1803.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks it right to inform the House of Commons, that, from an anxious desire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian republic, he communicated to that Government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided that a similar disposition was manifested on the part of the French Government; and that the French forces were withdrawn from the territories of the republic: this proposition not having been admitted by the government of France, and measures having been recently taken by them in direct violation of the independence of the Batavian republic, his Majesty judged it expedient to direct his minister to leave the Hague, and he has since given orders that letters of marque and general reprisals should be issued against the Batavian republic and its subjects.

His Majesty has, at all times, manifested the deepest and most lively interest for the prosperity and independence of the United Provinces; he has recourse, therefore, to these proceedings with the most sincere regret, but the conduct of the French Government has left him no alternative; and, in adopting these measures, he is actuated by a sense of what is due to his own dignity, and to the security and essential interests of his dominions.

The following statement of the naval forces of the empire in commission on the 1st December, 1802, may be pretty confidently relied on as correct:—

| | Line. | Fifties. | Frigates. | Sloops. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fitting | 9 | 3 | 39 | 44 | 95 |
| Guard ships | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Home stations, as cruisers | .. | .. | 12 | 29 | 41 |
| Leeward islands and passage | 2 | .. | 6 | 21 | 29 |
| Jamaica | 9 | .. | 9 | 9 | 27 |
| North America and Newfoundland | .. | 1 | 5 | 5 | 11 |
| Cape, East Indies, and passage | 6 | 7 | 13 | 15 | 41 |
| Coast of Africa | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 3 |
| Portugal | .. | .. | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Mediterranean | 10 | 2 | 20 | 13 | 45 |
| Hospital and prisons | 1 | .. | .. | 2 | 3 |
| Total in commission | 38 | 13 | 107 | 143 | 301 |
| The state of the ordinary it is difficult to define as to effective ships, but their numbers were | 134 | 12 | 103 | 75 | 324 |

In September, 1803, the "London Gazette" announced that the navigation of the Black Sea was granted to British and French vessels, without, however, announcing whether the permission included ships of war.

The occupation, by France, of Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont, was only the prelude to more daring violations of the treaty of Amiens and the laws of nations. The possession of Egypt, as tending to the subversion of our Indian empire, was still a cherished object by Napoleon; and Malta was a stepping-stone to this important acquisition. I have remarked in a former chapter the anxiety he expressed to get possession of this strong port; which, perhaps, but for the advice of the Earl of St. Vincent, would have been given up to him, or, what was in effect the same thing, to the Neapolitans.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence mentioned in Parliament the conversation of Bonaparte with Lord Whitworth, in which the First Consul declared his views respecting Egypt. At the time of the treaty it was considered a primary object to guarantee the independence of Malta; but the destruction of the order, and the change in the relative situation of France since the treaty, made it more necessary than ever not to restore the island till its independence could be perfectly secured.

Lord Mulgrave not only concurred in these sentiments, but observed, that if Ministers would submit any longer to the insolence of the French Government, they would have Napper Tandy sent over to them as a commercial agent, and Arthur O'Connor as proconsul of Britain.

Lord Melville was glad to find that the importance of Malta, as a key to Egypt, was universally acknowledged, and also that we had a right to secure its independence against the ambition of France; that in the actual state of Europe, Great Britain and Russia were the only powers capable of giving security to Malta; and he felt rejoiced that the negotiation, as it affected that island, was at an end, and was content to say, that "for *this cause* we went to war." France, by her conduct after the preliminary treaty was signed, had rendered (as his lordship justly observed) the restoration of that island impossible. The Pope had the nomination of the grand master; and this office having become vacant, the government, in fact, would be placed in the hands of Bonaparte, on account of his uncontrolled influence over the pontiff, and the confiscation of the property of the knights in France, Spain, Lombardy, and Piedmont. In fact, the Maltese themselves no sooner heard of the intention of making them over again to the knights, than they sent a deputation to England, consisting

of some of the most respectable of the inhabitants, and conveyed in no equivocal terms their disapprobation of the proposed arrangement.

It is, however, a mistake to conclude that the treaty of Amiens failed upon the 10th article which regarded Malta; the real cause lay much deeper. Malta in 1803, like the Scheldt in 1793, was the ostensible, not the real, cause of the war.

The first measures of the British Government, on the renewal of the war, were directed towards the reconquest of the colonies of the enemy, which, during the peace of Amiens, we had restored to them. St. Lucia and Tobago soon fell into our hands. But His Majesty's Ministers seemed to rely with too much confidence on the treaty of Luneville for the protection of the Electoral Dominions. Lord Hawkesbury writes to M. Talleyrand on the 15th June:—

I have laid before his Majesty your letter of the 10th instant, and have his Majesty's commands to acquaint you, that he has always considered his character as Elector of Hanover and King of Great Britain as perfectly distinct, and that he cannot consent to any act which might justify his being attacked in one character for the conduct which he might think proper to pursue in the other: nor is it the first time that this principle has been advanced and acknowledged by the powers of Europe; particularly by the French Government in 1795, when, in consequence of his Britannic Majesty's accession to the treaty of Basle, the neutrality of Hanover was admitted by France, while his Majesty, as King of the United Kingdom, was at war with that nation. This principle has moreover been confirmed by the treaty of Luneville, and by those arrangements which have lately taken place with respect to German indemnities, whose end and aim was the independence of the German empire, solemnly guaranteed by the powers of Europe, but in which his Majesty, as King of Great Britain, took no part.

Linois, in the mean time, had sailed for India with a small squadron and 6,000 troops, to garrison Mahé and Pondicherry, agreeably to the treaty. This last appears to have been the only fortified place not resigned to the enemy, and its detention was owing to the fortunate presence of mind of Admiral Rainier, in conjunction with the government of Madras.

On the 25th of May General Mortier took possession of Hanover, and commanded the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems. British commerce being by consequence excluded from them, a blockade was commenced, and our frigates and sloops took their station for that purpose off Heligoland, a small, high, and conspicuous island, placed, it would seem, by nature as a beacon at the entrance of those dangerous rivers, amidst the

most appalling labyrinth of shoals and quicksands. On this island a noble light was kept burning, the expenses of which were defrayed by the commerce of the rivers. The little town was the habitation of a strong, daring, and laborious race of men, devoted to the business of pilotage, but whose skill or fidelity was not always to be relied on; and I much fear that valuable ships have been at times run purposely on shore, for the chance of plunder. I speak from experience, having been once, during the late war, cast away and wrecked by the ignorance or design, and probably both, of some of the Heligoland pilots. The retention of Malta by the British Government was pleaded by Bonaparte as a justification for his entry into Hanover, and as sufficient cause for his taking possession of Tarentum, and of all the strong ports of the kingdom of Naples in the Adriatic.

Such, however, was our state of preparation, that the enemy could gain no advantage against ourselves, and we were soon enabled to carry the war to the shores of France. Admiral Cornwallis assumed the command of the Channel fleet, and had been some days off Ushant before the first shot was fired, which was by the Doris. He immediately, with 10 sail of the line, commenced the blockade of Brest. Lord Keith had the command of the North Seas, extending from Shetland and Norway to Havre de Grace, with about nine sail of the line. Sir James Saumarez commanded the advanced post of Guernsey, where he kept a vigilant look-out on the flotilla of gunboats from St. Maloes to Cherbourg. Sir Richard Bickerton was in the Mediterranean, with about 11 sail of the line, where he was soon after joined and succeeded by Lord Nelson. Admiral Rainier still continued in India with four sail of the line. Sir John Duckworth was at Jamaica with five sail of the line. Commodore Samuel Hood at Barbadoes, with one ship of the line, and some frigates and small vessels.

Acts of hostility quickly followed the orders to detain and bring in provisionally "all French vessels." On the 18th of May, only two days after the message from the throne, Captain Pearson, in the Doris, of 36 guns, captured a French national lugger, called the Affronteur, of 14 long 9-pounders, and 92 men. On the 28th of May Captain Mansfield, in the Minotaur, captured La Franchise, of 36 guns, 12-pounders, and manned with a short complement of 187 men. She was from Port au Prince.

On the 28th of May Captain S. Sutton, on his passage to Gibraltar, in the Victory, fell in with and captured L'Ambuscade, French frigate (formerly in the British navy), and so unfortunately taken by La Bayonnaise.

On the 25th of June the Endymion, of 44 guns, Captain Charles Paget, in lat. 47° 10′ N., long. 20° W., fell in with, and after a chase of eight hours captured the Bacchante, French corvette, of 20 guns, and 100 men, commanded by M. Perimel, from St. Domingo, bound to Brest.

Captain Wallis, of the Naiad, captured the Impatiente, a French corvette, of 20 guns.

In the month of June Captain Maitland, while cruising in the Loire, of 38 guns, on the coast of France, near the Isle of Bas, sent his boats, under the command of Lieutenants Temple and Bowen, who boarded a French brig of war, called the Venteux, of 10 guns, long 18-pounders and 32-pound carronades, with 82 men. She was perfectly prepared, lying under the protection of the batteries; and the success of the enterprise reflected the highest honour on all concerned.

Sir James Saumarez at Guernsey had the Minerve, of 38 guns, with some other vessels under his orders. That frigate, commanded by Captain Bullen (who was acting during the illness of Captain Brenton), captured a very valuable convoy of vessels, loaded with naval stores, and brought them safe to Spithead. Captain Brenton rejoined his ship, and proceeded to his station, watching a flotilla in Cherbourg.

At daylight on the 2d of July, a detachment of French gun-vessels was seen close under the land, steering for Barfleur, which they reached, notwithstanding every effort made by the Topaze and Minerve to prevent it. The former returned to her station off Havre; and in the evening the Minerve, running close in with Cherbourg in a thick fog, mistook Fort de la Liberté for Pelée; and a number of vessels being seen to the eastward, the pilot assured the captain he might run amongst them without hesitation. The helm was accordingly put up for the purpose, when, just as the ship was about to open her fire, she grounded, and the fog at the same time dispersing discovered her to be in a very perilous situation. She was on the western Cone Head, about six furlongs from Fort de la Liberté, mounting 70 guns and 15 mortars; and one mile from the isle Pelée, of 100 guns and 25 mortars, from both of which a fire almost immediately opened. This happened about nine o'clock in the evening. Captain Brenton, aware that strong and decided measures were necessary, and that the launch of a frigate was not calculated to carry out a bower anchor, immediately despatched his boats armed, to cut out from under the batteries a vessel of sufficient capacity for the purpose; whilst the launch, with her carronades, should be employed in diverting the fire of two gun-brigs, lying in such a position ahead of the Minerve, as to annoy her greatly by a

raking fire. The yawl, being the first boat in the water, was sent under the orders of Lieutenant the Honourable William Walpole, and the other boats were directed to follow as soon as ready: but the gallant officer, to whom the enterprise was intrusted, found his own boat sufficient. He proceeded under a heavy fire of round, grape, and musketry, and from her position close to the batteries cut out a lugger of 50 tons, laden with stone for the works, and towed her off to the ship. Before the bower anchor could be placed in this vessel, it was necessary to clear her of her cargo, and that this might be done without adding to the shoal on which the ship lay, she was veered astern by the ebb tide to the length of a halser. Unfortunately the moon shone with great brightness. The enemy's fire became very galling; the more so, as no return could be made but from the two forecastle guns, those of the main deck having been all run close forward, for the purpose of lightening the ship abaft, where she hung. At 11 P. M. the lugger, being cleared, was brought under the larboard cathead to receive the small bower anchor, and during this operation was so frequently struck from the gun-brigs, as to keep a carpenter constantly employed in stopping the shot-holes. By midnight all was ready; a kedge anchor had been previously laid out for the purpose of warping the lugger, but the moment the halser became taut, it was shot away. Every thing now depended upon the boats, which were sent to take the lugger in tow, and succeeded, under a severe fire, in gaining their object; and the anchor was let go in a proper position. At three o'clock in the morning the wind had entirely subsided, and the captain, almost hopeless of being able to save the ship, contemplated the probable necessity of being obliged to abandon her. With this view, he caused the wounded men to be brought up and put into the lugger, and prepared fires in the store-rooms, to be lighted at the last extremity. A fine breeze, however, springing up from the land, as the tide rose, revived the hopes of saving the ship, and the wounded men were returned to the cockpit. The lugger's masts were soon after shot away by the guns of the batteries, over the gangway of the Minerve. At four the capstan was manned, and many of the crew were killed and wounded as they hove at the bars. At five the ship floated, under the most heartfelt cheers of the crew. It was considered as a certainty, that in the course of two or three minutes they would be out of gun-shot of the batteries, and consequently out of danger; but this pleasing prospect soon vanished. The wind again declined into a perfect calm, and the last drain of the flood tide carried the now helpless ship into the harbour,

and laid her upon a broken cone. In this situation she remained till the top of high water, when she surrendered, after sustaining the fire of the enemy for 10 hours, and having 11 men killed and 16 wounded.

Such was the state of her masts that, had there been a moderate breeze, they must have gone by the board. She was lightened in the course of the day by the French, and got off. The capture of so fine a frigate at the commencement of the war occasioned great triumph, and was announced in the theatre at Brussels by Bonaparte in person; who, addressing the audience, stated the circumstance in the following terms: "*La guerre vient de commencer sous les plus heureuses auspices: une superbe frégate de l'ennemi vient de se rendre à deux de nos chaloupes canonnières.*" The ship was called "La Canonnière," in order to support this despicable falsehood.

Captain Brenton was detained a prisoner in France for two years and a half; many of his officers and men died in captivity. The greater part, suffering a barbarous imprisonment of 11 years, were not released till the tyrant was defeated on the plains of Leipsic, in 1814. A British sailor, who had both his legs shot off while the Minerve lay under the fire of the batteries, was carried to the cockpit. Waiting for his turn to be dressed, he heard the cheers of the crew on deck, and eagerly demanded what they meant. Being told that the ship was off the shoal, and would soon be clear of the forts, "Then d—n the legs!" exclaimed the poor fellow, and taking his knife from his pocket, he cut the remaining muscles which attached them to him, and joined in the cheers with the rest of his comrades. When the ship was taken, he was placed in the boat to be conveyed to the hospital; but, determined not to outlive the loss of liberty, he slacked his tourniquets, and bled to death.

On the return of Captain Brenton to England, in January, 1806, being tried by a court-martial at Portsmouth, he was most honourably acquitted, and immediately appointed to the Spartan, a new frigate of the largest class, in which he was sent to the Mediterranean.

It will not, I think, be inappropriate if I offer a few remarks on the subject of detaining prisoners of war in a state of captivity for a longer period than is necessary to effect their regular exchange. I am most decidedly of opinion that it is a practice which ought never to be allowed amongst civilized nations. The horrors of war are multiplied tenfold by this barbarous usage: better to die in battle than thus to live. I pray that the scenes of the pontons and prisons of Givet and Portsmouth, may never be repeated. Let us never forget that

thousands of our fellow-creatures, both in France and England, during the late war, passed 11 years, perhaps the most valuable of their lives, in this helpless, hopeless state! My heart sickens when I reflect on a melancholy fact in which I was the unwilling instrument of cruelty. Cruising off Havre de Grace in 1804, I perceived at daybreak a vessel near me, which I immediately took. She was one of the horse transports intended for the invasion of England; the crew, only four men, had quitted her on seeing my ship. I sent a fast-rowing boat and took them also. The boat they were in was only eight feet long, and half full of water; they had three ribs of raw beef, or rather only the bones, which they had nearly finished. These unhappy wretches I thought my duty compelled me to send into Portsmouth, and I have never ceased to regret it, fearing that they may have endured the captivity above mentioned, or died in prison. It is true, I took hundreds of others in the course of the war, and never felt the same regret. These poor men might have escaped had I not pursued them. I did my duty, but I did it too rigorously: once in my possession, I thought I could not release them. Yet, on a subsequent occasion, when we captured many fishing-boats, I remember that we were more indulgent, giving liberty to the old men and to all who laboured under any serious bodily infirmity, from which indeed very few were exempt, all the able-bodied men having been forced into the army or navy; but even this relaxation was an infringement of our orders, since we had no right to indulge our private feelings at the public expense. The rigid line of duty would have compelled us to send into British ports every prisoner we took: but sometimes we assumed a discretionary power, when we fancied our ships were two crowded with these poor people; and, if ever such an act of disobedience could have been justified, it was surely on an occasion of this kind, when these unhappy, harmless, and industrious men were seized while in pursuit of a laborious occupation unconnected with war, and solely designed for supplying food to their families; fishermen, in the strictest sense of the word, are never combatants, and these were invested with a belligerent character only by the despotic will of their Ruler. The men taken in a horse transport were of a different description, and to these we could not extend any indulgence, however hard and cruel the act by which they were compelled to serve in such vessels. If war must be carried on against nations, let us not forget the rights and dictates of humanity as regards harmless individuals.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

Overtures of Bonaparte to the Northern powers—Bombardment of the enemy's port of Granville—Flotilla intercepted—Projects of invasion—Proclamation of Admiral Brueys—Rebellion in Ireland—Naval force and power of Great Britain—Disposition of the squadrons—Captain Winthorp destroys a French frigate—Loss of the Shannon on the coast of France—Loss of the Apollo and her convoy on the coast of Portugal—Capture and recapture of Goree—Mr. Pitt's motion in the House of Commons on naval defence—Captain Wolfe destroys two French corvettes—Capture of La Blonde—Conspiracy of Moreau and Pichegru—Death of the Duke d'Enghien—Capture of the Vincejo, and murder of Captain Wright—Intrigues of Napoleon, which led to the seizure of Spanish treasures—Bombardment of French ports—Capture of three Spanish frigates—Destruction of the Mercedes—Death of the family of Alvear—War with Spain—Account of treasure—Loss of the Venerable—Captain Gordon taken in the Wolverine.

Bonaparte, when his plans for renewing the war had been detected, sent off General Duroc to Berlin, and Colonel Colbert to St. Petersburg. Not satisfied with the neutrality of these powers, he wished to engage them in active war against Great Britain; but the emperor and king were awake to their true interests. Alexander had seen the fate of his father, and Frederic was well aware that the subjugation of England, by aggrandizing the power of France, would overturn the liberties of Europe. Both the ambassadors therefore returned with the same answer to their proposals: their Majesties had no wish to interfere in the quarrel. Bonaparte, on the commencement of the war, affected to have been taken by surprise; and yet his insolent observations to Lord Whitworth, and his remarks on the invasion of Malta and Egypt, had decided the British Cabinet in its course, and produced the message of the 8th of March to the parliament; and on the next appearance of Lord Whitworth at the court of the Tuileries, Bonaparte addressed him in that memorable and impolitic harangue which has been so often presented to the public.

In the month of September Sir James Saumarez, having hoisted his flag on board the Cerberus, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain Selby, took under his orders the Charwell sloop of war, with the Terror and Sulphur bombs, and proceeded off

Granville, in the pier of which place the enemy had collected a number of gun-vessels. Sir James approached so near the town as to have only 16 feet at low water; and the Terror bomb, commanded by Captain Hardinge, actually grounded; but that inestimable officer soon after got his ship off, and placed her in the position assigned by his admiral. Captain M'Leod, in the Sulphur, from the bad sailing of his ship, had little share in this day's action; but a severe bombardment nevertheless ensued. On the following morning the two bomb-vessels were accurately placed, and opened a well-directed fire, which lasted from five o'clock till half-past ten. Twenty-two gun-vessels came out of the pier, and fired at the bombs, without doing any execution. The tide falling, the rear-admiral was compelled to withdraw; and, in his retreat, the Cerberus grounded, and remained three hours on the bank. Nine of the gun-boats attacked her, but were soon compelled to desist by the fire from the Charwell and Kite, and the other small vessels of the squadron. The enemy's works were very strong, yet it does not appear that our ships received any damage, either from them or their flotilla.

In the month of November, Captain (now Sir James) Dunbar, in the Poulette, of 20 guns, fell in, near Alderney, with a French convoy of about 30 sail, escorted by several gun-vessels. He instantly gave chase, and coming up with them as they rounded Cape La Hogue, compelled them to run upon the rocks, or to anchor near them. Sending in his boat, she brought out three vessels, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from the shore; the others were left dry at low water. The vessels captured were not armed, but of a description similar to those assembled at Boulogne, whither they were bound. In this manner scarcely a week passed in which our in-shore cruisers were not engaged with the enemy; yet, in spite of the most active and daring exertions, the flotilla, in the ports of Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Vimereux, increased in number in a very surprising manner; while the armies of the republic, encamped on the heights over those places, gave confirmation to the threats uttered by the Chief Consul to Lord Whitworth. Despard's conspiracy in the meanwhile, and the rebellion in Ireland, concurred to fill the public mind with dismay, and call forth the unanimous efforts of all parties to repel the common enemy.

The proclamation of Admiral Bruevs, on taking the command of the Boulogne flotilla, displays a fine spirit of gasconade.

Brave sailors! The choice of Bonaparte renders me worthy of marching at your head; your zeal and your valour assure me that

we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cries of vengeance; every Frenchman would march to punish a government, the enemy of the repose of the world. Look at their ships prolonging their insolent cruises on our coast. At the sight of your labours let them go and tell their government, that a terrible day is approaching; the winds and the sea, once more favourable to the *Conqueror of Egypt*, may, in a few hours, convey him to their shores, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory. The tyrants of the seas will be conquered by *terror*, without awaiting the appeal to arms.

The rebellion in Ireland, which exploded in July, headed by Emmett, was announced to parliament by the following proclamation:—

George R.

His Majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting the House of Commons, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

His Majesty relies, with perfect confidence, on the wisdom of his Parliament, that such measures will be forthwith adopted as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the United Kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity.

Whether Bonaparte intended or not to put his threats in execution, the camps formed on the French coast, and the flotillas which accompanied them, kept a vast portion of our navy in idleness, and prevented its being employed in a manner more to our advantage, and more destructive to the commerce of the enemy.

The following was the disposition of our blockading and cruising squadrons at the commencement of the war:—

Rear-admiral Thornborough was off the Texel and the mouths of the Scheldt; Lord Keith in the Downs, as commander-in-chief of the North Seas; Sir Sydney Smith off Ostend and Dunkirk; Captain Owen, from Calais to St. Valery; Captain Oliver from thence to Cherbourg; Sir James Saumarez at Guernsey and Jersey; Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant with the Channel fleet; Sir Edward Pellew off Corunna; Sir Robert Calder off Ferrol; Nelson in the Mediterranean, watching the coast from Cadiz to the Northern Archipelago of the Levant: and while the British flag was triumphant in Europe and America, India likewise witnessed its glory. After the destruction of Tippoo Saib, the humiliation of the Mahrattas, and the capture of Poonah, their capital city, the whole peninsula within the Ganges fell into our possession.

In November Captain Winthorp, in the Ardent of 64 guns, chased, and drove on shore, a French frigate, of 32 guns, and 200 men, near Cape Finisterre. She was called La Bayonnaise. The French set her on fire to prevent her falling into our hands.

In December, 1803, the Shannon, a new frigate of 36 guns, cruising on the coast of France, was run on shore near Cape La Hogue, under the batteries of Tatihoue Island. The crew were made prisoners, and marched into the interior; and the enemy, preparing to get the ship off, were prevented by the zeal and enterprise of two young officers, Lieutenants John Sheridan and Henry C. Thompson, who, with a party of men from the Merlin sloop of war, boarded her in the night, and set her on fire. The forts opening upon them, continued a heavy but ineffectual discharge of artillery, and they returned to their ship without a man being hurt. At daylight not a vestige of the frigate remained above water. The loss of this ship may be easily accounted for. She stood from Cape La Heve towards La Hogue, with a gale of wind at S. S. W. As she approached the latter, the tide took her under the lee-bow, and carried her up towards the river of Isigny, and when the captain supposed himself to the northward of Cape Barfleur, he had that lighthouse bearing about north. The night was extremely dark and tempestuous. The Merlin, which was in company, made the land about eight o'clock, in a flash of lightning, and instantly wore under her foresail and close-reefed main-topsail. About this time the Shannon must have grounded. The crew were all saved by the French, but made prisoners.

The loss of the Apollo, of 36 guns, Captain J. W. T. Dixon, was a more melancholy event than any other of the kind which it has been my painful duty to relate.

This ship, and the Carysfort, of 28 guns, commanded by Captain Fanshawe, sailed from Cork with about 70 sail of merchantmen, bound to the West Indies. The wind heading them when to the southward of Cape Finisterre, the commodore continued on the starboard tack, standing in for the land. Captain Fanshawe, it appears, with a part of the fleet, wore, after dark, without signal, and arrived safely at Barbadoes; but about 40 sail, continuing with the Apollo, ran on shore, and were lost in Mundego bay. This unfortunate affair was one of the most severe blows which our commerce had received for many years, and caused much animadversion on the manner in which our convoys were conducted. The brave, the amiable, but unfortunate Captain Dixon, perished in the wreck of his own ship. I was first lieutenant with him in the Raven brig,

of 18 guns, when we were cast away in the Elbe, in the year 1798.

In the month of January, 1804, the settlement of Goree was attacked and taken by a French squadron from Senegal, carrying a force very far superior to that which the garrison, under the command of Captain Frazer, could oppose to them. Two months had scarcely elapsed after the reduction, when Captain E. S. Dickson, in the Inconstant, of 36 guns, with the Eagle, a store-ship from England, and some small vessels, approached the island and retook it.

On the 15th of March, 1804, Mr. Pitt made his motion in the House of Commons on the naval defence of the country, which was negatived by a large majority. It was on this occasion that he made those remarks on the naval administration of Earl St. Vincent which his lordship never forgave, and which produced his letter to Admiral Cornwallis.*

On the 16th of July, Captain Wolfe, in the Aigle, of 36 guns, drove on shore near the Cordouan lighthouse, two French corvettes, La Charente, of 24 guns and 100 men, and La Joie, of 12 guns and 70 men. Being unable to bring them off, he burnt them.

On the 17th of August Captain Maitland, of his Majesty's ship La Loire, cruising in the bay of Biscay, under the orders of Lord Gardner, the commander-in-chief at Cork, fell in with the French frigate privateer, La Blonde, which, after a chase of 20 hours, he captured. She mounted 30 guns, long nine-pounders, and had 220 men.

It would be altogether foreign to my purpose to attempt to develop the secret intrigues of the courts of Europe, of which I cannot pretend to know anything but from the official papers laid before the public. Our Government was accused of using the agency of accredited ministers to stir up dissensions between the Northern powers and France. Whether these measures were originally aggressions on our part, or only retaliations for the conduct of the French in Ireland, is a question which I cannot decide. Mr. Wickham, Mr. Drake, and Mr. Spencer Smith, the first our minister to the Swiss Cantons, the second to Bavaria, the last at Wurzburg, were charged with exciting and fomenting those discontents which led to the expedition of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and others, in order to destroy the head of the French government, and restore the house of Bourbon. The discovery of these intrigues was made the pretext for the seizure, in the neutral territory of Baden, of the gallant young Duke d'Enghien, and for his foul murder in

* See vol. iii., p. 22, first edition.

the ditch of the castle of Vincennes, where, the muskets of the assassins having failed in despatching their victim, a large stone was applied to beat out his brains. This was an act which the splendour of the imperial mantle could not save from the execration it deserved. The death of that amiable young prince was followed by the arrest of Pichegru, his real or pretended suicide, and the execution of his associates.

I visited the castle of Vincennes in 1818, and was shown the spot where this horrible midnight murder was committed. In one of the rooms stood a coffin containing the remains of the unfortunate prince; on its lid was placed the stone with which his brains were beaten out when it was found that the discharge of musketry had not proved immediately fatal. I wish I could acquit Napoleon of this cruel act; but I cannot. "*Je frappe aujourd'hui un grand coup qui est nécessaire,*" though taken from a doubtful source,* are words too likely to be true; and the seizure of Sir George Rumbolt, a minister of England, in the free city of Hamburg, at the same time, gives too much countenance to the probability of the whole being founded in fact.

Before their trial was concluded, another murder contributed to render the name of Napoleon still more hateful to the heart of an Englishman. Among the naval officers who had been employed by the British Government in carrying on the secret correspondence of the royalists, and landing their partisans on the coast of France, was Captain Wright, of the Vincejo sloop of war, a young officer of great talent and courage, and who had been the friend and companion of Sir Sydney Smith.

Napoleon knew the whole plot. His police, more vigilant than that of De Sartines, was well apprized of all the attempts about to be made on his life and authority, gaining, perhaps, their knowledge from some of the very accomplices of the conspirators. The Vincejo was watched in all her manœuvres, and on the 14th of May a strong division of gun-boats, from the Morbihan, attacked her in Quiberon Bay, in a calm; when after a severe action, his guns dismounted, two of his men killed, twelve wounded, and his vessel a mere wreck, Captain Wright surrendered to a force greatly superior. He was conducted to Paris and was confined a prisoner in the Temple, where he ended his days under circumstances which have subjected Napoleon to the suspicion of murder, from which his best friends and ablest advocates have never been able to clear him. The captain was *found* dead in his bed, with his throat cut; and it was given out that he had destroyed himself on

* Fouché's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 307.

hearing of some reverses of the Austrians: but this is most improbable. He observed to a friend that he should never come out of the Temple alive; that his death would be imputed to suicide, and begged that justice might be done to his memory. Bonaparte has been defended by some of his apologists for having *committed* the act, as Wright had plotted to destroy him; but if we admit this, why was he not openly brought to trial? From the best information I was able to obtain at Paris, and with the strongest collateral evidence, I must ever believe that he was murdered. The most probable supposition is, that he had been subjected to torture in order to extort confession, and having been treated in this cruel manner, it was decided that he should not live to tell the tale.

Wright was known to play well on the flute, and, on the day preceding his death, had been heard by a fellow-prisoner passing a solitary hour in this amusement. At midnight the door of his cell was opened, men were heard to enter, a scuffle ensued, but no screaming, the cries of the wretched man being prevented. In the morning he was found lying on his back in bed, the bloody razor on his pillow, the coverlet above his chin, his arms extended by his sides under the bed-clothes, his throat cut from ear to ear, and the carotid artery divided. Could he have done all this himself, placing the razor, and laying his hands as they were found? These facts, with others strongly corroborative, I mentioned to Lord St. Vincent when I was with his lordship at Paris, in 1818. He replied, "I never can believe that Captain Wright was murdered by order of Bonaparte." It is, however, sufficient for my purpose that he *was* murdered under the government of that man, and that his murderers were not punished; who perpetrated the deed, is now a secret between God and himself.

So vast was the influence, so powerful the resources, possessed by Napoleon, that no power on the continent of Europe had the means of resisting his will. England alone, by her navy, was enabled to cope with him, and consequently remained the sole object of his rancorous hatred and implacable revenge. That Spain would be drawn into the war against us, became evident from the moment the first shot was fired by France; nor could all the arguments of our ministers persuade the feeble cabinet of Madrid that France sought to enslave, and not to save her. This truth soon became apparent, and the unhappy Charles IV. and his family have felt the fatal effects of imperial no less than domestic perfidy. As the continent of Europe lay at his feet, Napoleon madly hoped that an invasion of Britain would place her, too, in the same degrading situation.

The speech from the throne, at the meeting of the parlia-

ment in 1804, after briefly adverting to the above topics, stated his Majesty's determination to resist the machinations and efforts of the enemy for the subversion of our liberties. The address was carried unanimously, and the whole nation seemed resolved to rush to the sea-shore to repel the invaders the instant their fleet should quit the ports of France. However deep and clear-sighted Napoleon may have been considered by his admirers, he was frequently outwitted by his great political opponent, Mr. Pitt, who counteracted his movements and turned his weapons against his own bosom. The flotilla collected, or preparing, from the Texel to Morlaix, drew on the sea-port towns of France and Belgium the vengeance of insulted Britain. The bombardment of Ostend and Calais, of Dieppe, Boulogne, Havre de Grace, Granville, and Morlaix, convinced the unfortunate inhabitants of those places that it was not on British ground their blood was to be shed; and the forced contributions levied by Napoleon and his prefects for the purpose of invasion, were still more reluctantly furnished when it was discovered that a large part of the money was diverted from the services of the nation to the pockets of individuals. The treasures of Spain, as well as of France, were required by Napoleon to fill his exhausted coffers, to lay waste the last abode of freedom in Europe, and to satisfy the cravings of a merciless military despotism. Under conviction of this state of things, and acting from information which could not be doubted, Mr. Pitt ordered the seizure of the Spanish treasure, on its way from the new world to the old, and transferred the abundant supply from its intended destination to the pockets of our sailors and to the service of the state.

We have seen, in a former volume, the Spanish Government reduced to the necessity, in time of war, of begging permission from the British admiral, at Gibraltar, to allow of their treasure being brought home; and the request was even backed by Lord St. Vincent, under a conviction, that without such a supply, Spain must inevitably be revolutionized by France. Our policy appears to have undergone some change between that period and the one now under consideration. Spain, in a state of revolution, might have been more favourable to England than she could have been under the weak government of Ferdinand. Mr. Pitt has not been so much blamed for the act of intercepting the Spanish supply as for the manner of doing it. A sufficient force, it was said, ought to have been sent, in order to ensure an immediate surrender; but those who make this assertion should recollect the wide space on which our navy was to act, and how many important points we had to guard with an inadequate force. As many ships were placed under the orders

of Captain Moore, as the exigencies of the service in other parts would permit. This officer was serving under the orders of Admiral Cornwallis, the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, by whom he was detached on this important and highly confidential service. It appears to have been supposed by Ministers that the Spanish rear-admiral would have been induced to capitulate to the British forces; but this idea, if ever entertained, was surely unreasonable, since no man of honour could surrender to a force apparently equal, and the Spanish officer appears not to have been unworthy of the trust reposed in him.

When Captain Moore, in pursuance of his orders, had arrived off Cadiz in the Indefatigable, on the morning of the 29th of September, he fell in with the Medusa, of 32 guns, and learned from Captain Gore that Sir Robert Barlow, in the Triumph, was going into Cadiz to take charge of the trade bound from thence to England. Dispatching Captain Gore to Sir Robert, to apprize him of the nature of his instructions, Captain Moore proceeded off Cape St. Mary's, where he directed the Medusa and Amphion to join him as soon as possible. This they effected on the 3d of October, and found the Lively, of 38 guns, with the Indefatigable. Two days after this junction, on the 5th, at daylight, the Medusa made the signal for four sail bearing west by south, Cape St. Mary's bearing N.E. about nine leagues. A general chase was immediately ordered, and on the approach of our ships the strangers were discovered to be Spanish frigates, formed in a line of battle ahead, and steering for Cadiz; the van ship carrying a broad pendant, and the second the flag of a rear-admiral. Captain Moore took his position alongside of the second ship in the line; the Amphion, Captain Sutton, and the Lively, Captain Hammond, each taking an opponent in the same order. Captain Moore hailed the rear-admiral, and desired him to shorten sail; but to this he paid no attention, until a shot from the Indefatigable passed under his bowsprit, on which he hove-to, and Lieutenant Ascott was sent to inform him that the British commanding officer had orders to detain him and his squadron, which he hoped to do without bloodshed. An immediate answer was desired. The officer having waited some time, Captain Moore recalled him by signal, fired a shot ahead of the admiral, and ran down close upon his weather-bow. At this moment the third frigate from the van fired into the Amphion, and the rear-admiral fired into the Indefatigable, when Captain Moore made the signal for close action. The Spanish rear-admiral, who had his flag in the Médée, struck to the Indefatigable in about half an hour; as did the Fama to the Lively. The Spanish commodore, in the Santa Clara, engaging the Medusa, seeing the

day was lost, attempted to escape, and would certainly have succeeded, had not the Lively, after securing the Fama, gone in pursuit of him, in obedience to a signal from Captain Moore. Hammond, after a considerable chase, brought him to close action, when the Spaniard, having 50 men killed and wounded, struck his colours, and the affair ended with the capture of three Spanish frigates, and the loss of one.

Captain Sutton, in the Amphion, having taken his station close to the leeward of his opponent, the Mercedes, the third ship from the van, had not been above ten minutes in action when the unfortunate Spaniard blew up; the wreck and splinters covering the decks of the British frigate, and severely wounding one or two of the men. The forecastle of the Mercedes, torn from the hull, floated, and upon it the second captain and 40 men, the only survivors, saved themselves, and were taken off by the boats of the Amphion, whose fortunate position enabled her to perform this act of humanity, while at the same time she prevented the Spanish rear-admiral from running away. Among the victims on board the Mercedes were the wife and seven children (daughters nearly grown up) of Captain Alvear, of the Spanish navy. This good and gallant officer, after a residence of 30 years in South America, was returning to spend the remainder of his days in his native country. He did not command either of the frigates, but, having procured a passage for his family in the Mercedes, went with his eldest son on board of one of the other ships, whence he beheld the catastrophe which deprived him of the persons he held most dear, and of his whole fortune, which consisted of specie and property to the amount of £30,000. What pen shall describe the agonized feelings of the wretched father and husband at this awful moment? We must leave the subject to abler hands. There was a time when the author of the "Corsair," and the "Bride of Abydos," might have immortalized the sorrows of this "much enduring, much afflicted man." If the policy of Great Britain was the cause of his suffering, her Government did everything in its power to atone for the deed. Alvear was received by the victors with every mark of attention and sympathy, and all the consolation was administered which his distracted mind was capable of receiving. His case being stated to the proper authorities, the sum of £30,000 was restored to him out of the proceeds of the prizes.*

This squadron was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamente, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear-admiral; they were

* I was personally acquainted with Captain Alvear, from whom I received this narrative; he commanded the Algeziras, of 74 guns, a Spanish ship, at Cadiz, in 1809, when I commanded the Donegal.

from Monte Video, and had on board most valuable cargoes. The loss on board the Spaniards, in all the ships but the Mercedes, was not very great, in consequence of the fire of the British ships being directed at the rigging. To detain, but not destroy, was the humane object of our gallant countrymen.

The ships taken were La Médée (flag), of 42 guns, 18-pounders, 300 men, 2 killed and 10 wounded; La Fama (commodore), 36 guns, 12-pounders, 280 men, no returns of killed and wounded; La Clara, 36 guns, 12-pounders, 300 men, no returns; La Mercedes, 36 guns, 12-pounders, 280 men, blew up, second captain and 40 men saved.

Captain Moore, with the Indefatigable and Amphion, arrived in Plymouth Sound on the 19th of October, bringing in the Médée and Fama; the Medusa and Lively having parted company in chase of the Clara.

It was not long before the Spanish Government, becoming acquainted with their grievous loss, ordered an embargo on all British vessels in their ports. On the 19th of December, 1804, an order in council was issued by the British Government to the same effect with regard to Spain; and the detention of Spanish property at sea was immense, giving a new spirit and turn to the war greatly to our advantage.

While the fortunate western cruisers were thus enriching themselves, and destroying the commerce and resources of France by wounding her through the sides of Spain, our officers in the Channel were not unmindful of their equally important and honourable, though less profitable duty. So alert were they in watching the coast of France, in the dangerous neighbourhood of Cherbourg, that nothing could escape the penalty of a broadside, or being driven on the rocks and destroyed.

On the 11th of December, Captain John Hunter, of the Venerable, of 74 guns, his officers and ship's company, were tried by a court-martial for the loss of that ship on the Berry Head, the southernmost point of Torbay, in the night-time, in a gale of wind at S.E. The disadvantage of this anchorage for fleets or convoys has been fully explained. On this occasion, late in the year, the night dark, and the wind dead in, it became necessary for the fleet to put to sea. In turning out, the Venerable missed stays, went on shore, and was totally lost. The only miracle was that all hands, with the exception of one or two, were saved. The captain, officers, and ship's company were honourably acquitted by the sentence of the court.

Captain Henry Gordon, who commanded the Wolverine, one of those merchant vessels then recently purchased into the service, and fitter to carry coals, for which she was originally

ntended, than to carry guns which were of no use to her, was sent with a convoy to Newfoundland. On the 24th of March he fell in with the Blonde, a privateer of 30 guns and 180 men. Captain Gordon sought an action, and was beat, owing to the miserably defective state of his gun-carriages, which were constructed by Mr. Gover; a mass of timber and complicated machinery, rendered useless by the first or second broadside. Captain Gordon fought his ship until she was sinking; he then surrendered, and, a few minutes after himself and his crew were removed, she went down. She mounted 13 guns of various calibre. Captain Gordon was promoted to the rank of post-captain for his good conduct, and on his return to England, some years after, was honourably acquitted by a court-martial.*

* It is necessary to explain, on reviewing this chapter, that no blame whatever was imputable to Captain (now Vice-admiral Sir John) Gore, for the temporary escape of the Santa Clara: the fact was, she outsailed the Medusa, but was overtaken by the Lively. This explanation is the more necessary as, from previous circumstances, my remark at page 610 might be imputed to prejudice or ill-will. On every occasion where Sir John Gore was engaged with the enemy during the late war, he came off with honour.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Affairs of St. Domingo—Alarm of the British Government at the progress of the rebellion, and at the forces employed by Bonaparte to suppress it—Policy of Toussaint—Sailing of Villaret and Le Clerc—Their forces, naval and military—Arrival and operations—Successes—Villaret writes to Sir John Duckworth—British fleet quits the West Indies—Account of the exertions and sufferings of the French army—Bonaparte sends out the sons of Toussaint—Surrender of the Generals Christophe and Dessalines—Capture of Toussaint—He is sent to France, and dies—Revival of the rebellion—Caused by news from Guadaloupe—Forces sent from France to suppress it—Cruelty of the French to the mulatto chiefs, and desperate state of their affairs in consequence—War between France and England causes the final ruin of the French in St. Domingo—British naval force at Jamaica—Commodore Hood at Barbadoes—His attack on St. Lucia and Tobago—Blockade of St. Domingo—Capture of La Créole—Gallant conduct of Captain Austin Bissel—Capture of the Duquesne, of 74 guns—Evacuation of St. Marc by the French—Calumnies of the Count de Dumas against the British navy, refuted—His misrepresentations exposed respecting the battle of Algeziras—Evacuation of Aux Cayes—Captain Bligh in the Theseus takes Fort Dauphin, and saves the French garrison from being murdered—Captain Bissel is again successful—Capture of Demerara and Essequibo—Boat enterprises in the Leeward Islands—Evacuation of St. Domingo by the French—Capture of their squadron—Destruction of their army.

The affairs of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe now demand our attention; and that my readers may more clearly understand the objects of our naval campaigns in that quarter of the world, it will be necessary to recur to the scenes which had passed from the time when Toussaint l'Ouverture obtained the supreme power, until the peace of Amiens.

Regardless of the treaty of Basle, by which the Spanish part of St. Domingo had been ceded to France, Toussaint had, in the year 1800, made himself master of the whole island from east to west; and having consolidated his power was named governor for life, and permitted to make choice of his successor. This was a fearful state of things for the planters of Jamaica, and not at all agreeable to the ideas and views of the Chief Consul. Thus France and England, though at war, had the same interests in the result of this revolution; but England,

without wishing for negro emancipation, was forced to oppose the arms of France in St. Domingo, and unite with the blacks, who were not so much to be dreaded in the western hemisphere as the marine and armies of the French republic.

The wise and liberal policy of Toussaint had induced many of the French proprietors to return to the island; he generously restored their estates and afforded them protection; commerce began to revive; England and America became the carriers; and France, by circuitous routes, once more tasted the productions of St. Domingo.

Toussaint, while he ruled with arbitrary sway, affected a deference to the First Consul, to whom in February, 1801, he sent Colonel Vincent with the outline of a constitution for his approval; the first and most important articles of which were the abolition of slavery, and the eligibility of all persons, of whatever colour, to employments in the state. Bonaparte would not submit to a compromise with the chief of a rebellion, and prepared to reduce the island to its original state: never in the whole course of his career did he display a greater deficiency of feeling, honesty, foresight, or of local knowledge, than in the memorable invasion of St. Domingo. For this enterprise, the largest armament which France had ever sent to sea was prepared in the ports of Europe, including Spain, from the Texel to Toulon. It consisted of 35 sail of the line; one of which, the Océan, mounted 120 guns; two of 80, thirty-two of 74 guns, twenty-one frigates, and many other vessels: these were to carry out 21,000 troops. Villaret, the gallant veteran who commanded the fleet on the 1st of June, had the chief command of the naval armament. He had his flag on board the Océan, and sailed from Brest on the 19th of December, 1801, with 15 sail of the line, 10 of which were French and five Spanish. This fleet, including nine frigates, carried 7,000 troops, and was joined by a ship of the line and two frigates from L'Orient, carrying 1,200 more.

The Rochefort squadron, under Rear-admiral La Touche Treville, of six sail of the line, six frigates, and two corvettes, with 3,000 troops, was to repair to Brest, and form the advanced guard of the fleet.

The Toulon squadron was commanded by Gantheaume, with Dumanoir under him; he had four sail of the line, with 2,300 men.

Linois sailed from Cadiz with three sail of the line and 1,500 troops. The Dutch division carried out 2,500 troops, and two other detachments from Havre and Brest carried 3,000 more. This vast and disjointed armament, sailing at different periods, and bound to or putting into different ports of the island,

wanted a common centre of union, which tended with other causes to render their plans abortive.

The army was commanded by General Le Clerc, brother-in-law of the chief Consul. The Spanish part of the armament was commanded by Admiral Gravina, who had his flag in the Neptuno, but parted company soon after their sailing, and put into Ferrol to have his ship repaired. He joined again at Cape Samana, in the month of January, with all the ships from Ferrol and Rochefort. Villaret, after giving an account of these transactions, says, "It was nevertheless still doubtful whether they should discover in Toussaint l'Ouverture a faithful Frenchman or a rebel African."

The forces were divided into three bodies, and directed to land in three distinct places: the first under the orders of the Commander-in-chief Le Clerc, and conducted by Villaret, was to take possession of Cape François; the second under General Boudet, conducted by Rear-admiral La Touche Treville, was to land at Port-au-Prince; the third under General Rochambeau, and conducted by Captain Magen, was to disembark in Mancenille bay, and second the attack of Rochambeau on Fort Dauphin.

When Admiral Villaret, in the Océan, with his division, presented himself before the road of Cape François, a mulatto, who acted as captain of the port, came off and informed him that the black general, Christophe, had declared that the whites should be murdered, and the town set on fire, the very moment the squadron entered the pass, unless the admiral would wait the return of a courier sent to Governor Toussaint l'Ouverture. The general wrote in vain to Christophe, acquainting him with the "*benevolent intentions*" of the chief Consul. The black general was firm, and Toussaint was perfectly aware of the nature of the indulgences intended to be shown to his countrymen.

Rochambeau having made good his landing in Mancenille bay, and the French troops having obtained possession of Fort Dauphin, Le Clerc thought to land with equal facility at Acul. Villaret advanced with two sail of the line, the Scipion and the Patriote, to Fort Picolet, when the blacks, true to their word, set fire to the city of the Cape, and opened a furious cannonade on the two ships: all night the French, from their fleet, beheld the conflagration, unable to afford any assistance to the wretched inhabitants. Villaret, at daylight, pushed in with the Océan; the blacks deserted Forts Picolet and St. Joseph, while General Humbert, with 200 men, took possession of Fort Belair. Rear-admiral La Touche, with General Boudet, made a desperate attack and succeeded in taking Fort Republi

cain; and "eight days," says Villaret, "sufficed for the whole operations, which presented a mass of fortunate results, and guaranteed to France the possession of her finest colony." He was now joined by Rear-admiral Linois, with another division from Cadiz; but that officer running too close to the shore, the St. Gennaro and the Dessaix, of 74 guns, struck on the rocks off the city of Cape François. The latter was lost, the other got off with considerable damage.

Such was the situation of St. Domingo when Rear-admiral George Campbell sailed with his squadron from Spithead in 1802. In the month of April he reached Jamaica, where he became second in command, and had a force of 22 sail of the line cruising between that island and Hispaniola. The Cabinet of St. James's must have felt some little alarm for Jamaica, and the precautions taken for its security, though expensive, were certainly justifiable. Villaret announced his arrival and his success to Rear-admiral Sir John Duckworth, the British commander-in-chief; gave him an account of the land and sea forces, either arrived or expected; and entreated his good offices towards the fleets and armies of France. The French admiral proposed sending most of the flutes,* with six or seven ships of the line, back to Europe. Gantheaume arrived with his division, which sailed from Toulon on the 9th of January, and, after a passage of little more than 30 days, landed 2,300 men.

On the 8th of May General Le Clerc wrote to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, and acquainted him with the happy events which had restored tranquillity to St. Domingo; that the rebels were everywhere defeated and dispersed; terror in their camps, without magazines, without powder, and the blacks reduced to live upon bananas. The arrival of the squadrons from Flushing and Havre had completed their overthrow. Christophe had surrendered, and Toussaint had followed his example. Dessalines was sent to a plantation near St. Marc, and the city of Cape François was rebuilding. Commerce was reviving, and the Americans were prevented from supplying the blacks with arms and ammunition.

It was probably in consequence of this favourable appearance of affairs in St. Domingo that the British admiral, on the Jamaica station, was enabled to send home three divisions of ships of the line. In July five sail arrived at Plymouth, six at Portsmouth, and in September Rear-admiral Campbell arrived at Plymouth with six more.

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* This term, I apprehend, is derived from the musical instrument whose holes resemble the ports of a ship (formerly round) without guns.

The *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, vol. viii. p. 227, gives an afflicting account of the horrors attending this expedition. Dessalines, unable to prevent the capture of Port-au-Prince, had arrested all the white planters within his reach, and compelled them to join in his march. Quitting the town of St. Marc, he gave it up to the flames, and his cruel footsteps were everywhere marked with fire and blood; all the whites were massacred; Arcahaye was reduced to cinders, and its inhabitants murdered. Bonaparte attempted to gain the mind of Toussaint by an act of generosity, to which the black chief was insensible. He sent out to him his two sons, whom Toussaint had sent to France for their education. The inflexible negro received them with parental kindness; their mother embraced them, and they joined their entreaties to those of Monsieur Cuanon, their preceptor, that their father would accept of the terms proposed by Bonaparte. Toussaint said he would return an answer to Le Clerc, once more embraced his boys, and dismissed them to the Cape, requesting of Le Clerc some time to deliberate. The general gave him four days, and sent back his sons; but no farther reply being sent, Le Clerc renewed hostilities, and Toussaint, retaining his sons, defended himself with valour in his strong hold of La Coupe de Pintade. His intrenchments were forced by his daring enemy, who killed 800 of his best men; and, after witnessing the defection of his black colleagues, Maurepas, Christophe, and Dessalines, Toussaint came in with his guard, and submitted to the terms proposed to him, but refused to take any office of trust, and was, at his own request, permitted to retire to his estate of Ennery. There he is said to have beheld, with an envious eye, the prosperity of the colony, under the wise and temperate government of Le Clerc. Whether he intended to be faithful to the new order of things, or whatever doubts Toussaint might have entertained, his determination was formed by the impolicy of Bonaparte, who had let the word "slavery"* escape his lips. The untimely war with England blasted all Bonaparte's hopes of regaining St. Domingo, and once more deluged the soil in the blood of the innocent victims of his policy. In the month of June the yellow fever, more rapid in its approaches, and more fatal in its effects, than the plague of Africa, swept off the troops by thousands. Le Clerc, either suspecting Toussaint, or having certain information of his having secretly excited the blacks to take advantage of the fatal epidemic, seized his person and sent him to France, where he ended his days

* "In Martinique slavery continues, and will continue."—*Thibadeau.*

under suspicious circumstances. Just at this moment some vessels arrived from Guadaloupe and Martinique, and gave the negroes the certain information that slavery was again to be established. These events brought about the third great crisis of the miserable St. Domingo. In 1791 the Convention excited them to rebellion; in 1801 Bonaparte roused them to arms against his invading army; and, in less than two years after, the arrest and disappearance of their favourite chief, and the renewal of slavery, completed the last sad catastrophe, and drove the ill-fated people to a great and decisive rebellion; when the negroes, aided by the British navy, finally expelled the French from the island, to which, in all probability, they never will return as settlers, until the present generation shall be swept away.

The late treaty, of December, 1826, between France and St. Domingo has, however, completely established the separation of this colony from the parent state, which acknowledges her independence in consideration of the payment of 6,000,000 of francs.

The month of October saw at once the fatal ravages of the fever, the insurrection of the blacks, and the death of Le Clerc, who fell a victim to the climate. He was succeeded by General Rochambeau.

While these scenes were passing in St. Domingo, Guadaloupe was in the same state of anarchy, produced by the same causes. An insurrection, headed by a man of colour, named Pelage, had dispossessed the governor, Admiral La Crosse, of his situation, and obliged him to quit the island. A squadron of three sail of the line and four frigates, under the orders of Admiral Bouvet, sailed from Brest in April, 1802, for Guadaloupe. They had 3,000 troops on board, and eight pieces of artillery. The land forces were under the command of General Richepanse. He arrived in May, and had to act over again the same tragedy which, in 1794, had ended with the death of General Dundas and his brave associates. It must be confessed, that in the suppression of this rebellion, as well as that of St. Domingo, nothing could exceed, in point of valour and discipline, the conduct of the French generals and their armies. In Guadaloupe, the negroes being driven from one part to another, 300 of them took refuge in a house called Anglemont, set fire to their powder, and blew themselves into the air. General Richepanse and his men, astonished and horror-struck for an instant, took advantage of the explosion, pushed on, charged the rebels, and completed their overthrow; and the negroes of Guadaloupe were once more reduced to slavery. The same malady which attacked the Generals Dundas and Le Clerc, proved fatal also to Richepanse, immediately after

his victory. He died on the 3d of September, 1802, after having restored Admiral La Crosse to his government.

Bonaparte, made sensible, when too late, of the folly, if not of the cruelty, of his enterprise, had too much pride to acknowledge his error, and still persisted in his attempts, though a war with England prevented the necessary reinforcements from reaching the island. Nine thousand troops were all that remained, besides a national guard, consisting of the white inhabitants and some faithful blacks and mulattoes; but these last were speedily driven again to rebellion by the impolicy of Rochambeau, and his associate, General Darbois, who, having arrested one of the mulattoes, named Bardet, caused him to be drowned, and a few nights after some more of his gallant associates, on some slight suspicion, met the same fate. Bardet had been one of the most faithful adherents of the French: his death drove all of his colour to join with the negroes, and a new and terrible insurrection broke out. They penetrated to Aux Cayes, and murdered all the whites that fell into their hands. Christophe and Dessalines instantly marched to attack the Cape; took Fort Belair on the 17th of February, and put the garrison to the sword; but by the exertions of Rochambeau they were beaten and put to flight, and the fort was retaken.

In the month of April, 1803, another squadron arrived from France, under the orders of Rear-admiral Bedout, bringing 2,000 more troops; but these were nearly destroyed by the enemy as soon as they landed, and almost without firing a shot.

The Count de Dumas insists that the British Government afforded protection and sent supplies to the blacks previously to the declaration of war. This, I think, has been refuted before, and I shall not attempt it again. The French lost the island by the folly of *their* government, and wished to impute it to the treachery of ours. "The piracy of the negroes against French commerce," says the historian, "was encouraged by the English." That the English may have supplied arms and excited the blacks to rebellion after the renewal of the war, may be true, and was, according to the usage of former times, justifiable. The French set us the example in Ireland in 1798. La Vendée is not a case in point: these people were fighting for themselves and their lawful government, and therefore had a right to claim our support. As to the "piracy" of the negroes, I know not what it means. They were at war with France, and made their prizes in a lawful manner. That they treated their French prisoners with cruelty I admit, and lament. The English did all in their power to mitigate these horrors, and many a Frenchman owes his life to the interference of his British enemy.

This desperate state of affairs was not improved by the arrival of the Indefatigable, French frigate, with orders to the commander-in-chief to evacuate Port-au-Prince, and unite his forces at Cape François. The report of war with England, brought by the same vessel, spread a deep consternation among the planters, who saw with terror the bonfires of the negroes on the mountains, and heard their shouts and yells of joy at the approaching fate of their victims. The certainty of their misfortune was established on the 18th of June, when the British squadron commenced the blockade of Port-au-Prince and Les Cayes. The forces employed there under the command of Sir John Duckworth, at this time, consisted of the following ships:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Leviathan | 74 | Rear-admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth.<br>Captain R. D. Dunn. |
| Bellerophon | 74 | J. Loring. |
| Cumberland | 74 | H. W. Bayntun. |
| Ganges | 74 | G. M. Shirley. |
| Goliath | 74 | C. Brisbane. |
| Theseus | 74 | John Bligh. |
| Vanguard | 74 | James Walker. |
| De Ruyter | 68 | V. V. Ballard. |
| Elephant | 74 | George Dundas. |
| Désirée | 36 | C. B. H. Ross. |
| Trent | 36 | James Katon. |
| Santa Margarita | 36 | |
| Cerberus | 32 | J. Macnamara. |
| Tartar | 32 | J. Perkins. |
| Æolus | 32 | H. Whitby. |
| Heureux | 24 | L. O. Bland. |
| Garland | 24 | Lenox Thompson. |
| Echo | 24 | John Serrell. |
| Osprey | 18 | George Irwin. |
| Stork | 18 | F. Cotterell. |
| Racoon (brig) | 18 | W. Rathborne. |
| Snake | 18 | W. Roberts. |
| Shark | 16 | S. B. Herring. |
| Calypso | 16 | W. Venour. |
| Gipsy | 10 | Lieutenant M. Fitton. |

Many of the ships of the French navy wanting provisions, which they could not procure in the West Indies, were compelled to return home, although their services were much required in the colonies. We must quit St. Domingo for a short time to see what was passing to windward.

Commodore Samuel Hood arrived at Barbadoes, in the Blenheim, of 74 guns, as commander-in-chief, in December, 1802, relieving Commodore the Honourable Robert Stopford:

and when the news of hostilities reached the Leeward Islands in June, it was decided to make an attack on the enemy's settlements.

On the 22d of June St. Lucia surrendered to the army and navy, united under the command of Lieutenant-general Grinfield and Commodore Hood; the fortress of Morne Fortunée was carried by assault before day-break. To appreciate this instance of valour, it is necessary to see the situation of the place, commanding every approach, and bidding defiance to any troops but such as were determined to conquer or perish. The loss was chiefly confined to the officers, who led the way up the steep paths which conducted them to the guns of the enemy; and we mention, as a fact honourable to our country and worthy of imitation, that although the place was taken by storm, and entered sword in hand, none of the enemy, notwithstanding their resistance, were put to death or injured after the surrender.

Commodore Hood had with him the Centaur, 74, Captain Littlehales; Courageux, 74; Argo, 44, Captain Benjamin Hallowell; Chichester, 44, *en flûte;* Hornet and Cyane sloops.

Having dispatched Captain Littlehales to England with the account of this event, the commodore proceeded to Tobago, with the lieutenant-general and the forces under him. That island surrendered on the 1st of July without much resistance, although commanded by the celebrated Cæsar Berthier, afterward so well known under the government of Bonaparte. Captain Hallowell was sent home with the account of this capture.

Meanwhile the cruisers of Rear-admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, on the Jamaica station, watched the ports of St. Domingo with unceasing vigilance. Captain Bayntun, in the Cumberland, of 74 guns, with the Vanguard, 74, Captain Walker, and Goliath, under his orders, while off Cape Nicholas Mole, captured, on the 30th of June, La Créole, a French frigate, of 44 guns, 18-pounders, and having on board General Morgan, second in command in St. Domingo, with his staff and 530 troops. The crew of the frigate consisted of only 150 men. Captain Brisbane, in the Goliath, captured nearly at the same time La Mignonne, a corvette of 16 long 18-pounders, and 80 men.

On the 11th of July Captain Bissel, of the Racoon brig of 18 guns, saw a French national brig lying in the Leogane roads: he instantly bore up to close with her, and found her preparing to receive him with springs on her cable. Captain Bissel being as well prepared, came to an anchor also with springs within 30 yards of him, and commenced a smart

action; which having lasted half an hour, the Frenchman cut his cable and made sail, pursued by the Racoon, whose fire had completely unrigged the enemy. In ten minutes more she surrendered: her name was the Lodi, pierced for 20 guns, but having only 10 mounted.

The next achievement we have to notice is the capture of the Duquesne, of 74 guns, by the squadron under the command of Commodore Loring, on the 24th of June, off Cape Nicholas Mole. During a heavy squall off the land, two ships of the line lying in that port attempted to make their escape from our blockading squadron. They were immediately discovered, and hauled their wind under the land; but were unable to elude the vigilance of Captain A. F. Evans, in the Æolus, and Captain Perkins, in the Tartar. The two enemy's ships separated in the night; notice of which was conveyed to Captain Loring, who sent Captain Dundas, in the Elephant, in chase of one, while he pursued the other with the two frigates. Captain Loring came up with his chase at daylight, when, the Vanguard and Tartar being near enough to exchange shots with her, she surrendered; the other ship, which was the Duguay Trouin, escaped.

The blockade of the whole of the French ports in the island of St. Domingo, in September, 1803, left the unfortunate people no hope of relief. Rebellion, famine, and disease carried off their victims by hundreds; and death was welcomed by them as their only refuge from such complicated sufferings. The black General Dessalines had summoned the town of St. Marc, which was reduced to the most painful extremity; and but for the persevering humanity of Captain James Walker, the French garrison would have been put to death in cold blood, with the aggravation of torture. At the request of the British captain they were spared, and General D'Henin and his staff, with 850 men, were received and humanely treated on board the Vanguard, and other ships of war. In the harbour of St. Marc there were some vessels, which, being included in the capitulation, fell into the hands of Captain Walker, and the blacks entered the town the moment the French troops had embarked.

The Count de Dumas has made an assertion respecting the evacuation of this place, which it is my duty to contradict. In vol. viii., p. 334, after giving an affecting history of the sufferings of the planters, and of the garrison of St. Marc, of their being forced to commit themselves to the most crazy vessels, and set sail for Cuba, leaving their property and dearest relatives to the mercy of the negroes, he adds, "The English watched their prey; and, keeping at a distance from

the coast, allowed the French vessels to run to leeward, and then seizing upon them, plundered the passengers, disarmed the soldiers, and permitted them to proceed on their voyage !" I would refer him to the French officers, even to the women, and to every person who fell into our hands, or was so fortunate as to obtain the protection of a British ship of war, as to whether this is true or not. I know that Captain Walker, who was employed on that service, and who received the fugitive French on board his ship, treated them with that humanity and generosity which it was his duty and wish to show to an unresisting enemy. I know that they were never plundered of one dollar; and I know that but for the valour and perseverance of all the naval officers on that station, all these unfortunate people would have ended their lives in tortures, under the merciless hands of the negroes. General charges are worse than useless, and show a biassed, not a well-informed mind.

The Count's assertions on this occasion deviate from the truth as much as when he speaks of the battle of Algeziras, or that off Cape Trafalgar, in July, 1801. In the first he says, the Pompée was *taken*, but towed away by the English; in the second, that the Formidable alone engaged five English ships of the line, who fired red-hot shot into her! The colours of the Pompée were never struck. The Formidable was never during the whole night engaged by any ship; and in the morning the Venerable alone brought her to action, and the Formidable fled, though the enemy's squadron consisted of six sail of the line against our five, and disgracefully left their unfortunate allies to perish in the flames. Finally, no British ship ever did fire a red-hot shot, nor was there ever an apparatus on board of one for heating shot.

General Le Fevre, who commanded the French troops at the port of Aux Cayes, sent off terms of capitulation to Captain Henry Whitby, who commanded the blockade in the Pelican brig. A suspension of hostilities was in consequence agreed on, and the Theseus and La Pique were ordered to receive the garrison. Captain Bligh, of the Theseus, was at that time employed in the blockade of the town of Cape François, and attacked Fort Dauphin, where the enemy's small craft had constantly found a refuge from the pursuit of our boats, and carried supplies to the town. Leaving the Cumberland and Hercule off the Cape, Captain Bligh proceeded to the attack of the place, and bringing his ship to an anchor within musket-shot of Fort Le Bouc, situated at the entrance of the harbour, he soon silenced the enemy's guns, and saw the colours struck. Towed by her boats, the Theseus next entered the harbour, to

attack another fort, and a ship of war of 20 guns, lying near it: the latter surrendered after receiving a few shot; and the commandant of the fort, beset by the blacks on every side, preferred surrendering to the English, with whom he was certain of receiving the treatment due to an unfortunate enemy. He accordingly surrendered to Captain Bligh, who took him and the troops on board, and sent them with all their sick under a flag of truce to Cape François. From these people he learned that the French General Dumont and his suite had lately fallen into the hands of the blacks, and were in the most imminent danger of being put to death. Captain Bligh lost not a moment in soliciting their freedom from the black chief, which he had the good fortune and happiness to obtain, and they accompanied the rest of their countrymen to the Cape. Here are three glorious instances of British officers saving their enemies from a cruel death or lingering torments. I am sorry the Count de Dumas was either unacquainted with these facts, or unwilling to relate them.

Captain Austin Bissel, of the Racoon, was employed on the coast of Cuba. While off the town of St. Jago, he saw five French vessels at anchor: two of these he captured, a third he drove on shore, after which he engaged two armed vessels, their consorts. They came down as if with a determination to take him by boarding. Captain Bissel, quite prepared, closed with them: the largest, and the first brought to action, was a brig, which, having approached very near, attempted to run ahead, between the Racoon and the land. Captain Bissel, to prevent this, put his helm hard a-port, and obliged the enemy to run on shore, giving her his broadside at the same time; when nearly aboard of each other, the enemy struck her colours, but hoisted them again as she lay on the rocks. To avoid running on shore, Captain Bissel had occasion to exert his utmost skill; he threw his brig in stays, gave the other broadside, and as he came round, his stern was in the breakers. The French vessel was called La Mutine, carrying 18 guns, long 18-pounders, and was full of men, who escaped to the shore; she was totally lost. The schooner made her escape. The Racoon had one lieutenant and 40 men away in prizes, leaving only 80 on board.

Captain Bissel's next encounter with the enemy was still more desperate, and crowned with more perfect success.

In the month of October following, while off Cumberland harbour, he observed 10 sail of vessels to windward: these were coming from Port-au-Prince, of the evacuation of which he had just received intelligence. He chased and came up

with a brig, a schooner, and a cutter, full of men: the brig struck on the firing of the first or second broadside; an officer with a small party was sent to secure her, while the Racoon was engaged with the other two, which approached with an apparent determination to board. Captain Bissel allowed them to approach so near as to be sure of his guns doing execution: the cutter steered for his bow, the schooner for his quarter; these vessels he engaged for an hour, and by superior seamanship and coolness prevented their boarding him. At length the cutter, being a perfect wreck, surrendered, and the schooner made off, but ultimately both were secured. After this the Racoon went in chase of the brig, which she had first taken; the few men put on board of her had been overpowered by the prisoners, who had run the vessel on shore, and she was totally lost, but the Racoon received her people back in safety. It is remarkable, that on the side of the British no one was killed, and only one person, the master, wounded. The enemy's vessels had on board 330 soldiers and seamen, of whom a large proportion were officers. They were all armed vessels, and came out for the express purpose of taking the Racoon by boarding: they had about 40 killed and wounded.

Demerara and Essequibo surrendered to Lieutenant-general Grinfield and Commodore Hood on the 19th of September, 1803, and the colony of Berbice capitulated on the 23d to Lieutenant-colonel Nicholson and Captain Loftus Otway Bland, of the Heureux.

These settlements from that moment became British colonies, and are now amongst the most valuable of our possessions in the West Indies.

Commodore Hood returned to Martinique, which, having been given up to the French at the peace of Amiens, was now well garrisoned, and in a most efficient state of defence. Captain Crozier, with a party of marines, attacked their batteries, blew up one in Ance d'Arlette, and threw their guns over the cliff; Captain Crozier was severely wounded.

A schooner privateer, with her prize, was lying at anchor in the harbour of Marin bay, while Captain Graves, in the Blenheim, was cruising off there, and he determined to cut her out. The harbour is very strongly defended by forts, particularly one called Dunkirk, on the starboard hand. This was taken by storm by Lieutenants Beattie and Boyd, of the royal marines, with a party of their men, who, entering the fort with fixed bayonets, the enemy instantly cried for quarter. The capture of this place ensured, in some degree, the success of the remainder of the enterprise.

The boats, led by Captain Ferris, of the Drake, pushed on, and took the schooner by boarding; she mounted four carriage guns, and had on board only 44 men at the time of her capture, many having escaped to the shore. The guns of Fort Dunkirk, six 24-pounders and 18 three-pounders, were spiked; the carriages and ammunition thrown into the sea. One British seaman was killed, and four wounded.

Lieutenant Domet, in the Vigilant tender, burnt a schooner in Ance de Serron, and destroyed the battery of Château Margot, of three 18-pounders, and came off without the loss of a man.

In the month of February Lieutenant Carr, in the Eclair schooner, of 10 guns and 60 men, engaged the Grande Décidée, a French privateer, of 22 nine-pounders and 230 men; the action having lasted three-quarters of an hour, the enemy fled.

Mr. Salmon, master of the Eclair, with the surgeon and 10 men, in a six-oared cutter, boarded a schooner privateer, under the batteries of Guadaloupe, and brought her out. She mounted one brass nine-pounder, and had 50 men.

About the same time the boats of the Emerald frigate, commanded by Captain James O'Brien, were sent into the road of St. Pierre, Martinique, to cut out a schooner, lying under cover of the batteries. Lieutenant (now Captain) Thomas Forrest, who conducted the enterprise, laid the enemy on board; and though she was moored with a chain to the shore, and he had to sustain the fire of the fort, he brought her out: she proved to be La Mosambique, of 10 guns and 60 men. Lieutenant Forrest had only 20 men with him. I regret that it is not in my power to devote more space to the numerous instances of valour displayed by our young officers on this and other foreign stations.

From what has been seen of the vigilance and success of our cruisers, and the miserable state of the French garrisons, mowed down by sickness, famine, and the sword, their evacuation of St. Domingo was an event that might have been anticipated. They still held Cape François, Cape Nicholas Mole, and the city of St. Domingo; the former was blockaded by Commodore Loring, in the Bellerophon, who, in November, 1803, received proposals of capitulation from General Rochambeau. The enemy, though in the deepest distress, were not less extravagant in their demands; they required a free passage in their own ships of war to France! This of course was refused, and they soon after surrendered to the British forces, as the only means of saving themselves from destruction.

General Rochambeau, previously to sending these proposals

to our officers, had entered into terms of capitulation with the black General Dessalines, to whom he was to deliver up the Cape, with all the forts, ordnance stores, and ammunition.

Dessalines, at the head of his troops, having made an attack upon the town, had brought the French to these terms, and compelled them to retire to their ships; but their escape from the English cruisers was still to be accomplished. The French general had the permission of the blacks to retire, but the English prevented him. It is but just to acknowledge that he was most unfortunately situated; contending, at the same time, against two distinct enemies—the one cruel and merciless, the other daring and vigilant; both seeking his destruction or capture, but with very different views. It would therefore be unfair to impute to the general disgraceful motives for his conduct. He had contended as long as he could, under every privation, and surrendered at last only to save the lives of his few brave followers. His double negotiation was probably intended to ensure his escape to France; this he hoped to effect in the bad weather, which had for some time kept our ships at a distance.

The colours of the blacks were in the mean time displayed on the forts; and Commodore Loring sent Captain Bligh, of the Theseus, to know the sentiments of General Dessalines respecting General Rochambeau and his troops. On his entering the harbour he met Commodore Barré, a French naval officer, who pressed him, in very strong terms, to go on board the Surveillante, and enter into some capitulation which would put them under BRITISH PROTECTION, and prevent the blacks from sinking them with red-hot shot, as they had threatened and were preparing to do. Captain Bligh complying with the request, a few articles were hastily drawn up, which he signed, under an agreement that they should bear his own interpretation on their arrival at Jamaica. After this he hastened to acquaint General Dessalines that all the ships in the harbour had surrendered to his Majesty's arms, and with great difficulty he obtained the promise of the general not to fire on them while they lay in the harbour.

Captain Loring applied to Dessalines for pilots, to conduct the British ships into the harbour to take possession of the French. To this Dessalines replied, "That he could not send him pilots, but that he would oblige the French to quit the port; and then," he added, "you may do with them as you please."

They came out under French colours; our ships fired a shot over them, to which they returned a harmless broadside, and surrendered.

The names of the ships taken were—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|
| La Surveillante . . . . | 44 |
| La Clorinde . . . . . | 38 |
| La Vertu . . . . . | 38 |

with various other vessels, some loaded with colonial produce, and some in ballast.

The conduct of General Rochambeau was considered so highly reprehensible during his command, that the British naval officers would not associate with him. Sir John Duckworth, in his public dispatch, accuses him of participating in the cruelties which had been practised upon the blacks; and it cannot be denied, that the French, after the explosion of rebellion, were never very scrupulous as to the means they employed to suppress it.

Cape Nicholas Mole still held out, under the command of General Noailles; but, in the month of December, being anxious to secure himself from the incursions of the negroes, he evacuated the place without notice.

Thus the adventures of the French army in Hispaniola, and their expulsion, which ended with the ruin of that beautiful colony and the slaughter of nearly half a million of people, may be justly attributed to the folly of the National Convention and the cruelty of Napoleon. M. Dupin says, vol. i. p. 149, that in two years, out of 60,000 troops, 57,500 died of fever. What number fell by the sword he does not inform us; but even this statement may serve to show what losses France sustained by the enterprise. Had she been guided by the same straightforward and noble policy towards St. Domingo which our humane country has shown towards Jamaica and the other British colonies, Hayti might still have been hers; but her conduct at that time furnishes the strongest possible negative proof that the surest road to national power, as well as national happiness, is justice to the oppressed.

The emancipation of the negroes by the late Act of William IV. has settled a question which, for half a century, hung, like the sword of Damocles, over the heads of the West India planters. Contrary, I must confess, to my expectation, the event has passed over without bloodshed; and, while a noble philanthropy has been exercised towards the unfortunate African, the proprietor has been remunerated by an act of the most unparalleled generosity. May such deeds ever constitute the ground-work of our national monuments! Neither ought it to be forgotten that the only British monarch who had ever crossed the Atlantic, or ever seen the West Indies, was the king under whose reign this glorious measure was achieved.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Invasion threatened by Bonaparte—Means taken to counteract him—Description of vessels for that purpose—Jalouse and Cruiser—Blockade of the Texel—Capture of the Atalante by Captains Hardinge and Pelly—Violation of the law of nations by detention of a flag of truce—Sir Sydney Smith attacks enemy's flotilla—Manner of these vessels getting along shore—Attacked by Captain Owen in the Immortalité—Bombardment of Havre de Grace—Bombardment of Dieppe, St. Valery, and Calais—Reflections—The enemy's flotilla puts to sea in divisions—Attacked by Leda and Cruiser—Observations on the improved art of war—On fire-ships—Flotilla before Boulogne—Catamarans—Clock machines—Useless attack—Stone-ships—Honeyman in the Leda takes nine sail of flotilla—Bonaparte abandons all thought of invasion on hearing of Villeneuve's return to Ferrol—Observations.

The panic of invasion had forcibly seized the imaginations of many persons. Government, willing to tranquillize the public mind, availed itself of every species of force to repel the threatened aggression. Every old hulk that could be fitted to bear a gun was immediately brought forward under the name of a block-ship. Some were placed in the river Thames, as high as Gravesend; others down the Swin Channel, off Harwich, or in Hosely bay; some were stationed off Margate. Colliers, and other stout north country-built ships, were purchased into the service; new decks were laid in them, and ports cut to carry heavy guns. These vessels were at first intended to guard our own coast, but soon after were sent over to annoy the enemy, though with few of those qualities that could render them efficient for such a purpose. The officers commanding them had sometimes the mortification of seeing their countrymen taken prisoners without the possibility of affording them relief; and not unfrequently to contend against a lee-shore with a vessel that never could be impelled to windward by any art or seamanship. Such were the bomb-vessels Sulphur, Hecla, Tartarus, and Prospero, and the sloops of war Merlin, Autumn, Falcon, and Wolverine. There were many others, but I name these as specimens of the whole set. They were, however, not idle or totally useless, but intercepted the trade of the enemy, and made many valuable captures and recaptures. The

orders given to the cruisers, in case of falling in with the invading flotilla, were to disable them as much as possible, and leave them to their fate.

By a decree of Bonaparte, dated March 31, the town and fortress of Flushing were declared to be in a state of siege; the general of brigade, Monet, was ordered to conduct the operations.

In the month of June the Jalouse and Cruiser, two brigs of war, chased and drove on shore, near Cape Groznez, a brig and a schooner. Commodore Owen, in the Immortalité, being present, made the signal to close with the enemy, which was done in so gallant and effectual a manner as to compel the Frenchmen to jump overboard, and escape to the beach, whence a heavy fire of musketry was kept up. In spite of this our brave fellows pushed in with their boats, boarded the vessels, and, as the tide flowed, brought them off. They proved to be the national schooner Inabordable, and brig La Commode, each mounting four long 24-pounders, and intended for the purpose of invasion.

On the 28th of this month the Elbe and Weser were declared in a state of blockade by the British Government.

Lord Keith, who in 1804 commanded in the North Seas, usually had under his orders from 10 to 15 sail of the line, including sixty-fours, and from 30 to 40 frigates; but as this number constantly varied from the exigences of the service, it is impossible to fix, with any degree of exactness, the precise force employed in the North Seas at any particular time.

In 1803 we find the following list of large ships, to which, in 1804, were added the Defence and Eagle, of 74 guns, then off the Texel:

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| Monarch | 74 | Admiral Lord Keith.<br>Captain J. C. Seale. |
| Princess of Orange (D.) | 74 | Rear-admiral T. M. Russel.<br>Captain J. Rogers. |
| Ruby | 64 | Rear-admiral Thornborough.<br>Captain D. Colby. |
| Hero | 74 | Honourable A. H. Gardner. |
| Illustrious | 74 | Sir Charles Hamilton. |
| Raisonnable | 64 | W. Hotham. |
| Ardent | 64 | R. Winthorp. |
| Inflexible | 64 | T. Bayley. |
| Monmouth | 64 | G. Hart. |
| Ramillies | 74 | Francis Pickmore. |

The most rigid blockade of the ports of the North Seas and the Channel, from Heligoland to Brest, began to make the

ruler of France sensible of the difference between a naval and a military power. The Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, were almost useless to their owners; and at the representation of the court of Denmark, his Britannic Majesty was pleased, in some degree, to relax the severity of his orders to the forces employed on that service.

The following letter from the Earl of Harrowby to Count Wedel Jarlsberg will show to what extent it was in our power to cripple the commerce of our enemies, and the generous use we made of our command of the sea :—

*Downing-street, July* 18, 1804.

It having been a matter of considerable doubt whether the request signified to me in several notes, which I have had the honour to receive from you relative to a relaxation of the blockade of the river Elbe, in favour of the Gluckstadt whale-fishers, could be complied with, without, in too great a degree, departing from a measure which his Majesty has thought it incumbent upon him to adopt, my answer to your notes on that subject has been unavoidably delayed.

I have now the satisfaction to acquaint you that orders have been given, conformably to your request, to allow the Greenland ships, enumerated in the list enclosed in your note of the 19th June, to proceed to Gluckstadt, and that orders have also been given to allow lighters, barges, and small crafts, coming within that description, and laden with innocent and neutral cargoes, to pass and repass along the Danish side of the Elbe, over the Shallows of Watten, between Tonningen and Hamburg; a measure which will remove the obstruction of the coasting trade of Denmark, and prevent the recurrence of those complaints which this Government has lately not unfrequently received. His Majesty trusts that his consenting to relax the blockade in these instances will be considered by the Danish Government as a proof of his wish to alleviate, as much as possible, every unnecessary pressure on the commerce of his Danish Majesty's subjects, and that no improper use will be made of this indulgence, which may compel him to revert to all the strictness of the blockade.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) HARROWBY.

*To the Count of Wedel Jarlsberg,*
*Minister of Denmark.*

The blockade of the Texel was reduced to a system on which our admirals acted with great success. The ports of Holland can admit of the ingress or egress of large ships only during the spring tides; two days before which the British squadron regularly took its station off the Texel, and remained as many days after the full or change of the moon, so that the Dutch lost all the advantages of the high tides, their heavy ships being effectually detained within their harbours.

In April, 1804, Captains Hardinge and Pelly, of the Scorpion and Beaver sloops of war, went with their boats into the Vlie passage, and cut out the Atalante, a Dutch brig of war, of 16 long 12-pounders, and manned with 76 men. She was gallantly defended, and her captain, refusing quarter, fell on the deck of his vessel; which, though covered with boarding netting, was carried in a short time. The British captains having been personally engaged, were both promoted to the rank of post; and Lieutenant Bluet, of the Scorpion, who was wounded, to that of commander. In this enterprise there were but five people wounded on the side of the assailants; the Dutch had four killed and eleven wounded.

In 1803, Lieutenant Dillon having been sent in the barge of the Africaine, with a flag of truce into the Texel, was honourably received by the Dutch admiral, and suffered to depart with an answer; but on his return to his ship the gallant young officer was taken by the French guard-ship, and conducted a prisoner to Verdun.

In their attempts to get along shore, the enemy were often and indeed generally successful, though sometimes they met with checks and severe loss. They never moved without a favourable wind and tide, and on these occasions kept as close to the shore as the depth of water would permit, and were always attended by a troop of flying artillery. On the near approach of our cruisers, they ran their vessels on shore, and the crews escaped; but the French soldiers frequently boarded the vessels again, and continued to fight the guns, while the artillery on the beach kept off the assailants. Many of these vessels were flat bottomed, and called praams; their guns long 32 or 24-pounders; and as they remained in a steady horizontal position, while on shore, their batteries were very effective.

On the morning of the 16th of May, 21 sail came out of the pier of Ostend, and anchored in the roads. At the same time 51 sail came out of Flushing; two of the latter were large praams or flat vessels, carrying heavy metal, with a light draught of water. The Commodore immediately assembled his force and prepared for action, the only obstacle to which was the shoal water, and the extreme caution required in conducting a ship of any draught among the intricate banks on that dangerous coast. The British officers did all that bravery and perseverance could effect to impede the course of the enemy to the westward. The sloops of war had, of course, the advantage of closing with them; and the Rattler and Cruiser attached themselves to the two praams as being the largest vessels, while the frigates, and finally the Antelope, as soon as

the depth of water would allow her, engaged the whole line, as well as the flying artillery which accompanied it along the shore.

The enemy suffered in some degree, but not in that proportion which a near observer might have been led to expect. The horse-artillery, the guns from the town of Ostend and from the enemy's camp, reached our ships, but were disregarded. The most ardent pursuit was kept up for many hours. One of the praams struck her colours and ran on shore, but was quickly filled with artillery-men, who worked her guns and defended her with great bravery. Several of the schuyts and schooners were also driven on shore, but recovered by the army. At eight o'clock the tide falling, obliged the British squadron to retire into deeper water, and the enemy's vessels, which were not too much disabled, were thus empowered to reach Ostend. Four of their smaller vessels were sunk, and one taken.

The ships and their commanders were as follow:—

| *Ships.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Antelope | 50 | Sir W. S. Smith | 2 | 1 |
| Penelope | 36 | William Broughton | 3 | 4 |
| L'Aimable | 32 | William Bolton | 6 | 14 |
| Cruiser | 18 | John Hancock. | 1 | 4 |
| Rattler | 18 | Francis Mason | 2 | 5 |

In July, 1804, Captain Owen, who in the Immortalité frigate commanded the blockade of the enemy's coast from Calais to St. Valery en Caux, discovered some of the enemy's flotilla in an exposed situation off Boulogne, the wind from N.W. A heavy sea had rendered their situation untenable; they weighed, and endeavoured to work off; but our cruisers were so much on the alert, that those who attempted to clear the land were driven back with damage, and several of them ran on shore and were totally lost. Captains Jackson and Heywood, of the Autumn and Harpy, distinguished themselves on this occasion.

In the same month (August) the town of Havre de Grace, and the shipping in the port, were bombarded by the squadron under the command of Captain (now Vice-admiral) R. D. Oliver, of the Melpomene. The flotilla fitting in the pier had begun to haul out, and make preparations for moving towards Boulogne; but on seeing a reinforcement and the bomb-vessels, they returned in again. The commodore, however, placed his bomb-vessels within range of the pier, and gave them for one hour and a half a most severe bombardment, after which the squadron came out without any injury. The town is said to have received considerable damage. On the 4th of August,

the enemy having recovered from their panic, moved their gun-brigs outside of the pier-head again to the number of 50, and again the bombs were sent in to them. The Zebra, Explosion, Meteor, and Hecla plied them with shells as before, and set the town on fire.

The inhabitants flying to the hills, the firing slackened; and the tide of flood making, the ships were withdrawn. The Captains Beauchamp Proctor, R. Paul, J. James, and J. Sykes, commanded the bombs employed on this occasion. The most favourable opportunity for this kind of attack is with the wind moderate from the N. E. Very little injury, we believe, was done to the pier or shipping; and the late Lord Rodney, on a similar occasion, called such attacks "breaking windows with guineas."

About the same time that Sir James Saumarez was bombarding Granville, Captain Owen, in the Immortalité, was employed with his squadron on a similar service at Dieppe and St. Valery en Caux. He had with him the Perseus and Explosion bombs, commanded by the Captains Methuin and Paul. In the harbour of Dieppe many gun-boats were building, which rendered that town an object of attack: it was after a heavy bombardment set on fire in two or three places, when the tide obliged the commodore to weigh and run down to St. Valery, where he repeated the same operation, there being at that time six vessels building on the sea-shore. The loss on our side was trifling; and when we consider the little injury done to the enemy, compared to what is invariably inflicted on the most helpless and consequently the least offensive of the human species, the aged and infirm, the women and children, we must ever condemn this barbarous warfare.

While our navy thus spread terror and dismay from one extremity of the coast of France to the other, and while our cruisers intercepted their commerce in every direction, we are not to suppose their marine was idle; a numerous list of valuable captures made by their ships of war and privateers in every part of the world, bore testimony to their intrepidity and perseverance.

On the 16th of August Napoleon (now become Emperor) celebrated his birthday on the heights of Ambleteuse, reviewing 80,000 troops, and distributing orders of merit to his soldiers of every rank: scarcely was the ceremony ended, when, on the following day, the Emperor preparing for his departure, a division of gun-boats, from Havre, entered the port of Boulogne in safety.

The British squadron cruising before that place was commanded by Rear-admiral Louis, whose flag was in the Leo-

pard of 50 guns, while Commodore Owen, in the Immortalité, of 38 guns, kept the in-shore squadron constantly on the alert. Desirous of showing the French Emperor a specimen of British seamanship, he attacked the flotilla. The Count de Duma says, the Emperor immediately embarked with Admiral Brueys, and that the English were compelled to retreat. One of our cutters, ominously named the Constitution, was sunk by a shell, though the crew were saved: from this accident the fatalist Napoleon no doubt inferred that the British constitution was to yield to his powerful arm. Another shell fell on board the Harpy, killed a man, and, passing through the deck, knocked off its fuse, and lodged in a beam over the magazine door, where it remained. Many of the French flotilla were so much damaged that they were compelled to run on shore to stop their leaks.

It was on this anniversary of his fête that Napoleon "inaugurated" the naval dock-yard of Antwerp. It had been decreed the year before that a port of construction should be established at that place; the magazines, the stores, the docks, and the slips were already built, and three ships of the line were almost finished. Cherbourg had also triumphed over the fury of the ocean; a quay had been constructed, 12 feet above the highest spring-tide, with a battery of 40 pieces of cannon and 21 mortars, which announced by their first salutes the fête of Napoleon: 20 years before the unhappy Louis XVI. had laid the foundation of this dyke, amidst the acclamations of his fickle and faithless people. We almost copy the words of the Count, who might have added that in 1820 scarcely a vestige of the power of Napoleon remained at Antwerp. The slips and store-houses were destroyed, the basins for merchant ships, it is true, remained, but the iron hand of the tyrant had banished industry to those regions where property was secured by law, and not dependent on the will of a despot.

Calais, on the 28th of September, underwent a bombardment from the Tartarus and other small vessels, under the orders of Captain Jackson, of the Autumn. What damage the port sustained is not known; but, giving every credit to our officers and men employed on this ungrateful service, for valour and seamanship, we may venture to say that it never produced any other effect in France than hatred to the British nation. As if to convince us how little injury they had sustained, on the two following days about 50 sail of gun-vessels came out of the harbour; and although chased by Captain Honeyman, of the Leda, and the squadron under his orders, and sustaining the fire of our ships for several hours, they reached Boulogne, losing only two of their vessels, which were driven on shore and bilged.

The most remarkable circumstance in these skirmishes was the fall of a 10-inch shell on board the Leda, which, passing through her decks, burst in her hold without doing any material injury to the ship, or hurting a man.

Lord St. Vincent, in May, 1804, was succeeded by Lord Melville, who came in with his friend Mr. Pitt as First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Addington having resigned his situation as prime minister.

The perfection of the art of war is not so destructive to the human species as might be supposed. The bow, the spear, the javelin, and the catapulta, in giving way to the musket, the bayonet, the gun, and the mortar, have rendered the field of battle less bloody, and the result more quickly decided. The use of fire-ships has long been laid aside, to the honour of the nation which first dispensed with this barbarous aggravation of the horrors of war. What generous bosom but must glow with honest indignation at seeing a ship (after a brave defence, her decks covered with her dying people, and her masts lying alongside) set on fire, or blown up, by the enemy that dare not board and carry her into port? The last instance we have of an attempt of this kind made by the English at sea, was in the fight off Toulon in the year 1744, and it received from the historian of that day its merited reproach. Though fire-ships have accompanied our fleets since that period, they have never been used except in an anchorage where there was a fair probability of the escape of the crew.

The enemy's flotilla before Boulogne had increased to 150 sail. Their position was, as in the late war, in front of their batteries, and excited the enterprise of the watchful British cruisers, and the ingenuity of mechanists, who sought their destruction by means of inventions which should blow them all into the air, without any risk to the engineer, whatever might occur to the gallant conductor. Hence the introduction of the catamarans, the fire-vessels, and that novelty of the age, the clock-machine or torpedo: of these it is necessary to speak with some detail.

The fire-vessels were small sloops or brigs of 80 tons, filled of course with combustibles, and having grapnels or hooks at their yard-arms. These were commanded by young men, ready to attempt the most desperate deed if an occasion presented itself; but we never heard of one instance of their complete success.

The catamarans were similar in principle, as well as name, to those used by the natives of the coast of Coromandel. They consisted of two pieces of timber, about nine feet long and nine inches square, placed parallel to each other, at such a distance

as to receive a man to sit between them on an iron bar, which admitted of his sinking nearly flush with the water, and occasionally immersing himself, so as to prevent his being seen in the dark or by moonlight. The person who had charge of this notable contrivance was a sailor, clad in a black Guernsey waistcoat and trowsers, with a black cap which covered his face; he was furnished with a paddle, and it was intended that he should take the clock-machine in tow. This instrument consisted of a copper case, about 18 or 19 feet long, and something similar in shape to a coffin its interior was furnished with combustibles, which were to explode by the striking of a clock within, which was to run a certain number of hours. The sailor in the catamaran, under cover of the night, dropping silently down with the tide, was to attach this machine to the cable of the enemy's vessel, and thus the projector hoped that the sleeping and unsuspecting crew would be instantly destroyed; but the catamaran, I believe, was entirely laid aside, and the clock-machines were towed in by ship's boats: none of these machines ever took effect except against an unfortunate boat's crew of 16 Frenchmen.

Coupled with these inventions we find one of a still more extraordinary nature, mentioned in the *Naval Chronicle* for 1802, vol. vii. p. 270—the diving-boat, or *bateau plongeur*, invented by Mr. Fulton, an American. This vessel was made by the artist to possess the singular quality of plunging two feet under water, and so continuing for eight hours, containing eight men, and carrying 20 days' provisions: air was admitted by means of funnels or tubes. I have heard a famous smuggler speak of a similar boat, but never knew of its application to any particular purpose. Something of the kind was constructing about the year 1818, for the purpose of procuring the escape of Bonaparte from St. Helena. The projector of this scheme was well known to the North Sea officers of the late war. The death of the object of emancipation caused the work to be discontinued. I have in my possession a drawing of a similar invention, said to have been tried in the Delaware in 1814; it was to tow the clock-machine, and fasten it to the object. From the attack nothing of any importance resulted; for, although the fortitude and presence of mind of many of our young commanders were displayed in a very remarkable manner, yet the whole scene was a piece of quackery disgraceful to the national character; and in the subsequent part of the war there was, on the coast of North America, a sort of reaction which had nearly proved fatal to our own ships.

Such were the means which Lord Keith was commanded to employ for the destruction of the invading flotilla. His

lordship attended in person on board the Monarch, and I will give an account of the result in his own words.

*Monarch, off Boulogne, Oct.* 3, 1804.

The operations commenced at a quarter past nine, P.M. and terminated at a quarter past four this morning, during which time several vessels, prepared for the purpose, were exploded amongst, or very near to the flotilla; but on account of the great distance at which they lay from each other, no very extensive injury seems to have been sustained, although it is evident that there has been very considerable confusion amongst them, and that two of the brigs and several of the smaller vessels appear to be missing since yesterday, at the close of the day.

I have great satisfaction in reporting that, notwithstanding a heavy discharge of shells, shot, and musketry, was kept up throughout the night, no casualty whatever on our part has been sustained. The enemy made no attempt to oppose their rowing boats to ours.

The principal fire-vessels were placed under the command of Captains M'Leod, of the Sulphur, Jackson, of the Autumn, Edwards, of the Fury, Collard, of the Railleur, and Searle, of the Helder; and the Lieutenants Stewart, of the Monarch, Lowry, of the Leopard, Payne, of the Immortalité, and Templar, of the Sulphur. The boats of the squadron attended them, and the Castor and Greyhound frigates were directed to take up an anchorage to leeward, to pick up the boats in case of accident. The leaders of the fire-vessels advanced against the flotilla with the most daring intrepidity, and executed their instructions, as far as valour and perseverance could achieve.

One of the fire-vessels was intrusted to the care of Captain Samuel Jackson, of the Autumn, sloop of war, who was ordered to lay her alongside of the French Admiral (Brueys). The night was extremely dark, and when within a very short distance of his victim, his boat's crew in the gig ready to put off, the string attached to the clock to set it going slipped out of his hand, and could not be found. Jackson said he thought it better to be blown up than go back with such a story, and, breaking open the hatch-way, which was securely battened over, he jumped down, regained the string, and by the time he was on deck the vessel was alongside the admiral's praam. As he pulled the fatal line, he stepped into his gig and put off; in 25 seconds (the expected time) the vessel exploded, but did no other injury to the enemy than taking away her bowsprit. Jackson and his brave crew escaped unhurt. A French lieutenant displayed an instance of coolness and presence of mind equally praiseworthy. Seeing a fire-vessel approach him, he leaped on board, and dexterously secured her to his own cable; returning to his vessel he dropped astern, and received no injury by the explosion, which almost instantly followed.

The French picked up some of the coffers, or clock-machines, on the sea-shore, and called them, with great propriety, "*machines infernales.*" A correct drawing of them is given in the plates of the *Précis des Evénemens Militaires.* The stone expedition next deserves our attention.

This was an expedient proposed by an ingenious person, to block up the harbour of Boulogne, by sinking ships, loaded with stones, at its entrance. Strange as such a project must appear to the philosopher and the officer, it had its supporters. Three merchant-ships, of about 400 tons each, were purchased, and their holds filled with blocks of stone, well cemented and clamped together, so as to resist the action of the sea, at least for a certain time: this part of the preparation being complete, the vessels were next rendered combustible by the addition of everything inflammatory that could be laid in them; and the day and hour were fixed for their departure. The projector was to lead the way (as all projectors should), and was to be supported by three naval commanders of distinguished bravery, each provided with fast-rowing gigs; but night after night passed away without presenting one favourable occasion for laying the ships on the shore, and at length the enterprise was abandoned, and the inventor, it is supposed, retired *to France,* with a considerable sum of money from our Government.

In the month of November the danger attendant on blockading the ports of the Texel was practically experienced in the loss of the Romney, of 50 guns, commanded by the Honourable Captain Colville. Most of the crew (with great difficulty) escaped, by the kind exertions of the Dutch, who began at that time to act a little more independently, and in their transactions with us to follow the dictates of humanity, from the indulgence of which they had been debarred by the Government of France.

The last operation of the year 1804, in the North Seas, was a fruitless attempt made by Captain Sir Home Popham to destroy Fort Rouge, at the mouth of Calais harbour.

On the 17th of November Captain John Hancock had the good fortune to fall in with, and, after a long chase, in which much nautical skill and ability were displayed on both sides, to capture Le Contre-Amiral Magon, French privateer brig, of 18 guns, and 84 men, commanded by the noted Captain Blackman, who had cruised against our trade with much success. Captain Hancock greatly distinguished himself during the war as a vigilant and successful cruiser.

In the month of April the enemy began again to increase his force in Boulogne, by contributions of small vessels built at the different ports during the winter. The Gallant and

Watchful, two gun-brigs, under the orders of Lieutenant Shirley, fell in with a number of Dutch schuyts coming from Dunkirk, which were pursued and driven ashore in great confusion; but the Gallant, receiving four heavy shot from the batteries below her water-line, was forced to put about. On the same day they were met by Captain Honeyman, of the Leda, with his little squadron of sloops of war and gun-brigs, and he succeeded in bringing them to close action, and took seven vessels. Two more of them were taken on the following day by Lieutenant Price, in the Archer gun-brig. These vessels were from 25 to 30 tons burden, carrying one long 24-pounder, a howitzer, and one or two 12 or 6-pounders; they were manned with soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant of infantry, and had seldom more than four sailors on board.

On the 17th of July the Ariadne, commanded by the Honourable Captain Edward King, was lying in the road of Gravelines with the Speedy, Calypso, and Zephyr, sloops of war, Devastation bomb, and three gun-brigs: at half-past six in the evening, the enemy's flotilla, to the number of 40 sail, was discovered to be under way, and coming to the westward; as soon as it approached sufficiently near, Captain King made the signal to slip, and at half-past nine opened his fire on the enemy with great impetuosity, the flotilla returning it and approaching Calais; at midnight the British vessels drew off.

At daylight a squadron from the Downs made its appearance; the enemy at an anchor near Calais; the British bomb-vessels threw shells among them and the infantry, and flying artillery which lined the shore. At four o'clock the Immortalité and Vestal having joined, the action became more general; but at half-past seven the squadron hauled off without having effected the capture of one vessel, and having in the two actions five men killed, and more than 20 wounded. The Immortalité and Ariadne were the chief sufferers.

These skirmishes terminated the active operations of the enemy in the North Seas for the year 1805. Had the events in the Channel been different; had Villeneuve defeated Sir Robert Calder and eluded Nelson, it is probable we should have been compelled to dispute the passage of the Channel with the French army and navy, headed by Bonaparte in person. For confirmation of this opinion, we may turn to the famous commentary of Bonaparte on the conduct of his admiral, given in M. Dupin's work, so often quoted, vol. i., p. 244. It is not, however, very likely that Villeneuve would have acted in a manner so diametrically opposite to his orders

as stated by the Emperor—that he should have run into Ferrol instead of the Channel, where his presence only was required to complete the plans of the campaign, and to set the stupendous armament in motion. The invasion of England (and who can say to what it might have led?) was abandoned; and the battle of Austerlitz, fought by the army of France, was perhaps as fatal to that country as to Germany. Well indeed might the enraged Bonaparte exclaim, "*Quel amiral! Quelle marine! Quelles sacrifices!*" If such were his exclamations in August, what must they have been in October, when he learned that the same Villeneuve had lost 25 sail of the line; when all his hopes of the conquest and plunder of England, when all his "ships, commerce, and colonies," and most of his best seamen, were buried in one common grave?

Thus far had the threats of Napoleon drawn on himself and his country nothing but disgrace and disaster. The torpedoes, and the fire-ships, and stone-ships, though weak and defective in contrivance, wanted not men of valour to place them under the muzzles of their guns. His assembled army on the opposite coast produced one general feeling of enthusiastic love for King, country, and Government, from the South Foreland to the Land's End; from Guernsey and Jersey to Orkney and Shetland. The British army desired nothing so fervently as to meet his legions: the navy only feared the day would never come when the flotilla, under cover of their fleet, would venture as far as Mid-channel. If the menace of invasion caused much evil, it also elicited the national feeling, and drew forth those resources of strength, and courage, and skill which struck terror into the hearts of our enemies; and as they turned their backs to the water, a French field-officer, in writing to his friend, very justly observed, "We have gone to all this tremendous expense for no other purpose than to frighten our soldiers."

END OF VOL. I.

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